

THE INDIAN WORLD

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Vol. XI] JANUARY & FEBRUARY—1910 [Nos. 58 & 59

DIARY FOR DECEMBER, 1909

Date

2. It is announced that the Lucknow Municipal Board has made arrangements for the free education of boys and girls in all primary schools under it.

The Dewan of Travancore is reported today to have negatived the election of Mr. Ram Krishna Pittery, editor of *Swadeshbhamini*, as member of the sixth session of the popular Assembly.

Mr. Kishen Singh, brother of Ajit Singh, is arrested at Lahore in connection with the Lahore sedition case.

3. A largely attended public meeting is held at the Calcutta Town Hall under the presidency of Mr. Abdul Jubbar, C.I.E., to protest against the treatment of Indians in the Transvaal, in which Mr. H. S. L. Polak, the South African delegate to India, narrates the sorrowful lot of the Indians in that Colony.

On arrival at Johannesburg from London, Mr. Gandhi receives an ovation from a crowd of Indians in South Africa.

A very bad cyclone rages over the Madras coast causing serious damages here and there.

The Bombay Government issues a Notification declaring Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona, a candidate for election to the local Council, as disqualified to be a member of the Council.

5. A Vaishnava Convention is held at Berhampore (Ganjam) of the *elite* of the Vaishnava creed of all India.

6. Mr. Zea-ul-Huq, a native of the U. P. and who made his way to Bushire and arrested there under a warrant, is placed before the District Magistrate of Lahore in connection with the sedition case there.

7. Sir P. M. Mehta resigns the presidentship of the Indian National Congress to be held at Lahore.

Mr. Purna Chandra Pakre, a young Bengali and a native of Chandernagore, is arrested in Madras as a political suspect.

10. At a meeting held today the Parsees of Bombay urge special representation in the Provincial Council on behalf of their community.

The Madras Government issues orders recording the report received from the Protector of Emigrants, Madras, regarding returned emigrants from Natal, and demurs to the allegation of their ill-treatment in the colony and during the voyage.

11. The annual Indian Industrial Exhibition is formally opened at Lahore by Sir Louis Dane.

The opium Revenue returns published today for the 8 months, April to November, show that the deficit hitherto reported has been converted into a large surplus, the receipts being 89 lakhs better than the estimate.

The Report on the Administration of Cochin for 1908-9 published today shows that the Durbar is alive to the importance of rubber cultivation, the area under rubber in 1908-9 being 2,300 acres.

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A dacoity reported to have a strong "political complexion" is committed at Dhashanibazar near Shoitnala in the Comilla District in Ebassam by some 56 persons armed with revolvers and rifles and dressed in khaki. The dacoits looted and set fire to houses and took away a large amount of money in a boat.

13. Mr. Krishnachariar, B. A., B. L., is appointed Advocate-General and Legal Remembrancer to his Highness the Nizam's Government.

The two accused in the Masulipatam "political" burglary case are sentenced to 18 months' rigorous imprisonment.

A manifesto is issued by some leading men of Bengal protesting against the objectionable features of the Reform Regulations.

14. The Travancore Government proscribes by a notification from the Travancore State the *Bande Mataram* newspaper printed at Geneva and the *Swaraj* printed in London.

The final report on the cotton crop in U. P. for 1909 issued today shows a decrease of more than 11 p.c. in the area sown and a decrease of about 10 p.c. in the output.

The Kolar Gold Fields are reported to be looking ahead, showing prospect of its regaining the reputation as one of the greatest gold-producing area in the world.

15. The Indian Association of Calcutta sends a communication to the Bengal Government pointing out the objectional features of the proposed Police Bill.

The Patiala sedition cases commence at Patiala before a special Tribunal today.

The Bombay Government publishes a resolution announcing a scheme of a training college for primary teachers in Bombay in co-operation with the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

The Burma Government sanction an expenditure of Rs. 40,000 on sanitary improvements with special reference to arresting the Plague.

The members of the All-India Congress Committee of the I. N. Congress elect by majority Mr. Madan Mohan Malavya as president of the Lahore Congress.

In view of Mr. Paranjpe's intended visit to his native place in the Kolaba District in the Deccan, after his release from imprisonment, the District Magistrate issues orders prohibiting any demonstration in his honour.

16. In course of the trial of the Lahore Sedition Case it is decided to proceed against Ajit Sing *in absentia*.

Mr. Sitaram Damale, late editor to the *Rashtramata* of Bombay and present editor of the *Rashtrodaya*, a magazine in Poona, is arrested at Poona, on a charge of defamation.

The third general Memorandum on the cotton crop of the current session estimates the outturn at 17 p.c. more than the last year.

The report on the Indo-Chinese Trade *via* Ladakh for the year 1908-9 published to-day gives the usual figures of small traffic in silk goods, tea, skins, wool and spices and points out the need of an Indian Assistant to keep a further record of the trade which, the report says, is a growing one.

17. Some Kabulees are arrested in Bombay on a charge of supplying arms and ammunitions to the Frontier Tribes.

18. An organization to promote the application of science to Indian resources and industries, formed of Indian students and having eminent British scientists as its patrons, is inaugurated today under the name of the "Indian Guild of Science."

The 2nd annual general assembly of the "South India United Church" of Indian Christians is held to-day at Trivandrum.

20. At a meeting of the leading Marathas from various parts of the Deccan, Baroda and Berar, it is unanimously resolved that a Maratha

League should be formed to promote and safeguard the political interests of the Marathas

A meeting is held at Mandalay under the auspices of the Deputy Commissioner and the Director of Agriculture, Burma, in which many agriculturists and their creditors take part, to consider schemes to ameliorate agricultural conditions and the indebtedness of the cultivators

21. At the annual meeting of the Madras Chamber of Commerce, Mr W. B. Hunter, Chairman, strongly protests against competition by the Madras Government with private enterprise in the matter of weaving and tanning industries.

In the Kottapakonda Riot case in Madras, the judgment of which is delivered to-day, Chinaswamy is convicted of murder and sentenced to death, 4 sentenced to transportation for life, 16 other to imprisonment varying from 1 to 10 years and the remaining 24 are acquitted

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, Collector of Nasik, is shot dead by an assassin while attending a farewell party given him by the inhabitants of Nasik on the occasion of his transfer from that district. Mr Krishnagopal Kharve, a Brahmin youth who committed the murder, is arrested on the spot

22. Iswar Prasad, an Urdu book-seller, is arrested at Lahore under Section 124A, I. P. C.

23. It is announced that the Secretary of State has definitely decided against any part of the future profits from the coinage of rupees being devoted to the purposes of railway construction. It is further stated that little or no coining is now taking place

A memorial from the Jains of Bombay praying for a separate electorate is submitted to the Viceroy

24. The final general memorandum on the Indian Indigo Crop for 1909-10 published today indicates that the industry is recovering itself to some extent, the area under this crop, 283,900 acres, having increased by 6,400 acres or 2 3 per cent compared with the last year

25. The Rajput Conference is held at Lahore under the presidency of the Maharajah of Kashmir who advocates education of Rajput women on Puriyah lines and inter-marriage and inter-dining among the Rajputs

26. The Shah Conference is held at Lucknow under a pandal created for the purpose.

An attempt to wreck the Bombay-Madras Mail Train is discovered at a short distance from Poona where the train strikes an obstruction of a stone weighing some 80 pounds, packed in a metal drum and placed on the railway line.

The Indian National Congress commences its 24th session at Lahore, with about 230 delegates from all parts of India, under the presidency of Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya of Allahabad

27. The thirty-fourth Session of the Theosophical Convention meets at Benares, under the presidency of Mrs. Besant.

The Lingayat Education Society of Dharwar submits a memorial to the Governor of Madras claiming separate representation on behalf of their community

The Mysore Vaisya Conference held at Gavipur passes resolutions advocating liberal education and technical education

The 5th Session of the Virasaiva Mahasabha begins its 3 days' session at Bellary at which 1200 delegates and 6000 visitors attend

The Shah Conference held at Lucknow passes resolutions on widow marriage, the reduction of dowry, abolition of the nautch, scholarship to senior students and a census of the Shias.

28. The Burma Chamber of Commerce addresses an important letter to the Burma Government condemning the proposed land legislation in that province

In the Khatriya Mahasabha assembled at Lucknow resolutions

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on female education, foreign travel, and on other progressive subjects are passed.

Mr. Golam Husain Laree, a Parsian, arrested for being in possession of 5 guns and 500 rounds of ammunition is sentenced under the Arms Act to a fine of Rs200.

28. Mr. Sakharam Dadaji Gore is arrested at Nasik, with a pistol in his possession, in connection with the Nasik Tragedy.

The "Society for the Prevention of Infantile Mortality" in Burma holds its third Baby Show in Rangoon.

29. The Convention of the Indian Christian Association held at Madras under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur N. Subramanyan urges separate representation of the Indian Christian Community in the newly enlarged Councils.

The All-India Mahomedan Education Conference opens today at Rangoon, the Hon. Sir Mahomed Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad, presiding.

The 24th Indian National Congress held at Lahore concludes today. On an appeal made by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, Rs. 18000 is subscribed on the spot in the Congress Pandal in aid of the suffering Indians in the Transvaal.

In the House of Commons, Mr. O'Grady suggests the prohibition of indentured Indian labour in South Africa as urged in the various meetings held in India to protest against the treatment of the Indians in the Transvaal.

30. The All-India Temperance Conference is held at Lahore.

The Ladies' Conference meets at Lahore, the Maharani of Partabgarh presiding.

The Annual Indian Industrial Conference meets at Lahore under the presidency of the Maharajah of Durbhangha.

The Master of Elibank, speaking at Bath, challenged Lord Curzon to declare the effect of tariff reform in India and observed that it would be a very grave matter to interfere with the trade of India, ½ of whose exports go to foreign countries and to pay India's debts.

A largely attended public meeting is held at the Bradlaugh Hall at Lahore under the presidency of Lala Lajput Rai in which Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea delivers a most eloquent lecture on the present political situation in India.

31. The Indian National Social Conference holds its annual session at Lahore under the presidency of the Tikka Shaheb of Nabha.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Administration Report of Indian Post Offices

The Post Office of India Report for 1908-9, amongst other matters, shows that reforms have been made in sorting. Postal articles of all kinds dealt with during the period amounted to 885,000,000, an increase of 68½ millions on the previous year.

Progress of Theosophy

At the Theosophical Convention held at Benares in December last under the presidency of Mrs. Annie Besant, an unusually large number of Europeans put in their appearance. Holland had deputed 8 delegates. Germany, Russia and Switzerland were largely represented ; and Australia and America also sent a few members. Only the Hindu element was conspicuous by diminishing numbers.

Leo Tolstoy and the Transvaal Struggle

Count Tolstoy, writing to Mr. Gandhi on passive resistance, says : "I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal ! That same struggle of the tender against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence is every year making itself more and more felt here among us also, especially in one of the very sharpest of the conflicts of the religious law with the worldly laws, in refusals of military service. Such refusals are becoming ever more and more frequent..... I greet you fraternally, and am glad to have intercourse with you."

A Pastime for Indian Princes

The famous *jhili* in the Bharatpur State was the scene of a record duck shoot recently. The party consisted of forty guns, including Scindia, Bikanir and Dholpur. Shooting began about ten o'clock, and, after an interval of about an hour and a half at midday, continued until dusk. The actual number of ducks which were gathered in the evening amounted to 3352. An extraordinary shooting performance was that of the Maharaja of Bikanir, well known as the best shot in Rajputana, who contributed 288 birds to this total ; the Maharaja of Dholpur was a good second, with 218. There were several scores of 100 birds and over. What a pastime for the Indian Princes of to-day !

Indian Police

The age limits for the Indian police are from nineteen to twenty-one, and the examination is in much the same subjects and of about the same standard as that for Sandhurst. One could get full particulars on application to the Civil Service Commissioners, Burlington Gardens, London, W. Eight or more appointments are made yearly. The Competition is very severe. The

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initial salary is Rs. 3,600 ($\text{£}240$) a year. The outfit and uniform, the more expensive portion of which it is not necessary to buy till after two years' probation in India, cost from $\text{£}100$ to $\text{£}150$, and everyone will be expected to provide the cost of the uniform, and not less than $\text{£}50$ for the purchase of a horse and saddlery in India.

Illicit Trade in Rifles

It is assured that the last Indian mail has brought definite evidence that the illicit trade in rifles is becoming much more extensive and daring in its character. The Ameer of Afghanistan has again made representations to the Anglo-Indian authorities—a sequel to his own fears that it is not only the tribesmen of the Indian North-West Frontier who are being thus equipped with good weapons—and has given practical evidence that he is desirous of arresting the distribution of powder produced in his own Cabul factories. The matter is now receiving close attention on the part of the Anglo-Indian Government, and a special body of officials has been entrusted with the duty of suggesting a method with a view, in co-operation with the Ameer, to putting a stop to the traffic.

Indian Medical Service

In reply to a question by Mr. Hazleton in the House of Commons, the Under Secretary for India replied that the percentage of Indians—that is, pure Asiatics—among the officers of the Indian Medical Service was rather more than five. The total cost of the officers of this service on the active list, including both those in military and in civil employ, was approximately $\text{£}570,500$ a year. The charge for recruiting those officers, both European and Asiatic (both being recruited in England) was about $\text{£}12,260$ a year, which included the pay of the officers while under training in England. The average number on leave might be taken as 123. The vacancies so arising were filled from the establishment, and not by extra appointments. The higher grades were already open to qualified and capable Indians.

Human Sacrifice Still

The belief in witchcraft is still fast rooted in parts of India, and the unfortunate persons suspected of the black art are not uncommonly done to death. In Bengal last year several cases of the kind came before the courts. In the Sonthal Parganas a woman was murdered by her mother and brother, who believed her to be a witch. In Palamau a man was killed, as the villagers held that he was a wizard. In another case two women were murdered on the bare suspicion that they had caused the death of three children by cholera. Human sacrifice also is still practised among the uncivilised tribes of Bengal. In Angul some Khonds sacrificed a girl as a propitiatory offering against cholera, and in Palamau a boy was enticed into the jungle and killed as a sacrifice. There can be little doubt that any relaxation of vigilance would result in a serious increase of witch-killing and human sacrifices.

Helping Racial Amity Indeed !

"Only Europeans and Eurasians are eligible." This is a sentence in a notification appearing in a recent *United Provinces Gazette* over the signature of the officiating Inspector-General

of Civil Hospitals respecting the "public competitive examination" that will be held in December for the selection of assistant surgeons. The department is only the Indian Subordinate Medical Department, the post is only that of assistant surgeon ; yet Indians are not to be allowed to compete. Announcements like the above go far to explain some of the so-called "disaffection" among educated Indians. In 1877, when Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India, she issued a proclamation to her new subjects, in which she said—"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations we shall, by the blessing of God, fully and conscientiously fulfil." It is carrying out a famous proclamation in a loyal way to draw the colour line in the bald fashion of the above quoted " public competitive examination " notification.

The Telegraph Administration Report

The Annual Administration Report of the Telegraph Department for the year 1908-9 states : the working expenses have increased by over $4\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, due to the reorganisation of the Signalling Department and the improvement of pay to Postal Telegraphists, and the surplus revenue amounts to 16 lakhs, giving a return of only 1.51 per cent. on the capital outlay. There were 8,598 telegraph-offices of all kinds in India and Burma, of which 6,973 were open for paid telegrams, and 1,625 for purely administrative purposes. Of the former, 280 were departmental, 2,378 combined, 4,304 railway, and 11 canal offices. The system maintained by the Telegraph Department was augmented during the year by a net increase of 1,125 miles of line and 8,651 miles of wire, including cable and at its close comprised 70,065 miles of line and 28,0595 miles of wire and cable. The subscriptions to the Telegraph Department for telephone and similar services rendered during the calendar year 1908, amounted to Rs. 4,06,946, being an increase of Rs. 81,240 over the figures of the previous year. The average annual subscriptions for the past five years amounted to Rs. 2,87,314. The gross earnings of the telephone companies during the calendar year 1908 amounted to Rs. 8,04,571, being an advance of Rs. 1,12,215 over those of the previous year. The largest increase recorded is in that of the Bengal Telephone Company, Calcutta, which amounted to Rs. 70,346. The average annual collective earnings of the companies during the past five years were Rs. 6,47,161.

In the Himalayas

Although we have still to wait for the full details of Dr. Longstaff's recent Himalayan expedition, some knowledge of his interesting discoveries has leaked through ; and it would appear that a new group of very lofty peaks has been found which have hitherto been unmarked upon the maps. One in particular, Teram Kangri, reaches the enormous height of 27,610 feet—an altitude which is only exceeded by Everest, the still unconquered giant among the earth's mountains, by K 2, by Kinchinjunga, and by Makalu. And it would appear that a good many other changes will have to be made by geographers in their maps of the district, which has hitherto been little known. It is hardly likely that this part of the world will ever become a popular hunting-ground for tourists : the

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terrific peaks of the Himalayas are no place for the casual globe-trotter. But they possess a considerable interest for the adventurous explorer ; and since Dr. Longstaff's expedition can hardly have exhausted the greatest of the earth's great ranges, there are still opportunities enough for geographers to distinguish themselves in our shrinking world. It does not seem probable that any higher mountains yet remain to be discovered, for the greater part of the world is now pretty well-known ; and even to the north of India few months now go by without something being added to , our knowledge. Dr. Sven Hedin has recently published an important work on the Trans-Himalaya district, which furnishes us with more information than we have ever had of this mysterious district.

A Pious Fraud

The Bombay correspondent of *Capital* writes :—

When the final regulations, under which the new Legislative Councils are to start their career af ornight hence, were published in an Extraordinary *Gazette* on 15th November last, critics out here and at Home made a great deal of the point that the official majority would disappear in the Provincial Councils. I believe the Indian Bureaucracy laughed in its sleeve on reading these protestations, and with good reason ! For, a more pious fraud than the alleged official minority could not be conceived, at any rate as far as the Bombay Council is concerned. The full strength of Additional Members will be forty-four, of whom fourteen must be officials. These will not include the Members of the Executive Council numbering four. That gives a solid official phalanx of eighteen. The two experts may also be both officials,—one at least is sure to be. That makes nineteen. What of the remaining twenty-six ? The Europeans may be trusted to vote with the Government on all but purely commercial questions, such as the reform of the currency and the abolition of the cotton excise duties. The Mahomedans will walk into the same lobby except in a conflict between Shias and Sunnis. The nominated members must be true to their allegiance or risk the chance of being cast into the outer darkness. What is there left to form a compact and vigilant opposition ?—not twelve just men. They will have all the talent, it is true, but odds such as foiled Hercules and Paddy Whack will be against them. At the start then, the Bureaucracy will be as powerful as at any time since 1893.

Salt Deposits of Rajputana

The origin of the salt deposits of Rajputana generally, and of the Sambhar Salt Lake in particular, has puzzled many geologists and investigators. Messrs. Holland and Christie have carried out a lengthy and detailed investigation, and have come to the conclusion that during the hot weather large quantities of sodium chloride (which is common salt) in the form of fine dust are carried into the desert region of Rajputana from the south-south-west. "These winds from the south-south-west blow over the arm of the sea known as the Rann of Cutch, which is covered with a layer of white salt during the hot, dry season. Every disturbance of this crust by pedestrians and animals helps to form the salt dust which is wafted away towards Rajputana. The winds blow strongly in the daytime, with a lull at nights, but the movement is all in one direction at the time of year when the dust is dry and can be

carried most easily ; and there is no set-back until after the monsoon period of rain when all the finely divided salt dust that may have reached the heart of the desert is washed into the hollows occupied by brine lakes. The strength of these winds is indicated by the fact that small foraminifera have been carried bodily (not rolled) as far as 500 miles inland from the coast of Cutch." There is, however, a much more romantic origin of the Sambhar Lake, which will be found in the *Rajputana Gazetteer*. It is there stated that the great States of Jaipur and Jodhpur were always at feud over the salt produced at this lake. Having rendered the goddess Sambhra some service, they asked that the salt lake be converted into a lake of gold. The goddess Sambhra granted the prayer ; but the gold lake gave rise to terrible crimes and slaughter. So the rulers of the two States at last appealed to Sambhra to restore to them the salt lake, which was done. In support of the gold theory, it is said gold is still found in the Sambhar lake, which is owned jointly by the Jaipur and Jodhpur Durbars.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Sixteen and half Crores for Railway Construction

The Secretary of State has sanctioned the programme of the Railway Board for 1910-11, involving an expenditure of 16½ crores.

Turpentine and Colophony Industry

The United Provinces Forest Report gives an interesting account of the progress of the turpentine and colophony industry carried on in the Naini Tal and Jaunsar Divisions. The Nainital Division yielded 14,819 maunds, and the Jaunsar Division 706 maunds.

Returned Indian Emigrants

About seven hundred returned Indian emigrants from the Colonies of Trinidad and Jamaica landed recently at Calcutta, bringing with them savings amounting to Rs. 2,27,068. The largest amounts brought back by individual coolies were Rs. 43,562-8-0, Rs. 14,156-4-0, and Rs. 5,203-2-0 respectively.

The Trade of Seistan and Kain

A report on the trade of Seistan and Kain for the year, which ended on 20th March last shows the Nuski route continued to grow in favour, but there was a set-back owing to the total stoppage of imports by the Bander Abbas and Ispahan routes, due to brigandage. The total value of the British and Indian trade with all Persia in 1908-09 was only half that of the year preceding, a natural consequence of the disturbed state of the country.

Discovery of China Clay in India

The discovery made by Mr. Murray Stuart, of the Geological Survey of India, that extensive beds of good China clay exist in the Rajmahal hills ought to lead to the growth of a profitable industry. China clay was long known to be present in this district. It has been worked for some years, and is now being used by the Calcutta

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Pottery Company in the production of china and porcelain. But only in three localities had the presence of china clay been reported and the importance of the result of Mr. Murray Stuart's investigation is that he has found several deposits, some of which are probably of large extent. He states it occurs in three forms—as the decomposition product of felspar, in the white Damuda sandstone, and as beds of white china clay. The first form is seen at Katangi, Karanpur, Dodhapi, and other places. Mr. Murray Stuart has ascertained by analysis that this powdery variety has a strong resemblance to Cornish china clay, and is of opinion that it should "prove suitable for the manufacture of all kinds of white porcelain and china-ware." He gives the caution, however, that the quantity of china clay in these localities cannot be estimated from the surface indications, and to get any real idea as to its extent trial shafts must be sunk." At Katangi the visible exposure is 50 yards in length and 15ft. in depth. The second variety of china clay, occurring in the white Damuda sandstone, is that which is being utilised by the Calcutta Pottery Company, and is stated by Mr. Deb, who studied ceramics in Japan, to be in no way inferior to German or Japanese kaolins. This form "occurs throughout the white Damuda sandstone of the district." The third form of china clay is found at Patarghatta. It was worked by Mr. Macdonald forty-five years ago, and he was able to produce articles of the highest quality, including china porcelain for scientific purposes, the finest Parisian-ware, &c., equal to that produced in Staffordshire." Unfortunately he was obliged to leave the country and the works came to a standstill. But the deposits of china clay remain, and are practically undiminished.

India and Protection

Mr. Balfour, it would seem from his letter to the successful Conservative candidate for Burnley, believes in protection for Lancashire and free trade for India. He does not "follow" the argument that India has a right to think best for herself what we think best for ourselves, and that Lancashire's right to insist on countervailing excise duties on cotton goods manufactured in India would disappear if she herself ceased to believe in Free Trade. He does not, in short, understand that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. But others have understood, and among them four Indian Viceroys, and Lord G. Hamilton, a former Conservative Secretary for India, and Lord St. Aldwyn, who not many years ago asked in Manchester what the Indians would say if England adopted Protection. "They would say," he said, "give us the freedom that you give to your self-governing colonies. Let us do what you yourselves think best to do in your own interest. Let us adopt Protection in India." Mr. Balfour says that "Tariff Reform" should stimulate trade with India, meaning, we suppose, that though the Indian cotton spinner may have to do without Protection and to go on paying his excise duties, the Indian wheat grower and tea grower will get a protected market in England. Would Mr. Balfour try to allay the discontent of Lancashire under protection by pointing out that, though cotton might be suffering, Birmingham nails and screws were doing splendidly? "The adoption of Tariff Reform will make no difference in the relations between the Home and the Indian Governments." This is a delicate way of saying what Mr. Joynson-Hicks, the

defeated candidate of the North-West Manchester, said coarsely that we hold India by the sword and mean to keep it by the sword. When Lancashire men urge that they cannot in common fairness be Protectionists at home and insist on India being Free-traders, Mr. Balfour says, "make them." Lancashire is not obliged to Mr. Balfour for the suggestion that she should evade by force the question of what is fair and honourable. Under Free Trade, her present position towards Indian competitors is perfectly fair and honourable. Protection offers her two alternatives,—one of which might ruin her trade in India, the other her good name.

INDIA AND BRITISH PARLIAMENT

As a result of the general Elections which is now taking place in the United Kingdom, Sir Henry Cotton, Dr. Rutherford, Messrs. O'Donnell, T. Hart Davies, Hyndman, and Dr. A. F. Murison have all lost their seats in Parliament. Among other champions of the Indian cause, Mr. F. Mackarness and Mr. Donald Smeaton did not seek re-election. The new House of Commons will, however, count among its members men like Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and Keir Hardie, Sir C. Schwann and Prof. Lee-Smith—men who yield to none in their anxiety to see justice done to India.

SELECTIONS

INAUGURAL SPEECHES IN THE RECONSTITUTED COUNCILS

I. THE BOMBAY COUNCIL

His Excellency Sir George Clarke at the first meeting of the new Bombay Legislative Council spoke thus :—

Honourable Members of the Legislative Council of Bombay,— We have met together on a most memorable occasion. It is our privilege to inaugurate a new departure in the history of India, and to play our part in a momentous change, which, for good or for evil, must have far reaching effects upon the whole machinery of Government in this country. The Reforms of which this reconstituted Council is the first result have been the subject of earnest consideration, of prolonged discussion, and of some criticism. Many years must elapse before it will be possible accurately to gauge the measure of their success. Nothing is certain except that, as in the case of all human undertakings, they cannot accomplish everything that is hoped in some quarters and they will not justify the fears which have been expressed in other quarters. For my own part, I look forward with confidence. I believe that the good will predominate ; but I am firmly convinced that this depends wholly upon the spirit in which the new Councils are worked. So far as this Presidency is concerned, it rests with us, who have the honour to constitute the first enlarged Council, to establish precedents of sound sense, of sweet reasonableness, of dignity of debate, and of common effort for common objects which will guide our successors in years to come.

History is not a strong point in India, and perhaps it may be useful if I attempt briefly to review what may be called constitutional progress in this Presidency. Up to the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, the Governor in Council had power to legislate by means of Regulations ; but in 1827 Mountstuart Elphinstone, whose name will always be held in reverential memory, issued a Revised Code embodying the results of twenty-eight years of previous legislation, which, with subsequent additions extending into 1834, formed the Code under which Bombay was governed. Some of these Regulations still remain in force. The Charter Act of 1833, however, took away all power of legislation from the Presidency Governments, and vested it exclusively in the Governor-General in Council. The Governor of Bombay in Council was permitted only to submit drafts on projects of any Laws or Regulations which he deemed expedient to the Governor-General in Council who was bound to consider and pass orders upon them. Until the passing of the Indian Council Act of 1861, Bombay remained without any power of legislation. Under the provisions of this Act, the Council of the Governor-General was enlarged for legislative purposes by the addition of the Chief Justice of Bengal, a Puisne Judge, and four representatives from Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces respectively. Thus, for

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the first time, additional members were brought into Council for purposes of legislation and the principle of provincial representation in a Central Council was established, though so far such additional members were official only. Nevertheless the additional members showed marked independence which led to some restrictions of their functions under subsequent legislation.

THE ACT OF 1861

The Councils Act of 1861 restored powers of legislation to the Presidencies and provided for the appointment of additional members nominated by the Governor and consisting of the Advocate-General and others—not less than five, not more than eight, of whom not less than one-half were to be non-officials. Thus the non-official element in Bombay first received recognition nearly 49 years ago. The functions of the Legislative Council so constituted were excluded from its purview. Moreover, the Bombay Legislature was made subordinate to that of the Government of India, the assent of the Governor-General in Council being necessary to any enactment, which also was made subject to disallowance by the Crown. These conditions still continue, and it follows that it is useless to introduce into this Council any measure which has not the approval of the Governor-General in Council and of the Secretary of State. Under the system of nomination adopted in 1861, many men of ability and position became additional members of Council and left their mark upon the legislation of the time. The records of proceedings show that the debates were often as lively and as interesting as those of later days. Prominent among such nominated members was Rao Shaheb Vishvanath Mandlik known as the "Rao Shaheb," a man of great ability and force of character whose name is still held in remembrance. The constitution of the Bombay Legislative Council remained unchanged for 31 years, until the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892, which has governed proceeding up to the present time, and the provisions of which are known to you all. I need only say, therefore, that the principal changes enacted in 1892 were an increase to the number of additional members, the nomination of a certain number on the recommendation of representative bodies, and the relaxation of some of the restrictions of the Act of 1861, by authorizing discussion of the financial statement and the asking of questions on matters of public interest. I may draw your attention to the fact that although from 1892 to the present time, nomination by the Governor was necessary to give effect to the recommendation of representative bodies, no such recommendation was ever rejected.

THE NEW COUNCIL

I now come to the Act under which we are assembled here today. The Council has been enlarged from a total membership of 22 to one of 46 and its functions have been greatly extended to enable members to exercise direct influence upon the preparation of the financial statement, to move resolutions, and to ask supplementary questions on matters of public interest. The change in the composition of the Council is even more important than the increase of members. The Council now contains 33 non-official members, of whom 21 are elected without being subject to nomination. From this brief historical review you will see that the

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evolution of this Council has proceeded on natural lines, and that each step has marked a distinct advance. Some of you may be inclined to think that the evolution has been too slow : but if you compare the step now taken after less than 18 years with that taken in 1892 after 31 years, and if you study constitutional progress in other countries you may find it necessary to modify that opinion. From purely legislative business the functions of the Council were first extended to advice and representation and now to direct expression of opinion upon all matters of local Finance and Administration. The change is not one of degree, but one of principle.

As regards the constitution of this new Council, I wish to point out that Government, resting confident in the moderation and good sense of public men in this Presidency, were from the first content to accept a non-official majority. We have even gone further in this direction than the law requires of us. Out of 21 nominated members, the Governor is entitled to include as many as 14 officials ; but only 9 have been thus chosen, so that 12 seats were made available for non-officials. This arrangement must not be regarded as necessarily permanent ; but it is our particular wish to keep the official element as low as possible not only on public grounds, but because our officials lead strenuous lives and can ill afford time for attendance at Council meetings. Circumstances might lead to a different distribution ; but we are confident that the business of this Council will be so carried out as to enable us to dispense with the presence of a larger number of officials.

MUSALMAN REPRESENTATION

The question of the separate representation of Musalmans has given rise to acute differences of opinion. While most reasonable people admitted that the Musalman community, divided from the mass of the population by religion, language, literature, customs, traditions and ideals, so as almost to constitute a special nationality, were entitled to have representatives of their own, the question was whether there should be nominations in consultation with the leaders of the community or whether separate electorates should be created. The latter alternative has been adopted and must be loyally accepted. The question must now be regarded as closed, and the Mussalmans with 8 elected members out of a total of 21 have good reason to be content. I feel certain that all members of this Council will work together in full harmony for the public good, without regard to distinctions of race, religion, or caste.

I turn to the Financial Statement the power of dealing with which is one of the most important privileges conferred by the New Act and the Regulations. Last year the Government assembled a committee of non-official members to discuss the budget at the earliest possible stage, and the result of this experiment was satisfactory. Now, the whole of the Financial Statement will, in the first instance, be referred to a Committee of 12, of whom 6 will be elected by the non-official members of the Council. The remaining 6 will be nominated and may be all officials ; but, in pursuance of our policy of giving non-official members all possible opportunity of taking part in public business, we intend on this occasion to nominate at least 3 non-officials. Recommendations made by a majority of this Committee will be carefully considered by Government and will be accepted as far as practicable. The Financial

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Statement will then go before the whole Council with the *imprimatur* of the Committee which should carry great weight. At the Council meeting it will be open to any member to move a resolution subject to certain necessary limitations, and I may point out that in one respect a member of this Council will have greater liberty than is accorded to a member of the British House of Commons. The latter may not propose any increase of expenditure, but only the reduction of a grant. On the other hand, in this Council, proposal to increase expenditure will be in order provided that the source from which it can be met is indicated. Except in special cases, I trust you will agree that it will generally be best to make alteration in the statement as settled by the Committee.

POLITICAL CRITICISM

Government hope that the new powers of moving resolutions, directed to specific issues, will enable general roving criticisms to be dispensed with, generally to the advantage of members of Council. I need hardly say that such resolutions, to be effective, must be of a practical character. It will be plainly useless to propose theoretical schemes or to recommend measures which, however desirable in themselves, cannot be carried out in the absence of available funds. Every resolution which Government are able to accept will enhance the credit and strengthen the influence of the Council. Individual members will probably realise that it is not expedient to move a resolution unless they are assured of the support of at least a substantial minority of the Council. The power of asking supplementary questions is intended to enable members to clear up any legitimate doubt which may arise in their minds from the reply given to their original questions, and can be exercised for that purpose alone. Questions and answers cannot be allowed to degenerate into discussion, and I confidently rely on the Council for support in checking any such tendency.

Members will doubtless give careful study to the regulations and especially to those relating to the allotment of time, to the transaction of different kinds of business in each session and to the time limit on the length of speeches. Many of you are busy men and some have long distances to travel. If the meetings of Council are too prolonged or unreasonably frequent, such members would find attendance a greater burden than they could bear, and no greater misfortune could befall our Council than a failure to secure the services of men who have proved their capacity for affairs by the successful conduct of business. Such men are the most valuable members of all public bodies and our Council has need of their services. I believe that a reasonable limit upon the length of speeches will give life and reality to our debates without in the least detracting from their practical value.

II. THE MADRAS COUNCIL

On the opening of the Madras Council, reconstituted under the new Indian Councils Act of 1909, Sir Arthur Lawley addressed the meeting, in the course of which he regretted that the Council was incomplete and detailed the causes of it. He then said:—I should like to say a few words as to the composition of this Council, for that is a subject of great public interest, and one in my opinion of very great importance. In doing so I think we

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should recall the words of Lord Morley in the House of Lords at the end of the year 1908 when he sketched the policy to be adopted in this country and stated the objects which he had on view in introducing these changes. They were enumerated in his speech as being six in number. In the first place an increase in the number of the Council, in the second place, the extension of the elective system, thirdly, an endeavour to ensure representation of different classes and different interests; fourthly, repeal of the prohibition which debarred Members of Council from moving resolutions and dividing the Council upon financial questions; fifthly, the granting of power to discuss matters of public interest and to make recommendations to Government, and finally doing away with the official majority. I think it will be proved, in Madras at all events, that effect has been given to the principles which underlie this scheme of constitutional reforms. I take it that no constitution in the world is without a flaw, and if this constitution proves to be not ideally perfect yet I venture to think we will be able to verify the dictum of Lord Rosebery, which was to the effect that there is inherent in all Englishmen the capacity to make any and every constitution a success. It is something of an experiment, and I am surprised to see just now that there is a tendency to decry its magnitude and belittle its importance. But I venture to think that Lord Morley was right when he said that with these changes we were opening a great chapter in the history of British responsibility. That this chamber will not fail to realise and fulfil its obligations and responsibilities I have no doubt whatever. As to the official majority, it must be obvious to everyone that in this change there will be involved a greater task upon their industry, a greater encroachment upon their leisure and far greater demands upon their time and upon their patience. I venture to express the belief that the spirit which they will show in meeting this demand will be the spirit which characterises every Englishman and that the appeal is made to him on behalf of this country and in the interests of herself. As to the non-official gentlemen, I think that we have in Madras long ago exploded the theory which seems to prevail in some quarters that the attitude of non-officials must necessarily be one of consistent and varying and uncompromising opposition to the Government. I have more than once borne out testimony to the public spirit which the non-official Members of the Legislative Council in the past have shown and revealed determination on their part to apply the legislative faculties which they have in every way not merely to embarrass the Government but to assist in guiding and directing the policy of Government, to what I believe, as I said before, is for the betterment of India. And this spirit which had been so manifest in the past will prevail and will be manifested in the future.

III. THE BENGAL COUNCIL

On the opening of the Bengal Council, Sir Edward Baker, the President, said :

Gentlemen of the Council, it gives me much pleasure to meet you here to-day, and to join with you in inaugurating the new system of administration which has formed the subject of such anxious consideration for more than three years past.

THE BENGAL COUNCIL

During the last month, we have been watching the progress of the elections in Bengal with very keen interest, and it has been a cause of lively satisfaction to me that they have resulted in such marked and unmistakable success. The interest displayed by almost all sections of the public has been very gratifying : contests were taken in nearly every constituency : the utmost activity was shown everywhere by the candidates in canvassing their supporters ; and the proportion of voters who recorded their votes was in most places quite remarkably high. As regards the character of the candidates, it would obviously not be becoming in me to say much, but perhaps I may be permitted to say this much, that whether regard be had to rank and social standing, to practical experience of affairs, or to representative character, this Council may challenge comparison with any of its predecessors in Bengal. It is particularly gratifying to observe that out of 26 elected members, no less than eight are gentlemen who have already served an apprenticeship in the Council in the past. Their experience will, I anticipate, be of much service to us in launching our new ship, and in navigating her on her opening voyage.

Gentlemen, we are all aware that a good deal of criticism has of late been expended on the Council Regulations—both in the press and elsewhere. A good many over-statements have been made, and some things have been said which I think that their authors, on reflection, will not be likely to recall with satisfaction. I do not propose to weary the Council by discussing any large number of these : but there are two matters on which I desire to say a few words ; in one case, because up to a certain point I feel some sympathy with the critics : and, in the other, because I emphatically disagree with them.

As regards the first of these points, it has been asserted that the Regulations are excessively unfavourable to the educated middle classes, the intellectual backbone of the country, and it is even affirmed that the rules were designed with the express purpose of excluding them.

It is noticeable that this complaint appears to emanate chiefly from that section of the articulate public whose activities centre in and around Calcutta ; and if any similar feeling exists in the mufassil, it has not found general or active expression. This is natural enough ; for the gravamen of the charge is that the new Regulations have shifted the preponderance of political power from Calcutta to the mufassil, and that no place, or an inadequate one, has been provided in the constitution for those whose qualifications do not include municipal service in the interior.

Now, to a certain extent, this result was foreseen and intended. Under the old Regulations, any one was eligible for election to the Council by District Boards or mufassil Municipalities who possessed a so-called residential qualification which was drawn so widely and interpreted so freely as to be little more than nominal. The result was to enable numbers of gentlemen whose real interests and influence were centred in the capital to qualify for mufassil seats, and they actually secured these in considerable numbers to the exclusion of local candidates. This arrangement possibly did not work quite so badly as might have been expected ; it was an unsatisfactory expedient at best ; and in my judgment it was only right and equitable that in framing the new Regulations, steps should be

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taken to ensure that mufassil seats should be filled by mufassil representatives.

But I think it must be acknowledged that we have gone too far. Those of us who had a hand in framing the rules—and I admit my own share of responsibility for the error—did not accurately realize the true effect of the rule which makes actual service on District Boards or Municipalities the sole channel of admission to the general electorate. The result has been to throw out of all except the special electorates a number of gentlemen whose weight, influence, intellectual attainments and past political services would have made them an acquisition to any Council in India. This result may even have extended to the mufassil, but its chief force has been felt in the capital, whose legitimate claims and interests have not received adequate recognition. To that extent, I acknowledge the force of the criticism that has been expressed, and I regret the untoward result that has ensued. I will merely remind you that his Excellency the Viceroy has declared that the Regulations must not be regarded as final or incapable of amendment: and I do not doubt that before the next general elections fall due, steps will have been taken to introduce whatever improvements present experience may show to be required.

I now turn to the second of the two points of criticism which alone it is my intention to refer to. In certain quarters it has been alleged that, while we made a parade of creating a majority of non-officials in the Provincial Councils, yet in practice that majority has been so constituted that some part of its members will be likely to side with Government in controversial matters; and, therefore, it is declared that the non-official majority is a sham and a make-believe. Gentlemen, if this contention had not been put forward again and again, it would have been unnecessary to treat it seriously. As one Calcutta paper said of it, the argument is only intelligible on the assumption that the author regarded the terms "non-official" and "anti-Government" as synonymous. I consider this a most apposite remark, and most destructive commentary. If any appreciable section of the community really entertained such a view, I should regard it as a matter of very serious concern: for it would indicate that that section of the people of this Province are as yet utterly unfit to take any part in the administration of the country. A moment's consideration would surely have shown that if, on every contested question, the entire non-official majority were to vote solid against the Government, the administration of the country would be rendered impossible. Does any person of ordinary intelligence imagine that any responsible Government ever contemplated such a result or that they would permit it to continue for a day? I can only suppose that this singular hallucination had its origin in the system on which we have now turned our backs, and which encouraged the idea that it was the function of non-officials to oppose, because, inasmuch as they were in a powerless minority, it mattered little whether they opposed or not. I need scarcely remind you, gentlemen, that those days are now past. Henceforward it will be for us, not to over-ride, but to convince. It is a necessary corollary that those who form the majority shall in all cases hold themselves open to conviction. And we expect and believe that in the great majority of cases, honest and independent opinion will

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incline to the side of Government. It is only in such conditions that the business of administration can be carried on.

I will not enlarge further on this subject. We are about to enter upon a great experiment. It will lie in your hands and those of your successors in Council, to make it either a bitter and disappointing failure, or as I trust, a brilliant and triumphant success, which in its turn will prove the stepping-stone towards a further advance in the direction of associating the people with the Government in some form of constitution appropriate to an oriental country.

IV. THE COUNCIL OF THE U. P. OF AGRA & OUDH

Sir John Hewett, in opening the new Council of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, made the following observations after discussing some local topics :—"The occasion of our meeting to-day is a particularly solemn one. The Council present here to-day in its composition and in the powers with which it has been endowed represents the greatest advance made in giving the people a larger share in the administration of the country since the Queen's Proclamation was announced in this very city. Now that the lengthy preliminaries have been concluded, and the Council has been constituted for the despatch of business, it behoves each one of us to do all that lies in his power to make its working a success, and its influence beneficial to the people of the Province. We are in no sense a Chamber divided into a party in power and a party in opposition. I refuse to subscribe to the view that the Council is to consist on the one side of a Government desirous of carrying out its own will, irrespective of the feelings of the public at large, and on the other of the non-official members anxious to assert their power and to hamper the officials. I disclaim the idea that there is necessarily any divergence of thought and feeling between the official and the non-official members on many of the matters of public interest. We cannot indeed always agree : a legislative assembly in which all were of one mind would be too dull to excite the slightest interest. But we can all work in harmony, and oftentimes mutual co-operation and good will will find the key to a problem which when first attacked seemed incapable of solution. I rely on all of the members of this Council to help me in maintaining a dignified procedure, and to bring to the matters which we have to consider an even temper and business-like habits. Let us strive by working together for the public good to earn the approbation of those whose interests we are to foster and protect ; and may Providence guide our hearts and minds in the right way so that our deliberation may be so directed, and our conclusions so shaped, as to be of the greatest possible benefit to the people of this Province."

V. THE EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM COUNCIL

H. H. Sir Lancelot Hare made the following remarks at the first meeting of the reconstituted Legislative Council :—

"The present occasion is one of great importance to this pro-

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vince and is one which will be ever memorable in its history as the beginning of what, I venture to foretell, is to be a long and beneficent career of very great usefulness for this new Council. The hope and intention with which you have been called together, an intention, which I have no doubt will be adequately fulfilled, is that you will assist the Government of this Province with well informed advice on the many difficult questions which continually arise in the Government of so great a country as is this province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, with its teeming population and its great variety of interests and castes and creeds. With this purpose you have been selected to represent some of the more important interests of which it has been considered convenient and desirable that there should be representation whether by election or by nomination. In your capacity of representatives, it will be your duty to press the interests of those whom you represent, but you will do so with reasonableness and with moderation and a readiness to give to the conflicting claims and arguments of others the same respectful regard and attention which you claim for yourselves. It is very clear that every one of a large assembly cannot have his own way, and in the moderation of claims and their due subordination to the just rights of others true statesmanship will be found. The measure which we are taking is admittedly an experiment and its success will depend on the statesmanship which you display and I feel confident that you will not disappoint the trust which has been placed in you. Gentlemen, I do not purpose to detain you unduly and most of all I would wish to avoid any long address to you on your duties and functions. I feel that this is quite unnecessary. For, first of all, many of you are my most old and tried and valued friends to whose advice and assistance I am already much indebted. I trust I can confidently rely upon your putting aside all thoughts of rivalry and personal considerations and working with the single-minded desire to secure the welfare and prosperity of the people in regard to whom you are asked to advise. Imbued with these feelings and actuated by the sole and exclusive regard for the advancement of the Province it can not be that well informed as you are of the circumstances with which you will have to deal, your efforts will be infructuous, and I venture to predict that when you lay down your term of office, you will do so with the proud satisfaction of knowing that you have in no small measure contributed to the wealth and prosperity, contentment and happiness of the people of this province."

VI. THE PUNJAB COUNCIL

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in course of his inaugural address to the Punjab Legislative Council said :—

"It is a great expansion that has taken place. The old Council consisted of only 10 members of whom 5 were usually officials and all were nominated. It was a purely legislative body with no powers of Budget discussion or interpellations. The change that has been brought about by the reforms is therefore more sweeping in this Council than in any other. The strength of the Council has now been raised to a maximum of 30. Furthermore the Council has been given all the privileges of budget discussion, interpellation and power of moving resolutions that are possessed by

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Councils of more advanced provinces which have exercised some of these powers for years together. The strength of the Council in comparison with the total population of the province is greater than that of the Councils of sister provinces of Bengal and U. P., though these have enjoyed for a much longer period a settled and civilised government under British Crown. I am aware that in agreeing to this sudden development I have acted in opposition to the opinion of many of the oldest and wisest Punjab officers. But I hope with some assurance that my confidence in the people of the Punjab will not be abused and that the new Council will be not only as useful as the old legislative body, but will also link together the people and the Government in a bond of closer and more intimate union and serve as a medium for conveying to Government a truer idea of what the wishes and feeling of the people really are and to the people a fuller and clearer insight into the object and reasons of the policy and measures of the Government. I am sure, too, that our financial position will be greatly strengthened by greater control which the people through you will exercise over the budget and I am hopeful that a much more extensive financial decentralization, which is the only decentralization worth the name, will be possible when the Imperial Government realises that the taxpayers will have a larger voice in the disposal of the revenues raised."

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THE VICEROY'S SPEECH

In opening in Calcutta on January 25, the first Imperial Duma in India, brought into being by the Indian Councils Act of 1909, His Excellency the Viceroy made the following important speech :—

Gentlemen,—I welcome the members of this newly constituted Imperial Council on their first assembly at the Capital of the Indian Empire.

The occasion is replete with political meaning. It marks the close of a system of administration which, under the guidance of many illustrious statesmen, has contributed much to the prosperity of India and to the glories of her history—it opens a new era with the inauguration of broader principles of government,—and though this Council Room is ill-adapted for the accommodation of our increased numbers and for the convenience of the public, it has seemed best to me that we should first assemble within the walls of the palace which Wellesley founded, and in the Council Chamber hallowed by the legislative traditions of the last 100 years.

Those years have witnessed the consolidation of the Indian Empire as it exists to-day—they tell a story of troubles and anxieties, of hard-won successes and many glorious episodes—but they have throughout been years of recurring administrative changes in harmony with social progress and an advance in political thought largely due to the results of an education system introduced into India by British rulers.

It has been a period of evolution. We have moved in successive stages from Wellesley's small Supreme Council appointed by the Board of Control to the days of Lord William Bentinck and

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the Charter Act of 1833 to the conquering rule of Lord Dalhousie and the Charter Act of 1853—to the Council Acts of 1861 and 1892—great landmarks in Indian history. And each successive stage has witnessed either the grant of larger legislative powers to the Government of India or an increasing recognition of the necessity for broadening the basis of administration upon lines more representative of the general interests of the country. That necessity was first met by the nomination, and subsequently by the quasi-election, of additional members of the Governor-General's Council. The first additional member was appointed nearly 80 years ago under the Act of 1833. That member was Lord Macaulay. Since then the machinery affecting their appointment has been gradually adapted to meet varying conditions, whilst their numbers were increased to a possible sixteen by the Act of 1892. That Act, like its predecessors, has been superseded by the adoption of more advanced legislation, and in accordance with the Act of 1909 this newly-constituted Imperial Council is now for the first time assembled.

I have merely ventured to sketch the progress of British legislation, because I cannot but feel that much of the criticism of the recent policy of the Government of India has been oblivious of past history and has been based upon the assumption that the India of 20 years ago can continue to be the India of to-day. That is an impossibility—many influences have combined to make it so—and we have had to follow in the footsteps of the statesmen who have preceded us, and to recognise that British rule must again be re-adapted to novel conditions,—conditions far more novel than any with which our predecessors had to deal, in that political forces unknown to them have come into existence in India which it is no longer possible for British administrators to ignore, whilst the trend of events in the Far East has accentuated the ambitions of Eastern populations. When I took up the reins of Government as Viceroy in the late autumn of 1905, all Asia was marvelling at the victories of Japan over a European power,—their effects were far-reaching—new possibilities seemed to spring into existence—there were indications of popular demands in China, in Persia, in Egypt, and in Turkey—there was an awakening of the Eastern World, and though to outward appearances India was quiet,—in the sense that there was at that moment no visible acute political agitation,—she had not escaped the general infection, and before I had been in the country a year I shared the view of my colleagues that beneath a seemingly calm surface there existed a mass of smothered political discontent, much of which was thoroughly justifiable, and due to causes which we were called upon to examine. We heartily recognised the loyalty of the masses of the people of India, and we were not prepared to suppress new, but not unnatural, aspirations without examination. You cannot sit for ever on a safety valve, no matter how sound the boiler may be. Something had to be done and we decided to increase the powers and expand the scope of the Act of 1892.

It is important that my Hon'ble colleagues and the Indian public should know the history, the early history at any rate, of the reforms which have now been sanctioned by Parliament. They had their genesis in a note of my own addressed to my colleagues in August 1906—nearly 3½ years ago. It was based entirely on the

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views I had myself formed of the position of affairs in India. It was due to no suggestions from home—whether it was good or bad I am entirely responsible for it. It dealt with the conditions it appeared to me the Government of India had then to consider, and as it is answerable for much that has followed in its wake, my Hon'ble colleagues will, perhaps, allow me to read it to them. This is what I then wrote—

"I feel sure my colleagues will agree with me that Indian affairs and the methods of Indian administration have never attracted more public attention in India and at home than at the present moment. The reasons for their doing so are not far to seek. The growth of education, which British rule has done so much to encourage, is bearing fruit. Important classes of the population are learning to realise their own position, to estimate for themselves their own intellectual capacities, and to compare their claims, for an equality of citizenship with those of a ruling race, whilst the directing influences of political life at home are simultaneously in full accord with the advance of political thought in India.

"To what extent the people of India as a whole are as yet capable of serving in all branches of administration, to what extent they are individually entitled to a share in the political representation of their country, to what extent it may be possible to weld together the traditional sympathies and antipathies of many different races and different creeds, and to what extent the great hereditary rulers of Native States should assist to direct Imperial policy, are problems which the experience of future years can alone gradually solve.

"But we, the Government of India, cannot shut our eyes to present conditions. The political atmosphere is full of change, questions are before us which we cannot afford to ignore, and which we must attempt to answer, and to me it would appear all-important that the initiative should emanate from us, that the Government of India should not be put in the position of appearing to have its hands forced by agitation in this country or by pressure from home, that we should be the first to recognise surrounding conditions and to place before His Majesty's Government the opinions which personal experience and a close touch with the every-day life of India entitle us to hold.

"This view I feel sure my colleagues share with me. Mr. Morley cordially approves it, and in pursuance of it announced, on my authority, in his recent Budget speech, my intention of appointing a Committee from the Viceroy's Council to consider the question of possible reforms.

"Such enquiries have, as you are aware, taken place before. There was the Commission, over which Sir Charles Aitchison presided, to enquire into the employment of Indians in the public services, and we have also the notable report of the Committee appointed by Lord Dufferin to consider proposals for the reconstruction of Legislative Councils on a representative basis (1888), over which Sir George Chesney presided, and of which the present Lord Macdonnell was Secretary. It is curious to see from that report how similar conditions and arguments were then to what they are now; with the one great exception that we have now to deal with a further growth of nearly twenty years of increasing political aspirations.

"But though increased representation is still the popular cry

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as it was in 1888, other demands or rather suggestions are shaping themselves out of a foreshadowed metamorphosis. We are told of a Council of Princes, of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, of an Indian Member on the Secretary of State's Council, and in addition to the older claims put forward on behalf of increased representation on the Legislative Councils, we are asked to consider new procedure as to presentation of the Budget to the Viceroy's Legislative Council, a prolongation of the Budget Debate, and further opportunity for financial discussion. As to possibilities such as these, I would be grateful for the opinion of the Committee I hope to appoint, limiting myself for the present to only one opinion that in any proposal for the increase of representation it is absolutely necessary to guard the important interests existing in the country, as expressed in paragraph 7, page 3, of the Report of Sir Charles Aitchison's Committee, viz.—

- (a) the interests of the hereditary nobility and landed classes who have a great permanent stake in the country;
- (b) the interests of the trading, professional and agricultural classes;
- (c) the interests of the planting and commercial European community; and
- (d) the interests of stable and effective administration.

“The subjects I should propose to refer to the Committee are:—

- (a) A Council of Princes, and if this is not possible, might they be represented on the Viceroy's Legislative Council?
- (b) An Indian Member of the Viceroy's Council.
- (c) Increased representation on the Legislative Council of the Viceroy and of Local Governments.
- (d) Prolongation of the Budget Debate. Procedure as to presentation of the Budget and powers of moving amendments.

“This Minute is circulated for the information of Members of Council from whom I shall be glad to receive any suggestions or expressions of opinion which they may desire to make and which will be communicated to the Committee.

“When the Committee has reported their Report will be laid before Council for full consideration.”

That note elicited valuable opinions and was fully discussed in Council, and though, as you are aware, its suggestions were not accepted in their entirety by the Government of India, it laid the foundation of the first scheme of reform they submitted to the Secretary of State.

Since it was written, Lord Morley has fought India's battles in both Houses of Parliament in many great and memorable speeches, and there has been a constant interchange of correspondence between him and the Government of India. Much of it has not as yet been made public, but as regards the reform of the Legislative Councils I commit no breach of confidence in indicating the lines which the Government of India has endeavoured to follow. We have distinctly maintained that representative Government in its Western sense is totally incapable to the Indian Empire and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern populations—that Indian conditions do not admit of popular representation—that the safety and welfare of this country must depend on the supremacy of British administration—and that that supremacy

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can, in no circumstances, be delegated to any kind of representative assembly.

But we have been deeply impressed by the changing political conditions alluded to in my note, and we have endeavoured to meet them by broadening the representation authorised by the Council Act of 1892, by expanding its rules of procedure and facilitating opportunities for debate, by inviting the leaders of Indian public opinion to become fellow-workers with us in British administration, and by securing the representation of those important interests and communities which go to form the real strength of India, whilst at the same time recognising the claims of educational advance. We have borne in mind the hopes held out to the people of India in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858.

We have felt that the political atmosphere of a bureaucracy may become close and confined, and that the admittance of outside air is beneficial to its health and strength. We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not at the creation of Parliaments. I emphasise what I have just said in view of the opinions to which advanced Indian politicians appear not unfrequently to commit themselves.

The machinery of our scheme was explained in our Resolution of November 15th. There is no necessity for me to analyse it—it has already been fully discussed by the public. We by no means claim perfection for it, we know that there will be much to learn from experience of its working, and that it may require alteration in the future, but if I have judged Indian public opinion correctly, the verdict has been in our favour in admitting the necessity for administrative changes, and the general soundness of the lines we have followed. Of course, we have met with many criticisms. It would have been unfortunate indeed, if a scheme of vast political moment had not elicited discussion and diversity of opinion. But there is one criticism which I refuse to accept—the suggestion that the Councils Act of 1909 is the result of concessions to seditious agitation. There is no foundation for any such assumption—unless the recognition of the political condition of India in 1906, as I have endeavoured to describe it, is to be reckoned as a concession—though it was a recognition the necessity for which no responsible administrators could disregard. The murders at Mozufferpore were the first of the political crimes which have horrified all India, and they were perpetrated 1½ years after my Councils Committee had commenced to formulate their reform proposals. Then came the Manicktollah Garden discoveries, followed at the intervals by a repetition of outrages, mysterious in their origin. Was the Government of India in the face of those outrages, and on account of them, to renounce the conclusions they had deliberately come to, and to throw overboard their schemes for reform? Were they to be frightened by an anarchical plot out of a policy they had deliberately adopted? I absolutely refuse to admit that the just aspirations of the loyal subjects of the King-Emperor should be jeopardised by traitorous conspirators. That is a concession I will not agree to.

But it is unfortunately too true that the progress of the work upon which we have been engaged, and in the completion of which we hoped to confer a welcome boon upon the people of India, has been marred by a succession of abominable crimes which have forced my Government into one repressive measure after another.

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And yesterday, on the eve of the assembly of this Council, a faithful and gallant public servant was brutally murdered within the precincts of the High Court and in the broad light of day. A spirit hitherto unknown to India has come into existence, spirit opposed to all the teachings of Indian religion and traditions, a spirit of anarchy and lawlessness which seeks to subvert not only British rule, but the Governments of Indian Chiefs, to whom I am so deeply indebted for their loyal assistance. We are called upon to deal with subterranean machinations, and methods of assassination and robbery, dangerous to the public safety and discreditable to the fair fame of India. We are aware of associations which are doing their best to inveigle into their meshes the youth of the country poisoned by the dissemination of revolutionary literature, which, out of a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere with any form of freedom of speech, British administrations have tolerated far too long. Present dangers we are prepared to meet, and the moral training of the rising generation our duty will no longer allow us to neglect. We can no longer tolerate the preachings of a revolutionary press. We are determined to budge literary license. I am glad to believe that the support of an enlarged Council will go far to assure the Indian public of the soundness of any measures we may deem it right to introduce.

I had hoped to open this new Council under an unclouded political sky. No one has longed more earnestly than I have to allow bygones to be bygones, and to commence a new administrative era with a clean slate. The course of recent events has cancelled the realisation of those hopes, and I can but assert that the first duty of every government is to maintain the observance of the law,—to provide for the present, and as far as it can for the future welfare of the populations committed to its charge,—to rule, and, if need be, to rule with a strong hand.

But, gentlemen, though I have no wish to disguise from you the anxieties of the moment, I do not for an instant admit that the necessity of ruthlessly eradicating a great evil from our midst should throw more than a passing shadow over the general political situation in India. I believe that situation to be better than it was five years ago. We must not allow immediate dangers to blind us to the evidences of future promise. I believe that the broadening of political representation has saved India from far greater troubles than those we have now to face. I am convinced that the enlargement of our administrative machinery has enormously strengthened the hands of the Viceroy and of the Government of India, and has brought factors to our aid which would otherwise have had no sympathy with us. I believe above all that the fellow service of British and Indian administrators under the supreme British Government is the key to the future political happiness of this country. It is in that belief that I have worked hard for India, and when I see around me to-day the representatives of the powerful communities and interests, for whom I pleaded in my note, I feel convinced that the dignity and good sense of this Council will be worthily maintained, and that the navigation of the Indian ship of State will be loyally and ably assisted.

And now that my tenure of my high office is drawing to a close, I hope I may feel that my years of work have borne some fruit, and I am grateful to Providence in that He has spared me to be present on this great historical occasion.

CO-OPERATIVE BANK

The emphasis laid by Mr. Balfour recently on a constructive agricultural policy combined with co-operative credit and organisation is likely to bring to the front the great and hopeful problem of the application of co-operative effort in British agriculture. Co-operation more than anything else is responsible for the strong position of our greatest rival on its agricultural side. It was in Germany that the Raiffeisen Banks began, and they now spread like a system of life-giving arteries over rural Germany. In Italy an imitation of the German system has enabled the peasant to support the occasionally extravagant ambitions of his Government. Denmark is one vast agricultural co-operative society, and is in consequence able to force Danish eggs and butter upon the British breakfast table. Agriculture in Holland is largely co-operative. The movement has made of recent years considerable progress in Ireland. Owing to her magnificent system of joint-stock banks, Scotland has not so much felt the need of co-operative credit, but in England credit is absolutely essential if the small holding is to have any real chance, and co-operation is the way to get it. It is commonly said that the English farmer is too conservative a person to adopt such new methods. It will be helpful, therefore, in dealing with his argument to show how a far more conservative person than the Englishman has eagerly welcomed the co-operative system. It may not be known, but it is nevertheless a fact, that owing to the efforts of the Indian Government, co-operative village banks have spread with extraordinary rapidity over India in the last few years, and in many districts have actually lowered the rate of interest on agricultural loans.

THE INDIAN CULTIVATOR AND THE USURER

For generations the Indian peasantry have been in the grip of the money-lender. Before the days of British rule the evil was probably not so great, for in those times every village was almost a republic, and no doubt took the law into its own hands when the money-lender became too much of a tyrant. Moreover, as taxes were usually paid in kind, the need for ready money was not then so great. The British Government, however, with its enormous benefits of peace, law, and order, introduced also the monetary system and protected the money-lender from the violence of the infuriated villagers. The Indian peasant is an excellent cultivator, but he has never understood money and the allied problems of credit. He has, therefore, got himself into the grip of the usurer. To get money he pledged his crops, and when his crops were not enough he pledged his land. The usurer made money at both ends. He bought the wheat in the ear when it was cheapest, disposed of it when it was dearest, and sold part of it back again to the peasant as seed-grain. He charged interest which sometimes rose to a hundred per cent., and he even, when he found it was safe, began to foreclose and take possession of the land. The peasant thus often became a mere tenant, living from hand to mouth, with no reserve either of grain or money to ward off famine.

The Indian Government has passed law after law to stop these evils, but it has found by bitter experience that it can neither prevent the indebtedness of the peasant nor the alienation of land.

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Takavi, or a Government system of loans, was devised as a cure, but though they have been available for thirty years or so the peasantry have not yet got over their distrust of a system which in their eyes only places them in the hands of new money-lenders, the native subordinates in the Government service. They may be driven to *Tukwi* by famine, but it is doubtful if the system will ever be popular, and indeed universal indebtedness to the Government would have evils almost as great as universal debt to the money-lender. When Lord Cromer, then Major Baring, was in India as Financial Secretary he took a deep interest in an attempt to found a private bank on philanthropic lines. Sir William Wedderburn and others worked hard for this scheme, and the Government of India decided to liquidate debts over an experimental area so as to give the bank a fair start, while it was to have special advantages in the way of remission of stamp duty and recovery through Revenue officers. The Secretary of State refused to sanction this scheme. Laws have also been passed from time to time to stop land-alienation, but such legislation is obviously retrograde. It keeps the cultivator a child in economic matters, and, moreover, it is often impossible to prevent evasion.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF CO OPERATIVE CREDIT

All these schemes failing, then, the Indian Government was almost forced to the alternative of encouraging co-operative credit among the people themselves. As early as 1892 the Madras Government appointed Mr. Nicholson (now Sir F. A. Nicholson) to report on the question, and his report was encyclopaedic and extremely useful in the way of attracting attention to the co-operative banking systems of Europe. In the Punjab two Civil Servants, Mr. MacLagan and Captain J. G. Crosthwaite, started a little grain bank. The members deposited the grain at harvest-time, it was sold when prices rose, and the money was lent to members at low rates. It was, however, in the United Provinces that the master mind arose that solved the problem. Here Mr. H. Duperuex, a Civil Servant with a strong bent for finance, wrote an admirable little book, in which he showed how the German co-operative systems might be adapted to Indian needs. He pointed out that the Indian village has been from time immemorial a co-operative society. The co-sharers, where this system exists, own the land in common, and are accustomed to be jointly responsible for revenue. The affairs of the village are managed by the village council, and though the British Government have too often followed a policy of encouraging individualism, this ancient communism is still strong. Upon this village system Mr. Duperuex suggested that the Government should graft the Raiffeisen Banks of Germany. These Banks, it need hardly be explained, are close societies of villagers who pool their entire credit, and thereby obtain cheap money from outside, which they lend only to members at a slightly higher rate of interest than they pay. As the loans are only made for reproductive purposes, and are amply safe-guarded in a number of ways, there is hardly ever out of the thousands of such banks in Europe a case of failure, and by these means the German peasant has been delivered out of the hands of the money-lender and turned into a thriving farmer. Mr. Duperuex also suggested that to finance these small banks, town banks on another German co-operative system might

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be started, and to these the village banks might be linked, thus forming circles through which money would pass from town to country and from country to town. Sir Antony Mac Donnell gave Mr. Duperuex the task of starting the system in the North-West Provinces, as they then were, and soon Mr. Duperuex had several little banks running merrily. They worked much in the normal German fashion, the members doing their own business, which was very simple, in a perfectly efficient way. Moreover, they soon began to show their trust in the system by depositing their savings with the bank. Thus success on a small scale was proved, and Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy, presided over the passing of an Act which legalised the system.

THE MOVEMENT SPREADING RAPIDLY

This was the beginning, and it was only eight years ago. Now the movement is spread over India, and is still spreading with wonderful rapidity. In 1908 there were no fewer than 1,201 village banks with a membership of 83,200, and 149 urban banks on co-operative lines, with 59,500 members. The grand total of their working capital amounted to 44 lakhs of rupees, or well over a quarter of a million sterling. The rate of progress may be estimated by the fact that in 1907 there were only 89 towns and 740 village banks, with 23 lakhs of capital. How far the movement is from being merely a Government enterprise will be seen from the fact that of the 44 lakhs only 6½ represent State aid of any kind, over 9 lakhs consist of share capital held by the members themselves, and 18 lakhs are composed of ordinary business or private loans. In twelve months the members deposited 4 lakhs, and the total deposits of members held by the banks amounted in 1908 to over 9 lakhs, while the reserve funds were estimated at 78,000-odd rupees. The principal function of the Government was to get people interested in the movement at the beginning and to give them afterwards the benefit of free Government auditing. The provisional figures for 1909 have just come to hand by the Indian mail, and show even more amazing progress. The total number of co-operative banks, urban and rural, is 2,008, that is an increase of 658 over last year, and the number of members has increased from 149,160 to 184,897. The working capital has nearly doubled, standing now at 81 lakhs of rupees. A very satisfactory feature in the figures for 1909 is that State aid in the way of working capital has increased by only a few thousand rupees (from Rs. 6,51,816 to Rs. 6,86,143), while loans from private persons more than doubled, rising from 12½ to 25 lakhs. This shows that the banks have established themselves in business confidence, and are able to raise their money in the open market.

CAPITAL AND LOYALTY

When we remember how conservative and distrustful the Indian peasant is, and how, since the beginning of time, he has been accustomed to no other system of banking than a earthenware pot buried under the floor or silver bangles on the ankles of his women-folk, we are able to estimate the amazing nature of this revolution. It is plain that where these societies exist money is no longer buried or melted down, but is used, in the way capital should be used, as the seed grain of a future financial harvest. Who can estimate the

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amount of hoarded wealth in India, or the benefits which will accrue to the people when this treasure is dug up and used for the benefit of agriculture and industry? If the movement goes on at the present rate the prospect is almost staggering in its possibilities. We shall have an organisation spread over India whose members and capital will alike be numbered in millions. It will be the finest weapons ever forged to fight famine and the agitator. Fears have indeed been expressed that these organisations may get into the hands of the disloyal, but the sounder view is that there is no better way of making a man loyal than to make him a capitalist, since the conservative forces in society are always those which have something to lose. It is worth mentioning in this connection that when a member of the Indian Civil Service recently delivered a lecture on this subject to an audience partly composed of Indian students, who were also ardent "Nationalists," the students with one accord defended the money-lender. The Indian Government have had no help from the so-called patriots of Bengal, who are drawn from an upper class which has always preyed upon the peasantry, and whose object is to keep them poor and dependent. As for the so-called friends of India in this country—the allies of the agitator—they have never shown the least interest in the development of co-operation, and have done nothing to help the movement. It is the work of the Indian Government and their servants, and if they use it wisely, not killing it by too much supervision or Government aid, but letting it grow upon free and natural lines as in the past, it will become one of the greatest boons that India has ever received from the British connection. (I D C in *The Morning Post*, London.)

FIFTY YEARS OF INDIA

Few outside the circles directly connected with Eastern trade have any idea of the important manner in which Indian commerce has developed. Yet very good material exists showing how this has expanded. Recently the Secretary of State for India issued a memorandum giving the results of Indian administration during the fifty years ended March 1909. This covers a period that dates from when India was first emerging from the effects of the Mutiny to the present time. The difficulties that have had to be grappled within this period by the Executive were exceptional, and of a very varied character. Thus in 1878-80 occurred the Afghan war, in 1897 a succession of tribal risings on the North-Western frontier; and in 1904 the trouble with Tibet. To a huge country like India these were minor troubles, and the period of fifty years must really be regarded as one of peace, but the outlays required for these campaigns were considerable at times. Another great evil that had to be faced during the half-century was that of drought and famine. All over Northern India the pressure of scarcity was felt in 1860, whilst in 1866 Orissa suffered, in 1869 and 1874 parts of Bengal and Behar, and in 1877 Southern India felt the effects of famine. This latter was the severest and most far-reaching famine with which the Administration have had to deal, but in 1907 a severe, though less extended, drought visited Northern India, and has but lately passed away. Another important obstacle to progress, though one of a

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peculiarly financial character, was the depreciation of silver and the change of the monetary standard. For nearly a hundred years up to 1871, ten rupees of Indian money could, on the average, be exchanged for one pound sterling of English money. But after that year a steady depreciation occurred in the price of silver, which in the end led to the value of the rupee being cut in half. The Government of India, troubled in many ways by this remarkable depreciation in the currency, after long inquiry instituted the present system of currency, which is based upon a circulation of silver rupees valued at fifteen to the pound, the coinage being made a matter of Government prerogative instead of free minting being allowed at the wishes of private individuals. The depreciation of silver produced many difficulties in commerce, and there was also a considerable wrench when the gold standard was put into force, so that the strain upon the trade and administration of India was very great during a considerable part of the period from 1871 to 1895.

To meet these varying troubles, the English officials who control the affairs of India had to put forth their most statesmanlike qualities and a survey of the progress in that time is good evidence that they have come out successfully from the ordeal. One of the most brilliant examples is the manner in which the public debt has been kept within moderate dimensions. In the fifty years we are surveying the debt has been raised from 51 to 246 millions sterling, of which 157½ millions is in sterling debt and 88½ millions in rupee or local debt. Of this amount, which is not much for a population of over 300 millions, no less than 177 millions sterling has been incurred for railways and thirty millions for irrigation works, and the interest on this portion of the debt is charged to those particular services. As both show large net profits, no charge for interest on this account falls on the taxpayer, so that the public debt of India, apart from the capital thus invested, is therefore only 38½ millions sterling as against 51 millions before the Indian Mutiny. Such a record is most remarkable. In other words, the Indian Executive have opened up and developed the great Dependency during the fifty years, and the non-revenue earning debt in the period has fallen by about 12½ millions. The result, of course, is largely due to the profits obtained from the revenue-earning investments, and it seems almost probable that in time to come this part of the debt will lead to the elimination of the non-remunerative debt.

In this progress the development of the railways played the most important part, and the record in this respect, although not so rapid as the needs of the country required, has been very creditable. In 1857 the Indian Government had opened 300 miles of railway, which carried during the year two million passengers and 253,000 tons of goods. On April 1, 1909 there were 30,983 miles of line in operation, which carried during the year 330 million passengers and over 64 million tons of goods. The rates charged for passengers on these railways rule as low as 1-5d. per mile for passengers and under ½d. per ton per mile for goods. During 1908 the gross earnings of these railways were approximately 30 millions sterling, and it has been estimated that the producers, traders, and passengers of India benefit to an amount corresponding to 100 millions a year by reason of the cheapness of the railway over the old modes of travelling, exclusive of the saving of time arising from the quicker transit. Great as has been the progress in

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the past, the cry is still for more railways, and only financial considerations prevent a much more rapid growth in this remunerative form of investment.

In other directions there have been great facilities given for the expansion of trade, such as the extension of roads and canals, the improvement of seaports, the increase of the cultivated area, and the abolition of internal and external customs duties. In 1858 the exports and imports of merchandise by sea from and into India were valued at $25\frac{1}{2}$ and $14\frac{1}{4}$ millions sterling respectively, whilst the corresponding totals for the year 1907-8 were $115\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling for the exports and $86\frac{1}{2}$ millions for the imports. The growth, perhaps, does not seem so great as has been seen in other respects, but it should be remembered that prices play a considerable part in these totals, and that compared with 1858, they would show a very great reduction. The external land trade of India, principally with Nepal, Tibet, Western China, and Afghanistan, although relatively small compared with the sea-borne trade, shows steady progress, having more than doubled within the last fifteen years, and it now aggregates ten millions sterling. Besides this development of external trade, there has been a great growth in internal development. A great Indian spinning and weaving industry has arisen in the time, which already competes favourably with European manufacturers in Eastern market; and a great jute industry of a highly profitable character has also grown up. Furthermore, there has been a rapidly increasing production of Indian coal and petroleum, while new and valuable agricultural staples have been introduced and naturalised in the country. Ironworks and the production of metals on a large scale have hitherto delayed from various causes, but a large enterprise is now in course of inception, with prospects of success.

At the present time the prospects for Indian trade are excellent. Owing to favourable weather all the important crops promise well, and as prices of cotton and grain are good the indications are that the present shipping season will be exceptionally active. The demand for remittance to India is, therefore, likely to be important, and the shipment of sovereigns recently announced clearly demonstrates the pressure experienced in banking circles. Fortunately, the demand can be kept within dimensions, and later on, when the present stock of silver rupees held by the Government is exhausted, the excess requirements of India are likely to be met by purchases of silver in order to meet the demands for circulation in the country. Still Europe must be prepared for India requiring more and more gold as time goes on, since the natives, in their growing prosperity, will invest their savings more and more in the yellow metal. The trade in small bars is assuming large dimensions, and this is being supplied by Australia and London. Although not a purely exchange demand, it fluctuates with the prosperity of the country, and at present quite a quarter of a million sterling is leaving London each week to meet Indian requirements, apart from the sovereigns that go on exchange account.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

THE AGITATION OF INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN ENGLAND

An "Englishman" contributes a very sympathetic article on the above heading in the December number of the *Modern Review* in which he discountenances the idea of carrying on agitation of Indian grievances in England on various grounds.

There exists a great difference of opinion among Indians as to the value of agitation in England. An Englishman who is expected to understand his countrymen, in some respects, better than a foreigner, may be allowed to speak as to the effect likely to be produced by such agitation. The few Englishmen who are friendly to Indians are not making any impression on the English public. The Indian parliamentary party are in minority ; few members listen to the speeches made about India and few newspapers report them except in briefest summaries. Even a liberal organ like the *Daily Chronicle* thinks : "The perpetual re-iteration of such criticisms will not affect the action of the Government. The only thing it can do is to strengthen the forces of discontent in India." It is curious to note the naive belief of the English journalist that discontent in India depends on speeches made in England. The servile attitude of certain Indians partly excuses, if it does not justify, this characteristic English conceit. *Punch's 'Essence of Parliament'*, after making some witty remarks about "Sir Henry Mukerji Cotton" and "Dr. Bonerji Rutherford," goes on to say : "An experience of more than thirty years has convinced me that the House of Commons is not impressed by those members who represent their own countrymen as being in the wrong." It does not apply only to the House of Commons. All people at all times have taken the side of their own countrymen against the foreigner. This tendency rightly or wrongly exists in England and when he appeals to the English public, the Indian is appealing to prejudiced judges.

It is even unlikely that Indian speakers themselves would be more successful. Englishmen seldom understand Indians ; Indians also seldom understand Englishmen. Englishmen always receive foreigners well, partly out of kindly feeling, partly out of curiosity ; Indians, when they visit England, are received with courtesy, but this

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courtesy does not mean real sympathy. Indians do not always understand this and are apt to take the courtesy of the Englishman as meaning more than it really means. Genuine sympathy is shown by actions and not merely by polite phrases. These remarks apply to public speeches as well. Whatever views an orator may express, it is always possible to get together an audience which will applaud them. An English audience will cheer the Indian orators from politeness because they are foreigners. Many Indians speak extremely well, but they do not always put the right note in addressing an English audience, for, a style suitable for one audience may be unsuitable for another.

Whether well-put or ill-put, the arguments of Indians and their English friends will not affect the great mass of Englishmen. Take one particular grievance : the drain of money from India amounting to many millions of rupees every year. Do you imagine that any Indian, by sheer force of eloquence, will persuade the English to give up these rupees ? The English, the 'Englishman' in the *Modern Review* thinks, did not come to India from philanthropic notions. All nations are selfish and unjust in their dealings with other nations, and Englishmen are no exception though there may be individuals who are.

The English persuade themselves to believe that they are "exploiting" for the good of the people "exploited," that their rule is an unmixed benefit for the people of India. Mr. Keir Hardie and Dr. Rutherford have only been in the country a few months ; Sir Henry Cotton has his personal grievances ; it is, therefore, the people think, that they find defects in British administration in India. In the same way the Brahmins persuade themselves that the supremacy of their caste is for the good of other castes, though many Indian orators have denounced caste. No privileged class voluntarily renounces its privilege. The Romans, of course, extended citizenship to their Italian allies and to the provincials, but not till they were forced by circumstances to do so. At the time of the revolt of the North American Colonies, their case was advocated by prominent Englishmen like Burke and Chatham, but their eloquence effected no good. The Americans owed their success entirely to their own efforts. When the policy of George III and his ministers failed, the English became convinced that it was unjust. Since the separation of the United States the English have never dared to tax their Colonists. If the Australians and Canadians were like Indians, they would receive no better treatment.

The character of Irish agitation changed when Mr. Parnell

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stepped into the field. Instead of making fruitless efforts to win the sympathies of the English, he determined to teach them that it was neither safe nor profitable to be unjust. "Not conciliation but retaliation" was his watchword. So he organised the boycott in Ireland and obstruction in the House of Commons. By these methods Mr. Parnell accomplished more in five years than his predecessors in fifty.

Of course Indians should not copy the methods of the American colonists or the Irish ; it would be foolish to think that the salvation of India lay in organised rebellion or terrorism. Indians must think of other ways of bringing pressure to bear on their rulers. Although it may be said with confidence that all the repressions are due to the existence of the Extremist Party, yet the English, like other peoples, only make concessions when they are afraid to refuse them. In 1906 it first occurred to the English that even Indians might get troublesome if they chose, and so it seemed wise to conciliate them by reforms or at least by the pretence of reforms with the avowed purpose of detaching the "moderates" from the body of their fellow-countrymen. Hence the moderates are treated with courtesy which is partly due to curiosity or kindness but still more to the hope of utilising them for English interests. Even the Shah of Persia, whom the English regarded as a barbarian, was entertained with the utmost extravagance when he visited England, not for what he did to the English but for what they hoped to get him to do. If there were no unrest in India the English would not care to conciliate any one.

Now, to come to details. The necessity of the separation of the judicial functions from the Executive has been put forward year after year by the National Congress and supported by the highest Judicial authorities and by men who from their official position would naturally carry the greatest weight in England. Still the reform is yet hanging fire. The first need of a country is to be able to protect itself against foreign enemies and the second need is efficient administration of justice. No man can live in a country where his personal liberty and property are insecure. Enlarged Councils are of little use when any man who offends the Government may be deported like Lala Lajpat Rai or confined in prison without trial like Messrs Aswini Kumar Dutt or Krishna Kumar Mitter. That the English refuse to India, what they themselves consider essential for their own liberties, cannot be attributed merely to ignorance. It is practically a denial of justice, thinks our writer.

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The same conclusion is even more evident when we consider the financial relations of India and England. When the Sultan of Turkey visited England, India had to pay the charges. The actual amount of expenditure was of no great importance but the meanness of the action could hardly be surpassed. The English have persisted in similar injustice despite the opposition both of Indians and of their own countrymen in India. In these matters, according to 'Englishman', England compares unfavourably with Russia.

It is a mistake to suppose that injustice to Indians excites any indignation in England. There could be no greater injustice than that of depriving a man of his liberty without trial and without even letting him know of what he is accused. Such a thing has hardly been known in England for many centuries. But all these principles only apply to Englishmen, not to "natives." The deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai was thoroughly popular in England. Even the *Spectator* praised the Secretary of State for his firmness. The praise was in reality not due to him at all, but to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, or rather to some unknown subordinate in the Police Department. The English people did not know, and in fact, do not know now on what grounds Lala Lajpat Rai was condemned. But the mere fact that "one of those natives" was in the prison without trial delighted them. It is clear that while the present regulation is in force, no Indian, of however high a character, can be safe. But the important thing for Indians to know is that this method of government by secret calumny meets with almost unanimous approbation in England.

Lastly, even for the purpose of acquiring English sympathy it is better for Indians to exert themselves for their own good than to make speeches in England. The sympathy of the very small minority that wishes to do justice to India will be weakened if Indians show themselves timid and inactive. If the speeches made at a Congress held in England were like those of the Congress in Madras, they would puzzle and perplex Englishmen rather than excite their sympathy. It is not easy for Englishmen to understand how Indians can speak of a "time of rejoicing" when some of their countrymen are being imprisoned without trial, others arrested on false charges and refused bail, others tortured for confession of crimes they have not committed. It is obviously useless for English members of Parliament to declaim against injustice in India in the House of Commons while Indian politicians are praising the authors of those acts at meetings of the National Congress.

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda pleads the elevation of *The Depressed Classes* in India in the December number of *The Indian Review*. It is a notable pronouncement coming, as it does, from a unique personality and will surely give a great impetus to the movement that has begun none too soon for the amelioration of these unfortunate section of the population in India.

The Gaekwar exhorts us to realize the vast importance of the questions by pointing to the fact that these untouchable classes, according to Mr. Sindhe, constitute about six crores, one-fifth of the population of India. "In the political world," observes His Highness, "a struggle has commenced for wider self-government and greater racial equality. The same principles which impel us to ask for political justice for ourselves, should actuate us to show social justice to each other By the sincerity of our efforts to uplift the depressed classes we shall be judged fit to achieve the objects of our national desire." The Gaekwar begins by condemning the evils of the caste-system in the following terms :

"The system which divides us into innumerable castes claiming to rise by minutely graduated steps from the Pariah to the Brahman is a whole tissue of injustice, splitting men, equal by nature, into divisions, high and low, based not on the natural standard of personal qualities, but on the accident of birth. The eternal struggle between caste and caste for social superiority has become a source of constant ill-feeling in these days. The human desire to help the members of one's caste also leads to nepotism—heart-burnings and consequent mutual distrust. In other words there is disunion where union is so eminently needed to enable us to take rank as a nation."

The Gaekwar then enumerates and dwells upon the difficulties that stand in the way of improving the condition of the depressed classes which, he thinks, are chiefly the disabilities from which they suffer. He remarks :

"Want of education is practically universal among them, but this cannot have been the cause of their fall, for many of the so-called higher classes of India share in the general ignorance. Unlike them, however, they are unable to attend the ordinary schools owing to the idea that it is pollution to touch them. To do so is to commit a sin offensive alike to religion and to conventional morality. Of professions as a means of livelihood these depressed classes have a very small choice. Here too the supposed pollution

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of their touch comes in their way. On every hand we find that the peculiar difficulty from which they suffer in addition to others which they share with other classes is their *untouchableness*. To improve the condition of this class then we must first get rid of this idea. The subsequent measures for their elevation will be the same as those we must use for other backward classes."

Regarding untouchableness, the Gaekwar observes that "it is peculiarly an Indian idea" in support of which two grounds are usually adduced which he disposes of in the following way :—

"The common man, who never bothers to search for the reason of a practice which is sanctioned by custom or by what he calls religion, believes it sin to touch one of the depressed classes, the explanation for which is a bath, the shaving of the face, or the handing over of a substantial fine to the Brahmins. . . . You cannot argue with him, for, his religion is beyond argument, being based on facts which—if written—are more or less inaccessible, and not open to logical attack. The more educated put forward a complicated occult theory in justification of this practice. Beyond the human form invisible to mortals floats his nebulous body, his aura, composed of the material which decided the composition of his nature, his character, his morals. When one touches another the aura of both projecting beyond their material visible bodies, interpenetrate each other. If one of the two happens to be a low man of bad morals his objectionable aura sticks to the pure aura of the other and this acting on his self, spoils his morals and character." His Highness thinks that this occult theory "argues too much," and that it requires us to avoid contact with *all* evil-minded people, *even bad Brahmins*. This, however, we never see done. On the other hand, to refuse to touch *all* the depressed classes on this ground is to assume that every single individual of these classes is an evil man with impure aura floating round him. This also does not accord with experience. Some of the most depressed of these classes have produced persons who by their saintliness earned an all-India reputation and respect even from Brahmins and other high castes. Rohidas, a shoe-maker, Chokha, Mela, a Mahar, and Sena, a barbar, are the most famous instances. Further the less educated will assert that differentiation is justifiable because the lower classes are dirty, have bad habits, eat unclean food. This is equivalent to saying that all dirty men must be avoided, and that we should not distinguish between the really good and the really bad—a proposition which the proud descendant of the old Aryan will hesitate to accept. Moreover, who will be bold enough to say finally what are good,

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or what are bad habits? Has not the food of the Hindu varied from time to time?

"One possible explanation of this practice may be race-prejudice, under which we know from history that when two races come together as conquerors and conquered, dominant and subordinate, they mix with each other and are merged if they are almost equally developed, provided there is no special religious or other barrier. Where, however, one race is highly developed and the other is barbarous there is a tendency for the superior race to put barriers round itself. The Spaniards going to Brazil and Mexico became mixed with the cultivated Indian tribes inhabiting those countries; the English and the French going amongst the wilder tribes further North kept comparatively unmixed. The Negroes and the Americans in the United States of America could not unite; for, the few instances of intermarriages were so unpopular among the dominant race that a very strong moral prohibition of such unions came into existence. The refusal of the American to any inter-mixture was deliberate, a matter of choice not of religion. Occasionally we have seen objection to intermixture based on economic reasons. This is illustrated by watchword of modern Australia and South Africa where popular leaders call for a White Australia and South Africa owing to economic competition. Such have been in history some of the possible explanations of existence of barriers between class and class due to either racial animosities, economic jealousies, times of stress and trouble, or the want of easy communications.

There seems to be no country in the civilised world, save India, where the power of religion has been used as a force to divide man from his kith and kin.

Sanctity is a peculiarly Hindu idea. It is a distorted version of mental and physical purity. The more sanctity we possess the nearer we suppose ourselves to God. It is lost by touching objects of less or no sanctity and restored by a bath or at most by a paltry unmeaning ceremony of expiation. . . . It is probably a survival of ancient undue fondness for unmeaning ceremonial and barbaric sacrifices which have remained unaffected by the reforming genius of Buddha. The polluting power of a cat is very small, of a dog is greater, but nothing equals the pollution of a Pariah. The degrading of a man below beasts is the culminating point of this fabric of sanctity.

The Gaekwar then points to the many-sided activities that must precede the elevation of these classes and observes that "on the

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social side we have to raise and educate them ; on the economic side we have to throw open the professions to them."

Regarding the religious aspect of the question the Gaekwar contends that the Varnas were not castes determined by birth, but by *Guna* and *Karma*. They were not rigid, but under pressure of circumstances ultimately seem to have stiffened into associations somewhat like the modern Trades Union.

"Such was the case in the old Vedic times. Now instead of the four plastic Varnas we find rigid castes in number several times four. They find no mention in the Vedas ; the Puranas recognize only a few of them and yet any Hindu will insist on a religious warrant for the existence of every one of them. He will also tell you that his Hinduism is based on the Vedas and Puranas ! The Hindu Sadhus and Poets of the 16th and 17th Centuries such as Ramdas, Tukaram, Tulsidas, Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and others have occasionally recorded their protest against divisions based on birth. They sang of the unity of the Supreme Soul , it is for us to apply their teaching to our every-day life in the treatment of the various embodiments of that spirit, to secure equality of opportunity to every man for self-improvement. Nowhere is there any authority for the present system under which personal merit is nothing, birth everything."

In view of the vast magnitude of the evil that is keeping one-sixth of the population of India "for ever deprived of the benefits of civilization, the solace of education and society" the Gaekwar urges both the Government and the people to rise equal to the occasion and set to mending matters in this direction in right earnest. "A Government," observes His Highness, "within easy reach of the latest thought, with unlimited moral and material resources, such as there is in India, should not remain content with simply asserting the equality of all men under the common law and maintaining order, but must sympathetically see from time to time that the different sections of its subjects are provided with ample means of progress and they are allowed and do use freely all possible facilities afforded them for bettering themselves. Many of the Indian States where they are at all alive to the true functions of Government, owing to less elevating surroundings or out of nervousness, fear to strike out a new path ; but find it expedient and less troublesome to follow the policy of *laissez faire* and to walk in the footsteps of the highest Government in India, whose declared policy is to let the social and religious matters of the people alone except where questions of grave importance are involved. When one-sixth of the people are in a chronically depressed and ignorant condition, no

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Government can afford to ignore the urgent necessity of doing what it can for their elevation."

His Highness the Gaekwar concludes this eminently useful article with the following stirring appeal and statesmanlike warning to the people of India :

"At the same time, however willing a Government may be to remedy these evils, the effectual removal of these disabilities must ultimately depend upon the good sense of society itself. We must purify our religious ideals. Religion must not be allowed to interfere with our progress individually and collectively. Millions have in the past been driven by this treatment to desert Hinduism for the Crescent and the Cross. Thousands are doing so every year. Can Hindus contemplate without alarm this annually increasing diminution in their number? Last but not least in importance, the true corrective lies in the hands of the depressed classes themselves—they must improve themselves in every way and assert their claim to just treatment without making themselves troublesome to their neighbours and without neglecting their duties, humble though they may be, but on which the health and comforts of the society depend.

"Let us as a nation take warning from history. No country which has remained under the domination of a priestly class has ever thrived. Spain to-day has sunk from her former high estate, and is but a third-rate power, her former place as a world-power having been taken by England whose progress began with the throwing off of the yoke of clericalism.

"Men are asking for a Constitution by which they may limit the powers of Princes and Governments; they neglect to limit the tyrannical and despotic sway of religion, which is crushing the life out of our people, by driving out of them all sense of personal pride, all individuality and ambition.

"At a certain period of development, when knowledge is confined to the few, men will consent to be directed not by their own reason, but by the authority of the priestly class. This time has passed. There is no room in the world of to-day for such priests as are little gods with an exaggerated idea of their own importance insisting on their infallibility, content with ignorance, contemptuous of knowledge. Priests of this kind are a drag on the wheel of progress. Instead of ministering to the people, they are their bad angels.

"Finally, we must open our eyes to the situation. While other countries regard a large population as a source of strength we deliberately refuse to use as a national asset one-sixth of our number.

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"We have heard of the Yellow Peril. We have read of the War Lord of Europe, expressing nervousness at the prospect of a United China whose enormous population commands respect. Germany itself, where the population is becoming daily larger, is making astonishing progress in influence and prosperity. France, on the other hand, seems to be losing ground. Her leaders cry out against the deliberate limitation of families which is race-suicide. Here in India we are committing the greater crime of national suicide. We are approaching a time when the world will ask of us, educated men, an account of our stewardship. How have we helped our country to take its place amongst the nations of the world. Surely it is time that we should take steps to join hands with these untouchable millions and so be able to claim justice, respect and influence as a united people."

THE OUT-CASTES OF INDIA

In the December number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* the Bishop of Madras gives an account of *the out-castes of India*. The real object of the paper is to encourage Christian Missionaries to push on a vigorous campaign of proselytism and to indicate a field in which they should direct their activities with the greatest chance of success. Whatever may be the motive of the writer, the article is replete with facts that educated India should know and ponder over.

The Bishop begins by giving a brief sketch of the history and origin of the various out-castes that exist in India :

"The out-castes of Hindu society form all over India a distinct section of the population, numbering about fifty millions. They are the descendants of various races who inhabited India before the Aryan invasion, and who were through various causes reduced to a state of slavery or serfdom. Some of them were the slaves of the ruling races before the Aryans entered India. Certainly in South India slavery was a regular institution long before the appearance of the Aryans. But some of the servile classes of the present day have in historic times fallen from a high estate and were originally ruling classes in the countries where now they are slaves. The Bhars were formerly the monarchs of the centre and east of the province of Oudh in North India, that they were the traditional fort-builders to whom all ruins are popularly assigned, and that they were reduced to slavery by a Mahomedan ruler of Jaunpur. The Gaulis are

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ancient ruling races of the Central Provinces, the Ahoms of Assam, and the Gonds, Chandelas and Bundelas of Bundelkund are other instances of crushed races. In centres of the Aryan civilisation, the aboriginal peoples have been pounded down in the mortar of Hinduism into the low castes and out-castes, on which the labour system of India rests.

The same is true of the Pareiyars of South India. There is a great deal of evidence to show that originally they were the ruling race in the Tamil country. They had their own priests, the Valluvas, who were priests to the Pallava Kings in what are now the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, before the advent of the Brahmins. The greatest poets among the Tamil people, the weaver-poet Tiruvalluvar and the poetess Avvaiyar, who wrote about the ninth century A.D., before the Brahmins had secured a dominant influence in the extreme south of India, both belong to the Pareiyar race ; and even to this day there is a familiar saying all over the Tamil country, which literally means 'Pareiyar the elder brother of the Brahman.' Marshman, in his *History of India* (vol. i. p. 21), says : 'A Tamil literature existed before the introduction of Brahmanism, and some of the best authors in that language were of the tribe now stigmatised as Pareiyars, which incontestably proves that the pareiyars were . . . a highly cultivated people, who were reduced to subjection and degraded by the triumphant Brahmins.'

The writer then refers to the various divisions of the out-castes into agricultural labourers, leather-workers, weavers, scavengers and sweepers and to their treatment by the Brahmins and other high castes of India as degraded and polluted and offers thanks to the British Government who have "greatly changed for the better the legal position of the out-castes." Under the present rule the outcaste has become "legally a free man, with the same rights in the eye of the law as a Brahman or as his Sudra master." The writer mentions some curious customs in vogue in some parts of South India where 'if an out-caste meets a Brahman or any high-caste man on the road, he is compelled by custom to cry 'unclean, unclean !' and to step off the road lest his presence should pollute the high-caste man as he passes by."

Although the writer is glad to say that "a few leaders of the National movement have frankly recognised the fact that the position of the out-castes is a disgrace to Hindu Society, and a fatal obstacle to social progress" he hastens to re-iterate that the out-caste's "one hope of redemption from oppression, poverty, ignorance, and contempt lies in India being governed, not in accordance with Indian

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ideas, . . . but in accordance with English ideas and by English officials and . . . those who propose to abolish, or seriously to weaken, the influence of the British officials are trying to rivet more firmly upon the necks of this large mass of poor and helpless people a heavy yoke of bondage." Yes, that is all true but will the Bishop of Madras care to reflect upon the policy of a Christian Government in regard to the treatment of brown and black colour in the South African Colonies of Great Britain? Christianity is impotent while its votaries rush to worship the god of wealth and justice is meted out by the Christian rulers of India so far as is consistent with this worship.

The writer then refers to the many influences now at work to improve the lot of the outcastes and mentions various fields for their employment to earn their livelihood afforded by the expansion of industries, the growth of railways and the improved means of communication to other countries facilitating constant migration to Natal and even to British Guiana.

"But the most potent influence of all," the writer considers, "in the elevation of the outcastes is, and will be increasingly in the future, their conversion to Christianity. In many parts of India, and especially in South India, large mass movements towards Christianity have been taking place among the out-castes during the last forty years, and every year these movements gather strength. In the Telugu country about 250,000 out-castes have become Christians during the last forty years, and in the native State of Travancore about 100,000. In the North of India the movements are only just beginning, because it is only within the last few years that the attention of the various missionary societies has been drawn to their importance. But it is hardly rash to prophesy that within the next fifty years some 30,000,000 or more of the out-castes throughout India will be gathered into the Christian Church; and if this prophecy is fulfilled, a social revolution will take place in every village, and a new force will arise in Indian politics and Indian religion.

The robust optimism of our Bishop leads him to make the following amusing forecast of a Christian India with which he concludes his article: "when the whole 30,000,000 of the out-castes are brought under the elevating influences of the Christian church, and the conversion of the outcastes is the first step towards the conversion of the Sudras, who form the great mass of the village population they will certainly become a new force in Indian society.

In the first place, they will be a new force in politics. Fifty

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million Christians will be a far greater power in the land than the sixty million Mahomedans. They will be better educated, more progressive, and even more homogeneous and united ; and they will be still more loyal to the British Government. The out-castes have no reason to trust or love the classes that have despised and oppressed them for so many centuries : on the other hand, they will have abundant reason to trust and support the Government under whose sheltering *aegis* they have been able to shake off their chains.

In the second place, they will be a valuable asset from a military point of view. The experience of the past has shown that even under existing conditions the Pareiyars of South India make admirable soldiers. When large masses of them are converted to Christianity, and raised in the social scale, they will furnish a fresh supply of recruits to the Indian Army that will be of the greatest value in the years to come.

And, in the third place, they will be a great force in the religious development of India. Hitherto religion in India has been mainly identified with class privilege and the oppression of the poor, and for that reason it has formed a fatal barrier to social progress. The admission of the Pareiyars to the Christian Church will deal a powerful blow to this false ideal of religion, and teach the people of India, as nothing else could teach them, the true meaning of the Fatherhood of God.

KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Dvijadas Datta contributes a very illuminating article on the above subject to the January number of the *Modern Review*. The most interesting feature about the article is that the writer makes no statement which is not borne out by copious citations of chapter and verse from the ancient Shastras of India. Mr. Dutt begins by demurring to the oft-repeated charge that the ancient Hindu King was a "self-willed, irresponsible autocrat and a tyrant whom a servile, ignorant and superstitious people looked upon as the incarnation of the Gods.....whose wild vagaries and excesses it would be a sacrilege to check or control." Against this charge the writer quotes the authority of Manu :

"Like Indra, the sky-god, showering rain on the earth during the four rainy months of the year, should the king shower blessings, Indra-like, over his kingdom. Like Aditya—the sun-god, sucking up moisture from the earth, during the eight dry months,—should the

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king always realise taxes from his kingdom,—therein imitating the sun-god. Like Maruta—the wind-god pervading all things, should the king by his agents collect information of all kinds—thus imitating the wind-god. Like Yama—the death-god laying his hands, when the hour arrives, on friends and foes alike, should the king keep under control all his subjects, thus imitating the Death-god. Like Varuna—(once the highest god, but later reduced to the water-god with a net, वृत्तः)—holding all things in his net, should the king keep the wicked ones in check—thus imitating Varuna. Just as the sight of the full moon fills men with delight, so should the sight of the king fill his subjects with delight, therein he would imitate the moon-god. In dealing with wicked deeds, the king should always show his power and indignation,—punishing adequately the evil-doers even among his own chieftains, therein imitating the Fire-god"—(Manu IX, 304 to 310.)

A somewhat similar idea as to the inner meaning of the doctrine of royal incarnation is hinted in the Ramayan :—"The king by setting nobler examples of beneficence, excels in merit the gods Yama, Vaisravana (wealth-god), Indra, and the mighty Varuna" † (35—ch. 67—Ayodhya). "It thus appears," observes Mr. Dutt, "that in calling the king an eight-fold incarnation of the gods the poet law-giver wishes to idealize into the form of an allegory, the old Hindu standard of the rights and duties of kingship."

Mr. Dutt then proceeds on to show that apart from the desire to idealize, in the form of an allegory, their standard of the rights and duties of true kingship, our shastras wished to imply an important distinction "between the king as a human *person*—the *locum tenans*, and *kingship* or the official centre of the state." The writer proves it by quoting Manu again :

"When anarchy prevailed in the world, and men fled in terror in all directions, the lord God for their protections, created the king—taking eternal parts from the gods—Indra, Vayu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuna, Moon, and the Wealth-God. For his guidance, God first created Danda or justice symbolised in the royal sceptre—the spirit of righteousness born of the Divine Self, instinct with Divine fire,—the support of all that is. From fear of Him (Danda), all things, animate or inanimate, become fit objects of enjoyment, and never forsake their own properties. Him (Danda) should the king direct against all evil-doers—according to their deserts, duly weighing in each case the time and place, and their power and knowledge. He (Danda) is the king, He is the Person, the Guide and the Ruler, and He is the Regulator of the duties of the four orders of men

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(asramas). Danda rules over and protects all created beings, Danda keeps awake when all else is sleep. The wise know Danda to be righteousness itself. Danda upheld with due care and consideration brings joy and happiness to all the king's subjects, but upheld without care and consideration brings destruction all round. "Danda is a mighty power difficult for ill-trained minds to apply, and, if divorced from right and duty, will turn against and destroy the king himself and all his friends." (Manu VII, 3 to 28). "Notice," observes Mr. Dutt, "Danda is said to be a mighty power difficult for ill-trained minds to apply"—and *Manu* prescribes a carefully elaborated course of training for the king, in which is also included a course of instruction in agriculture (*varta*). Says *Manu*, "He (the king) should study the three *Vedas* with Vedic scholars and receive instruction in the ancient science of finances and economics called *Dandaniti* or *Arthashastra*, also metaphysics and the science of Self (*Brahmavidya*) ; and from experts, he should learn farming, trade and cattle-rearing (*varta*). Notice also the ambiguous use of the name *king* (called *Raja* in one case and *nripa* in the other)—applied indiscriminately in one case to the Divine emanation or Danda the King of kings, and also the human *locum tenans* called *nripa* whom Danda is said to destroy if he turns wicked." The passages we have cited should leave no doubt that *Manu* extols as a divine incarnation the *Danda* or that impersonal ideal of Divine Justice and beneficence in men's dealings—symbolised in the royal sceptre and brought into a focus as it were in the office of kingship as the great state centre of authority. It is an everlasting ideal, an emanation from God, the constant quantity—manifest for the time being in the endless succession of the variable factors—the crowned heads of frail mortals. You might call Hindu kingship a type of theocracy—but decidedly more rational—though rather metaphysical—than the old Jewish. The human person called king is like the electrical wire—plain copper wire carrying the electrical current of justice and power (Danda) emanating from God, the great battery of all goodness and strength. The merit lies not in the wire, but in the current—not in the human king, but in the Divine *Danda* incarnate in the king. The moment the connection with the battery ceases, the current ceases, and the useless piece of wire is left behind. When the king turns wicked, the Divine spirit or Danda forsakes him, leaving only a frail mortal behind. The true king as the organ of the Divine spirit, 'can do no wrong,' for it is but another way of saying that God can do no wrong.

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The true king, according to Manu's theory, therefore, being the chosen organ of the Divine Spirit of Justice and Right, it follows that the king can no more do wrong without forfeiting his kingship, than God can do wrong without forfeiting his God-head. It would be a verbal contradiction. Like any of his subjects, Manu would hold the king personally responsible for all the wrong he did, and provides for his punishment, by laying down that the king is to sentence himself to a fine a thousand times greater than the fine that an ordinary criminal has to pay for a similar offence (Manu VIII, 336.) *Manu* predicts a similar fate to those in advanced European countries in regard to the kings of ancient India, when found incorrigibly wicked or oppressive. They are said to forfeit their kingship and perish with their supporters :—"The thoughtless king," says the poet law-giver, "who through folly and recklessness oppresses his subjects, forfeits his kingdom, and perishes, he and his friends" (Manu VII, 111).

Coming to the days of the great epics, Mr. Dutt tries to show the sort of relation that existed in ancient India between the king and the People : the supreme power in all important questions of state, was vested in the people, who could elect their rulers. The disputed succession to the throne of Hastinapur on the death of king Pandu forms the pivot on which turns the whole story of the Mahabharata. If you trace the motive of the evil-minded Duryodhana in forming the diabolical plan of burning alive his cousins—the Pandavas you will see that it was his fear that the people would elect Yudhishtira as king and not himself. Says the Mahabharata : "Then the people finding the sons of Pandu highly accomplished, talked about their good qualities in their congregations. In their yards and assemblies, they met to discuss the question of successions in connection with the eldest son of Pandu who had arrived. (They said) the blind, mind-eyed Dhritarashtra did not get the throne before, how can he get it now ? Bhism, the truth-loving, high-souled son of Santanu, having declined the throne before, will also decline to accept it now. We will now crown as king the eldest son of Pandu who though young in years, possess the wisdom of age, and understands truth and mercy. He will know his duty, and will honour and provide every comfort for Bhism, Santanu's son, and also for Dhritarashtra and his sons. The evil-minded Duryodhana hearing the people talk thus, and seeing them attached to Judhishtira pined away in sorrow" (4—10—ch. 152—Adi-Sanbhova). Duryodhana, to forestal his rival and put him out of the way altogether, took into his confidence

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the Macchiavelli of the age—Kanika and secretly formed the diabolical plot of the *Jatugriha daha* to burn alive the Pandavas and their mother, making the devilish Purochana his servile agent for the execution of the plan."

"These illustrations from ancient Indian history conclusively prove for certain that the form of government in ancient India was popular, and not despotic, that before England had her "folk-moot," India had her people's 'Sabha' or Assembly to decide important questions of state. We presume both countries inherited their popular form of Government from their common Aryan ancestors. It was the Norman conquest in England which so upset the political equilibrium in that country that it took Englishmen many centuries of hard struggle to recover her lost thread of political growth, and bring her popular form of government into perfection. A series of revolutions mightier than the Norman conquest have swept over India—throwing out of joint the entire body politic. The example of England is a beacon light to us, and a guarantee that India too, if we do our duty faithfully—shall recover her 'lost chord'—of a harmonious distribution of rights and duties among the different members of the body politic, which in times past made famines almost an impossibility. "Heart within, and God overhead."

ELEMENTS OF INDIAN NATIONALITY

In view of the "attempt just made by the Government of India to extend the power and scope of representation to the various communities of India ? Mr. P. Ramanadhan analyses the different *Elements of Indian Nationality* and discusses ways and means to their ultimate fusion into one nation in the December number of the *Standard Magazine*.

Of these component elements of Indian Nationality the writer thinks that "the number and influence of the Indian Christians and Parsees are so small " that their interests may be safeguarded by "special consideration and, if possible, some degree of indulgence in their favour, shown by the rest of the majority." Regarding the European element the writer considers its mixture in the Indian Nationality as "somewhat problematic and its ultimate fusion is attended with some difficulties, but its inclusion at present is very necessary."

"It is this European element," goes on the writer, "that has

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been holding all the rest of the communities together and that is welding the races more and more into one nationality. Its functions are more like the chemical substances whose aid is resorted to bring about the chemical union of two or more other substances which could not otherwise unite. The European element is naturally the strongest of all and it must necessarily be so. It holds itself higher than others and wields large powers. That too is necessary. It enjoys rights which are at present denied to others. That also has its effect in awakening the other people to a sense of defect and unequal treatment. Nations more broken up than the Indians have been brought together by a sense of common wrong and unequal treatment. The unequal treatment of the subject races is a strong welding force. If, on the other hand, attempts are made to treat all alike and to give the same rights and privileges to all without preference of race, or religion, then even the European element will be as legitimate a factor in the Indian Nationality as the Hindu or the Mahomedan."

Besides these elements, however, Mr. P. Ramanadhan thinks that in talking of the Indian nation "we have principally to consider the two large sections of the Hindus and Mahomedans . . . The Hindus form the largest and strongest race, and the Moslems come next in importance. It is a mistake to regard them as forming a minority or having totally different aims and interests. Eighty per cent of the Indian Moslem population are drawn from the great Hindu stock and converted to Mahomedanism. In social life, aims and pursuits the two religionists are alike. Even during the Moghul sovereignty the two races perfectly understood each other and formed one nation."

Mr. P. Ramanadhan proves the hollowness of the contentions of those who regard it impossible for the heterogenous races and creeds of India ever to fuse into one nation by citing examples from European history, and he observes : "neither religious nor racial peculiarities stand in the way of National unity, if there is a strong political inducement for united action. The political inducements are many and varied. In some places they are merely geographical. In others they arise out of contention against a common enemy. In others they are due to the advantages of confederacy. In Switzerland we see people of a German race and language, and people of the French race and language, though of quite different religious sentiments and tendencies, form one nation, as compact as any other for national purposes. There is the example of Alsace which was wrested out of

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Germany and which, while still speaking the German language, is thoroughly French in sentiment of nationality. The United States of America offer a typical example of this principle. There are also examples showing a different principle—viz., nations do not unite under very dissimilar and unfavourable circumstances. Austria could not be brought under the Hapsburg dynasty. The Poles would not subordinate their interests to the German, Hungarian and Russian domination. The Greeks and the Balkans and the Bulgarians would not submit to the Turkish yoke. The French Canadians are to this day a distinct nation. So if the Hindus attempt to keep the Mahomedans or if the Mahomedans keep the Hindus, or the Europeans keep both, under undue subjection or unfair treatment, the growth of a common nationality would be retarded. It will lead to the ascendancy of the strongest and thus to perpetual struggle. So the only condition under which the various peoples in India could be brought together under one nationality appears to be to foster the growth of free institutions and promote equality of rights and privileges. The clamour for a distinct nationality of India would cease when equal treatment and equal rights are guaranteed to those people as to the European races. But it is futile to bring together people with wide differences, unequal rights and divergent aims. There is no example of any country which has produced a homogeneous nation or State under those conditions."

Mr. Ramanadhan strikes at the right chord of a composite and united Indian Nationality in his concluding observations on the subject :—

"The elements of Indian nationality, including the European, the Mahomedan and Hindu interests, must constantly tend towards absolute equality. That seems to be the only condition under which real unity and co-operation can be assured. Union in government only becomes practicable and enduring when there is unity of *feeling* and *purpose* in its objects. Otherwise nothing but conflict and indifference will arise.....Although the Mahomedans so far stood aloof and fought for special rights, yet they did not, and will never, claim that they should possess superior rights to the Hindus. Their fear, rightly or wrongly entertained, is that they will have far less benefit than the Hindus. But they are sure to be satisfied with equality of rights. The only doubt is in the case of Europeans, who are so long used to special indulgence, and whose position will probably require the same.....The Mahomedans wanted to have a good start over the Hindus,

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because they form a minority ; and the European element wants special rights because it is the ruling nation. There is no doubt that socially, intellectually and materially the European element in India is in an advantageous position. The Hindus and other native elements are backward and even inferior. But the question of equal right and equal treatment is essential for the future peace and contentment of India. It is perhaps the only condition which will make the Indian nationality include the European element. It is the scrupulous adherence to the principle of equal subjects of the king that will bring complete satisfaction to all the parties and professions of India. And it is the conscious or unconscious violence that is offered to this principle that works insidiously and creates troubles. The new era in India has been opened under happy auguries. All the different elements of the population are represented in a Council which is to co-operate and lead to the more acceptable form of Government of the many millions of Indians. The old ideal of Government was the contentment and happiness of the governed. The advanced ideal is to create an organised State composed of an efficient and progressive people. Out of the conflicting and incoherent elements of Indian population a new nationality has taken its birth and it is to receive nourishment and grow under the kind care of the British power. Though the discordant elements are yet there, the tendency is to unite for a common purpose. A sleeping mass of large population has been roused and it shows signs of some vitality. Millions and millions of human units, like the innumerable cells or atoms of an organism, are there ready to dispose themselves according to their innate principle and environments. The process is not like the transition from one species to another species or from a nebulous state to one of definite form. It is rather like the resuscitation of an asphyxiated or temporarily arrested life. It may well give rise to surprising phenomena sometimes. With sympathy and a little care the elements of the new Indian nationality will soon unite and under new environments build up a form as homogeneous as any other. Both history and instinct should teach us the conditions and prospects of such unity, and, provided that the people are sensible of their duty and their place in the vast scheme of creation, there is little to obstruct the general course of progress."

THE INDIAN UNREST

Reviewing Mr. Bruce's suppressed novel entitled "A Native wife" in the *Westminster Review* of December last, Mr. Arthur Glyn Leonard has some very apposite observations to make on the subject of Indian unrest :—

"Has not history over and over again proved," ask Mr. Leonard, "that anarchy and rebellion have invariably been the results of repression, persecution, and violence. Is it not a recognised axiom that violence naturally engenders violence, just as peaceful methods induce peace and prosperity? It is well known that in a material sense, the Government of India by Great Britain is all that could be desired. No other country in the world would have done for its people what she has done. But admitting all this without reserve, there certainly is room for improvement, from a moral aspect. Waiving these issues as outside our present purpose, let us take a glance at one or two of the principal features which bear on this all important matter. Looking at it just for a moment from a negative standpoint, "it is a very safe rule in politics," as Justin Mc Carthy observes, "to assume that no population is ever disturbed by wholly imaginary grievances. In such cases, unquestionably where there is smoke there is fire. Man is by far too lazy an animal to trouble himself much with agitation about purely unreal and non-existing wrongs." The people of India, taken in the mass, are most indubitably law-abiding and peaceful citizens. Thrifty enough, in their own way, but living as they do in a hot and enervating climate, they are not, as a whole, either over active or energetic. Certainly not a people who would take the trouble or go out of their way, to agitate or do violence for the mere love of it. Admitting that there is more intrigue and dissimulation in India, especially among the Bengalees, than there is in Great Britain, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that even in the very strongholds of civilisation, there is far too much cant and political insincerity. These are the Western counterparts of Eastern intrigue and dissimulation.

After making these general observations, Mr. Leonard proceeds to describe the etiology not of the bomb but of the present wave of unrest which is passing through India :—"The statesman and the administrator must always bear in mind that secret associations or combinations of men are invariably the result of prosecutions, either for seditious speaking, or writing. History is constantly demonstrating in our own time, and before our very faces (as witness the history of Ireland in the sixties and seventies), that intolerance and

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severity in reality do more to foment and nourish an opposing movement, than conciliatory and comprehensive measures. It has proved, too, that if you coerce the agitator, he at once becomes a martyr. Obviously, therefore, that scheme of government embraces and implies coercion, which cannot be carried out without a resort to it. And this, unfortunately, has been the case in India, as *not so many years ago* it was in Ireland.

" But legislation and administration apart, the moral side of our government, such as it is, has been responsible to a much greater degree even for this very unrest.....In plain English, our absolute mis-education of the natives, amounting, as it practically does, to denationalisation, and opposed as it is, to all ethnic conditions and scientific common sense principles, has reacted on ourselves. Reacted in such a manner as to make for itself a hothead of mental misfits and misconceptions, out of which, as by an unnatural forcing process, sedition and anarchy have evolved.

" There are, of course, other untoward and aggravating causes which act as affluents to the main stream. Of these, but one deserves attention, as being of a most serious, if not vital, character. This is the generally cold and severe, almost harsh, attitude of officials towards the natives. In plain English, the utter unsociability and want of sympathy on their part. This attitude, let me remark in passing, is one that is not peculiar to Indian officialism, but is the widespread heritage of English officials all the world over, especially when brought into contact with races outside their own pale and colour.....The personal element is wanting. These modern officials are not the men their forbears were. Men like Sir John Malcolm, Boy Malcolm, as he was called even when quite elderly and senior—do not exist now-a-days. Men such as he were not afraid to sympathise, and even, when necessary, to associate with the natives. To be congenial required no effort on their part. It came to them naturally and, far from retarding, advanced the common cause of rulers and ruled. But the modern official with his sealing wax, starch, and red tape, fearing to compromise himself, assumes the taciturnity of a tin god, and stands aloof.....Our ignorance is due to our want of sympathy with those who are not of our own flesh and blood. It is the splendid isolation of our intense and exclusive insularity which makes us what we are—strong and just to rule, but social tortoises, wrapped up in the shell back of forest-bound reserve ".

That puts the whole case in a nutshell.

FRENCH VIEWS ON THE AWAKENING IN INDIA

On the 8th of May, 1909, was given before a large and distinguished gathering in the magnificent hall of the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes Sociales* in Paris, under the presidency of M. Gabriel Seailles, Professor in the Sorbonne of Paris, the first of the four lectures organised by the Section of Foreign and Colonial affairs of the Republican League of National Action. The lecturer was M. Ernest Piriou, Professor of the Lycee of Vendome, and the subject of his discourse, the National Movement in India.

In opening the meeting the President compared the aims and aspirations of ancient India with those of New India in the following terms :—

"India appears to us, first of all, as the privileged land of higher speculations and great mystical dreams. She looks down upon everything which strongly moves us with passion—*s. e.*, science and action or performance. She sincerely holds the view that life is but a bad dream. Her ideal is to reduce all wants, to weaken the body, and to lull the soul to sleep. Under the oppression of formidable Nature, she thinks not of revolting against her (Nature), or of comprehending her with a view to her subjugation. She wishes only to retire by causing the disappearance of the illusion of this world, which is perceptible to the senses, by means of rooting out all desires which stir and create it. The example of her millions, of her hundreds of millions, of enslaved men shows us that it is really dangerous and formidable for a people to take very seriously and to realise fully, through its *élite*, the religious ideal, the ideal of renunciation, sacrifice, and detachment from things mundane, which latter should be kept in their proper position and used only to moderate the powerful passions of an overflowing life. But recent symptoms appear to point out that owing to the rude contact with the foreigner, India is tired of her passivity and her resignation, that she is emerging out of her venerable torpor, and that she aspires less to re-enter in the heart of Bramha and to lose herself in the Eentral, than to live in the time and to give herself an actual existence by rising to the consciousness of a national life."

The lecturer then proceeded to enumerate all attempts hitherto made by the anarchists in Bengal against the lives of officials in India and in this connection alluded to the following interesting remark made by the *Pioneer* on 28th August, 1906, apropos of a Russian terrorist outrage :—"the bomb is the only method of fighting left to a people who are at war with despotic

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"rulers" and the lecturer pertinently asks "if the bomb, a useful and legitimate weapon against the autocracy of the Tzars, did not then appear to some Indian youths as the weapon indicated and justified by the *Pioneer* against the despotism of a "white bureaucracy."

M. Piriou, however, rightly observes that "all India is not terrorist, the bomb is the weapon of a very small minority, of exasperated and disappointed men." Apart from the question of anarchism the lecturer points out to a growing tendency of a revolutionary nature in the ambition of young India : "An active propaganda which is certainly difficult to follow and seize, in favour of self-government, has filtered through beds believed to be impervious, permeated through the water-tight compartments of caste, penetrated into the most refractory mediums, even down to the village. But those whose duty it was to see were the most blind, shaking their heads in helplessness. The people, they assert, are pacific, conservative, and the opposite of revolutionary. And it is true ; but even sheep are sometimes put into rage and fury, and the pacific have come to calm and sudden decisions which raise misgivings. I visited India in 1900-1901 on the morrow of a frightful famine. The silence was funeral, and to-day I ask myself how to this dead calm has succeeded a violent tempest."

With these observations on the revolution of ideas in politics in India M. Piriou goes on to dwell on the religion of India and he characterises the Indians as "essentially religious," "adoration like contemplation" being a "necessity of his nature." On the religion of the Hindus he observes :

"The Hindu is not a polytheist ; he is a pantheist ; and when he reaches the end of his idea, he is a monist or even a nihilist. The Hindu pantheon is always open, and whatever be the god, old or new, who knocks at the door, the Brahmin finds for him a shrine or a niche. For the Brahmin has had this idea of genius, that every one gets the religion which he merits, and that there are as many legitimate cults as the natures of spirits. The true Hindu is as little exclusive as possible.

"Therefore, the greatest liberty of beliefs, on one condition—that the supremacy of the Brahmin should be recognised, and that no one might dispense with his sacramental formulas. All the acts of the individual or social life necessitate his presence, and the consecration of the formulas prescribed by ritual, which he generally recites without understanding, which no one certainly understands, but before which all bow down superstitiously."

The lecturer, however, admits the gradual break-up of the

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Brahmin monopoly but points to the caste system and the organization of the family life as being the "two greatest obstacles to any national movement." On the former he observes : "The castes are inflexible. There are about 4,000 of them. They form so many closed compartments, into which one might enter only by birth, and from which one might come out only by death or irrevocable ex-communication. The caste defends itself by a tenacious energy against all innovations." On the latter, the lecturer observes :

"Much more extended than our French family, it reunites together, under the same roof and in a patriarchal community, all those whose duty it is to offer the traditional worship to the ancestors. The worship of ancestors, filial piety, obedience and respect for the elders, these are the cardinal virtues of those little societies, which are stamped with the domination of the past over the present. A minimum of wants and services, no idea of material comfort and refinement ; a very little prestige for riches. And the most characteristic product of this society is the *Yogi* or the ascetic. The way to succeed in India is to renounce everything—caste, family, and the most essential wants—a way of succeeding the least mercenary. The ladder of values is overturned. All energy is directed towards suppressing life. The *Yogi* thus imagines that by force of contemplation and intensity of will-power, the forces of Nature would go to him to take his orders. This paradoxical and questionable ideal, scarcely distinguished from downright sorcery, into which ancient India had misled herself, has for a long time used her strength and prevented her from knowing the true science and the power of man."

M. Piriou thereupon proceeds to describe the organization of Indian village life :

"They are collectivist townships, autonomous and self-sufficient, composed of a nucleus of small rural proprietorships which have at their orders a complete *corps* of artisans and servants, . . . hives hermetically closed to all outside influences, . . . disengaged intact from the sand or the lava, organisms which had not varied for three thousand years. Yes, one has the impression which is without doubt excessive ; that the life is arrested and half ankylosed, that these little societies have no history, no more than a society of vegetables, or a bee-hive, that change for them is an incomprehensible and hostile thing, that the desire for perfection and progress which drives us into different paths, many of which are blind alleys, and a few have openings, does not even touch these semi-conscious societies which fluctuate between dream and sleep."

As another very serious obstacle in the realization of the ideal of

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an Indian nationality, the lecturer refers to "so many different religions, races, tribes, nationalities, languages composing India," and observes :

"Mussalmans . . . are jealous of the Hindus and curry favour with the Government. The latter is in its element in cherishing and polishing these hostilities, without exasperating them, by pushing the former against the latter, and by using them against each other. The Musselman opposition is the best card the British hold in their hands."

After thus detailing all the "essential data of a very complex situation" and "all the forces of conservation . . . and disintegration" that have maintained India in her long immobility, the lecturer distinctly says that "all this relates to the India of yesterday and no longer represent the India of to-day."

He cannot even suppose "that India would be able to remain isolated and obstinately closed to the great nationalist movement which is sweeping the whole of Asia. The new conditions of life, the rapidity of communications, the railway, the post, the telegraph and the general development and civilization, work for reconciliation and union in India as elsewhere. Whether she wished it or not, India could not remain shut in, in her splendid dream. So true it is that Buddha is spreading his congealed limbs, and lifting his eye-lids, and that the Yogs have become to-day the missionaries of the nationalist propaganda in the name of the Bhagwat Gita. The women are quitting the Zenana in order to associate themselves with patriotic manifestations. But better still than the pan-Asiatic outburst and the development of general civilization is the presence of an administration and a foreign exploitation which has made and is making every day the union of India against herself."

M. Piriou then dwells at length upon the following political and economic factors that are steadily welding the different races and creeds of India into one compact nationality :

"Since a century and a half India is governed by a foreign bureaucracy, unassimilable, and as if encamped in a conquered country ; since a century and a half she is put under regulated authority by a mercantile and industrial people, who have deliberately ruined the Indian industries for the profit of their commerce. Since fifty years the Brahmins have received from a Western democracy a very careful literary education, which upsets their traditional ideas and makes of them, sometimes auxiliaries, but very often dangerous adversaries."

"India has perceived," continues M. Piriou, "that her vaunted Railway system has only helped to ruin her, because

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it was established only for the benefit of the merchants and strategists of the dominant class. The Public Budget which crushes with its heavy weight the slender purse of the cultivator is abandoned to so many wanton wastes, military follies and the megalomanias of her grand pro-consuls.....The magic purse—the Indian budget.....has helped all and sundry. It has paid for the war in Burma, in Afghanistan, in Tibet and in China in 1900 ; in part the wars in Abyssinia and the Transvaal ; it has paid the British embassies and consulates in Asia. It squares the emoluments of the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta and his pastors."

The system of education as shaped practically by Lord Dalhousie and which obtains in India even to this day, is, according to the lecturer, "too literary and theoretic and totally neglects technical or industrial and primary education and a knowledge of the philosophy and literature of the Indians themselves".

All these common causes of grievances, the lecturer holds, are gradually unifying the multifarious Indian races and creeds and have operated to make the present political situation of India a question of such immense complexity.

Turning to Lord Curzon's viceroyalty, M. Piriou observes : "Lord Curzon left India, provoking distrust, accumulating misunderstanding and multiplying rancour, when the maladroit division of Bengal into two provinces on the 16th October, 1905, let loose the tempest. The Partition of Bengal was a deep and penetrating wound to the patriotic sentiment of Bengal devised to push the Hindus and Mussulmans against each other, for the profit of a third party." A unique occasion was soon seized by the leaders of the people "to group together and organise all the rancours which ran, all the distrusts which spied, and all the discontents which slept in the popular heart. Before, parliamentary agitation touched only the Europeanised *elite* ; now old-fashioned Hindus, privileged Brahmins, merchants, landlords, villagers and coolies and even rajahs protested almost unanimously The agitation has not ended with mere sentimental manifestations. It is translated into an active manner by the boycott of British merchandise and the preference given to indigenous products one hundred and sixty-seven meetings, held in less than fifteen days and at which assisted from 600 to 700,000 persons, proclaimed the boycott. In most parts of India people followed the lead of Bengal. . . . No campaign, they assert, was ever more justified. The Anglo-Indian regime has been mortal to the indigenous industries. They are in a condition of legitimate defence. It is necessary that they should protect their own

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at whatever cost. Every one rallied to the campaign and public opinion was excited to an inconceivable degree."

With this exhaustive diagnosis of the present crisis in India which he describes as the gravest since the Sepoy rising of 1857, M. Pirion concludes this eminently interesting and informing discourse with the following notable words of warning to the powers that be in India :—

" If the British power does not succeed in bringing together the rulers and the ruled in cordial co-operation, if it continues to drain the miserable sowings of the rayat for the benefit of British stock-holders and manufacturers, if it does not give the Indians primary education, and above all, practical, professional and technical education, which the people need for exploring and exploiting the resources of their country, and lastly, if they are persuaded that the " native " is resolved to be no longer a beast of burden, or a tool which they can use and then throw away, then the British domination will be very fragile. The tall oak does not see the ant-hill whose denizens slowly nibble away at its roots."

ARTICLES

LEGISLATION AND LEGISLATURE IN INDIA III

EXTENT OF AUTHORITY OF THE COUNCILS

(1) *The Supreme Council.* The nature of the legislative powers conferred on the East India Company by charters and Acts prior of 1773 have been already dealt with. The Regulating Act empowered the Governor-General in Council "to make and issue such rules, ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil government of the United Company's settlement at Fort William and other factories and places subordinate thereto as shall be deemed just and reasonable.....and to impose reasonable fines and forfeitures for the breach and non-observance thereof."

There was only one general limitation to these powers and two special limitations. The general limitation was that such rules, ordinances and regulations were not to be repugnant to the laws of the nation." These laws were to have no force unless only registered in the Supreme Court and the power was reserved to the King to veto any law.

The period which followed was one prolonged struggle between the executive Government and the Supreme Court which pointed out flaws in the law which were amended in 1781. The act of 1781 authorised the Governor-General in Council to frame regulations for the Provincial Courts and Councils without the necessity of registering them in the Supreme Court. The power thus given to the Council w s limited to regulating the Mofussil Courts and Councils and n respect of other legislation the necessity imposed by the Regulating Act of registering the regulations in the Supreme Court continued. But under this authority most of the important regulations of the Bengal Code were passed without registration in the Supreme Council. These Regulations were recognised by Parliament by an act in 1797 which provided that these Regulations should be printed and circulated.

In 1813 the powers of the legislature were extended by the Charter Act and the Governor-General in Council was empowered to impose duties and taxes in the town of Calcutta and to frame regulations for that purpose. The Act further extended the operation of these regulations to all persons proceeding to the

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Company's jurisdiction in Bengal, empowered the Government to make articles of war and to impose customs and other duties in respect of goods in the Presidencies. Besides these powers general powers of altering the revenue and imposing new taxes are tacitly recognised in Acts of Parliament. The Regulations passed under the authority of this Act were to be annually laid before Parliament. An express reservation was also made in the Act for the undoubted sovereignty of Great Britain in the territorial acquisitions of the Company and this was a general limitation of the Company's legislative powers.

By the act of 1833 which made the Governor-General in Council the sole legislative authority in India, the powers were clearly set forth and they embraced the power "to make laws and regulations for repealing, amending or altering any laws or regulations in force or hereafter to be in force in the said territories or any part thereof" (ii) "to make laws and regulations for all persons whether British or Native, foreigners or others and for all courts of Justice whether established by his Majesty's Charter or otherwise and the jurisdiction thereof and for all places and things whatsoever within and throughout the whole and every part of the said territories and for all servants of the said Company."

Thus for the first time general powers for legislation for British India was granted to the Council and the Council made altogether independent of the Supreme Court. The limitations on these sweeping powers were that the regulations could not affect (1) the provisions of (a) this Act or (b) the mutiny Act or (c) any other Act of Parliament anywise affecting the Company, their territories or inhabitants thereof (2) the prerogative of the crown (3) the constitution or rights of the company or any part of the unwritten laws or constitution of the United Kingdom "whereon may depend in any degree the allegiance of any person to the Crown over any part of the said territories."

The legislature was further not empowered to authorise any Court of Justice to sentence a European British subject to death without the previous sanction of the Court of Directors.

General powers were also reserved to Parliament to legislate for India and to control and supervise all proceedings and Acts of the Governor General in Council and to amend or repeal any law made by him.

The laws passed by the Council were henceforth called Acts and not Regulations as they were heretofore called. This change though ostensibly a slight one involves an important change of

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principle. Hitherto the Legislative Councils of India would legislate only as delegates of the Parliament of England but under the law of 1833 the Indian Council was organised into an independent legislature, subject to revision by the Parliament and to the veto of the Crown.

The legislative powers given to the Council by the Act of 1861 were not essentially different from those under the Act of 1833. But in some respects the powers were restricted and in others they were enlarged and generally the powers were more clearly defined. The main differences may be thus summarised :

(1) Under the Act of 1833 the Council could make laws for all persons whether British or Native, foreigners or others *throughout the territories vested in the East India Company*. The Act of 1861 extended to power for legislating (a) for all British subjects within the dominions of Native princes and states and (b) for all Native Indian subjects beyond the Indian territories.

(2) The Act of 1861 excludes from legislative interference by the Indian Council with Acts of Parliament affecting people of India passed after 1860 and the acts of William IV and Victoria which may be looked upon as laying down the constitution for the Government of India.

(3) The Act of 1861 authorised the introduction into the council of measures affecting public debt or public revenue, religion or religious rites of the people, the discipline of the army or Navy, and the relation of the Government with foreign princes or states but only with the previous sanction of the Governor-General.

The main restriction on the functions of the Legislative Council was the confining of its functions to the consideration and enactment of measures introduced into the Council. By this provision the functions of the Council were strictly confined within the limits of legislation. Under the Act of 1833 the Legislative Council had begun to exercise powers far beyond the limits of what would be properly understood by legislation. Interpellations touching all possible subjects and asking even for information relating to the foreign relations of the Governor-General in Council were allowed and answered and resolutions on matters of public importance were passed without reference to any matter introduced into the Council. Thus for instance the Council asked for information relating to the provision for the heirs of Tippu Sultan and passed a resolution on the evidence of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Ashley Eden before the Indigo Commission casting reflections on the Supreme Court. These discussions often led to disputes which culminated in an address by the

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Council asking for the production of some communication between the Secretary of State and the Government of India. This necessitated the further definition of the powers of the legislative Council and their restriction to discussion of legislative measures introduced into the legislative council. It was not till the enlargement of the Councils in 1892 that the powers were again enlarged to other than strictly legislative business.

Another important provision of the Act of 1861 was the vesting in executive the government the power to make temporary ordinances in case of emergency and validating certain regulations made by the Governor-General in Council for non-regulation districts whose validity was open to the greatest doubt.

So far as the legislative powers of the Indian Councils are concerned there has been no change in the provision of the Act of 1861. But an enlargement of what may be called the administrative functions of the Legislative Council has been made by the Acts of 1892 and 1909 and the regulations made under these two acts make an advance in the powers of the members of the Council. The Act of 1892 empowered the Governor-General in Council to make rules authorising in the Legislative Council the discussion of the annual Financial Statement of the Governor-General in Council and the asking of the questions but under such conditions and restrictions as may be provided by those rules.

Under this power regulations were made authorising members to discuss the financial statement and to make their recommendations on the financial administration of the country and to ask of questions regarding matters of public importance, provided that it was open to the Governor-General to disallow any question on public grounds. The opportunity for the discussion on the Financial Statement was availed of by the members of the Council to make a general review of the entire administration of the Council and this part of the business has since come to be looked upon as a valuable asset.

The present Act (1909) also authorises the Governor-General in Council to make rules authorising the discussion of the annual financial statement, the asking of questions and the discussion of matters of general public interest. Under the regulations now enforced, greater facilities have been provided for the discussion of the Budget point by point while retaining the opportunity of reviewing the entire administration in connection with the Budget discussion. Members of the Council have also been empowered to move resolutions on the provisions of the Budget in the form of

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recommendations to the Government. Resolutions may now also be moved on matters of general interest in a similar form and discussions of all matters thus initiated by members. The power of interpellation has been expanded to the asking of supplementary questions in reply to the original. It is doubtful whether even under the old regulations the asking of supplementary questions would not have been permissible, but the matter had never been tested as Mr. Surendranath Banerjea had to admit before the Welby Commission. The power of asking questions and moving resolutions are however limited, not by the direction of the Governor-General as under the old rules, but by a somewhat elaborate catalogue of subjects which are and are not open to discussion at the meetings of the Councils. It is to be noted moreover that the Council is not yet authorised to vote supplies and that its resolutions have no greater force than that of recommendations to the executive which the executive may or may not adopt.

One notable feature of the Legislative Councils is that it is in no sense a sovereign power or the Government properly so called. The duty of governing still rests with the executive, the Legislative Council being only a sort of advisory body in all matters except law-making. A fissure runs through the Council separating the additional members from the "Government." In all constitutionally governed countries the Council of the Empire represents the sovereign power and it includes the executive. Not only has the same idea not been adopted by the Government of India in relation to the Legislative Council but a spirit entirely hostile to such a view is seen to actuate the leading spirits of our administration. Before the separation of legislative functions from executive the Council represented the Government. But with the introduction of additional members the 'Government' was supposed to include only the Executive members—the Legislative Council as a whole being a sort of advisory body. So long as under the Act of 1861 the functions of the Council were strictly limited to Legislation, it made no difference; but the spirit underlying the new modifications is to entrust the Council with the function of exercising ever so little supervision over the general administration of the country. This can only lead to friction and heartburning unless the members of Council are all made to feel that they are members of the Government and that the Government is the Legislative Council. Although the powers of the Council in the matter of resolutions fall far short of sovereign functions and although under the present circumstances it is scarcely possible for any resolutions to be

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passed which the executive may not like, yet it is to be hoped that by a continued habit of submitting to the will of the Majority of the Council even when it is adverse to their own opinion, the Executive Government will pave the way to the consummation which successive reforms have been driving towards and help to make the Legislative Councils practically as well as constitutionally the Sovereign body only subject to the Government of Great Britain. And with a parallel movement towards broadening the basis of representation in the elections to the Council a sure move may be made towards constitutional Government in India.

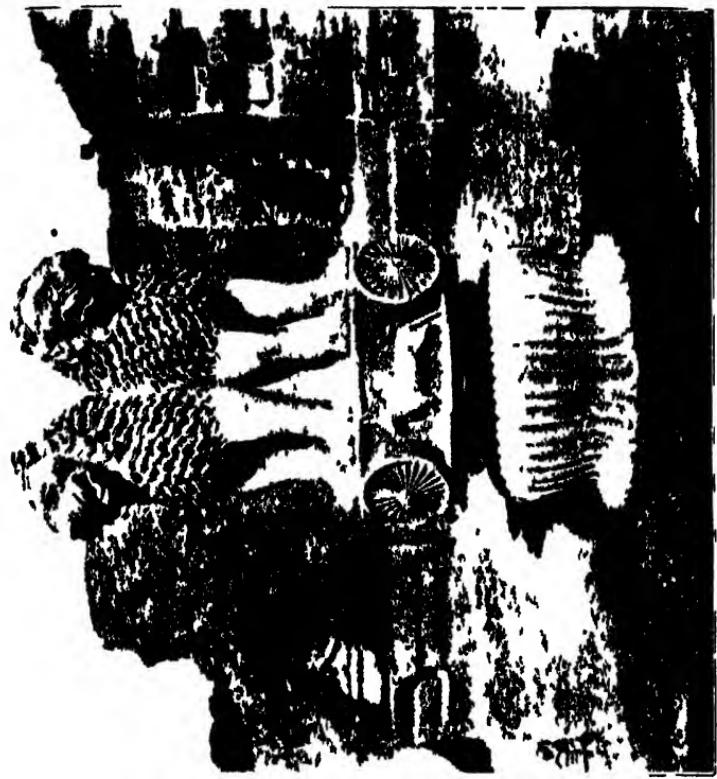
(To be Continued.)

Nares Chandra Sen-Gupta

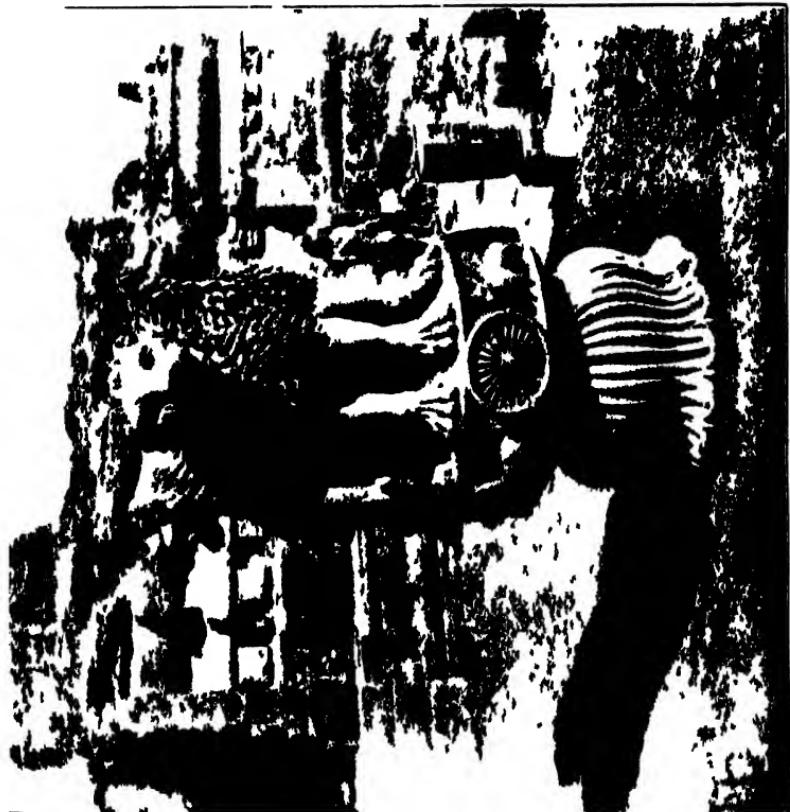
WHERE BUDDHA MADE HIS DEBUT

As one makes a sweeping survey of Benares, from the top of the lofty minaret of Aurangzebe's mosque at Panchganga Ghat, the holy city opens up before him a hitherto unheeded splendour—a panorama that captivates the eye and brings glorious memories to the mind. The Eternal City of India rises from the water's edge in a superb crescent—a theatre of granite piles that bare their bosoms to the Ganges, in seeming defiance of the rude touches of Time. Below, the holy river murmurs away, laving the feet of the holy temples. Let us pause here for a while, and bow our head in reverence. For, on these banks have the illustrious fathers of our race ever laid down their lives in perfect beatitude, and in this stream have mingled the last ashes of our holiest sages for many a long century. What kaleidoscopic shifting of scenes has the sacred stream been the silent witness to! O, the thrice-blessed memories of old, when the world was young, and when the devout Rishis lived in vestal simplicity and chanted the abstruse Vedic hymns; of later times, within historical memory, when neo-Hinduism held sway and numerous ritualisms sprung up; and of the times when Sakyamuni renounced the coveted pleasures of a princely life, which were his by his royal birth, for the welfare of woebegone mankind, and "turned the Wheel of Law," that, alas, has all but stopped its benignant revolutions in the very land where it was first set agoing. Next came the revival of Brahmanism. Then a spell of Islamism, when the sturdy followers of the stern prophet of Araria loomed large on the political horizon of India. More recent days have been marked by the

Lion Capital of the Asoka column



Lion Capital of the Asoka column
(Ruins from the hill)



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ushering in of the occidental light through the lattice window of English contact. All the "little systems" of the world have had their day. And all these have left indelible traces of their influence on this pivot of the religious life of Hindusthan—on this holy city, the confluence of many faiths.

From the vantage-ground of that tower-top, looking towards the south, the visitor catches a glimpse of the battlements and the buttresses of Chet Sing's fort, where was enacted, not long ago, an interesting episode of the history of British India immortalised by the eloquence of Warren Hastings. Yonder perhaps is the wicket that let out the Raja into the waters below; and, after the bird had thus flown away, there ensued a carnage within those walls that now hold an offshoot of the old Imperial house of Delhi, pensioners of the British Crown. Again, casting the eye over the maze of lofty alleys, one discovers white cupolas over a mosque that stands as an enduring epitome of Aurangzebe's anti-kafer fervour; and near by possibly emerges into view the golden sheen of the present temple of Vishwanath. If the observer can wean his eye from the feast of joyous splendour, and turn his back upon the Ganges, a dun obelisk-like thing comes within his ken—outlined against a background of blue, where the sky bends to kiss the green tops of the clustering trees. Observing closely, there appears in its proximity a smaller tower over a mound, a mere casket in the distant horizon. With the help of a field-glass the onlooker discerns more clearly these objects, that, to his naked eye, were but darkish specks set out on the sampler of Nature. He now perceives the curious antique style of the structures, and can descry the top of the bigger column, overgrown as it is with reeds that have turned hoary—through sheer age, as it were, or in silent sympathy with the tragic world and the desolate scene around in that neighbourhood. Did I say desolate? Yes, a magnificent desolation. Desolate ruins with that power and magic

"For which the palace of the present hour

"Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower."

There, behind the 'curtain of the past,' lie 'eternal secrets,' and beneath its shade securely sleeps a glowing page of the religious history of Asia.

For, that is where stood Ishipattana Vihara of old—that the site of Mrigadhaba celebrated in Buddhist legends. After repeated failures in attaining his soul's desire, and after his final triumph—in that most acute struggle that yet ensued in any human breast—over the counsels of evil that would lure him back to his wont-

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ed life of ease,—after becoming Buddha,—there comes Goutama and meets in this Deer Park five of his first disciples who had dropped off from his side in utter despair of ever realising what their souls had yearned for. Here, from this his first pulpit, does his voice now proclaim the doctrine of Nirvana to the world. Here is it also that the seed is sown of that most remarkable missionary enterprise which in its fruition claimed half the world as the professor of the new faith. This indeed is the Galilee of Buddhism.

Let the visitor now take an *Ekka*—that classical and indigenous mode of Indian conveyance and adjusting his mass of flesh as best as he can in that tabernacle, let him imagine himself to be Arjuna of the Mahabharata driven along by his divine chauffeur, as in a familiar wood-cut on the cover of a Calcutta weekly. For that is the only way to console himself for the numberless jolts and jerks that are to be his portion presently. It is a drive of about an hour from the *ghats* to Sarnath. Leaving behind us the dusty highways of the dense city, we turn into a broad and shady road to the right—a picturesque avenue that leads as though to some enchanted shore. We pass by some unassuming habitations of the humble peasantry, garden houses of the rich, and green undulating meadows receding far back into the dim horizon. And the obelisks—the topes of Sarnath—that have been beaconing us forward, become more and more distinctly visible. We drive past the foot of a tumble-down stupa,—a huge mass of grey ruins, capped with an octagonal tower of more recent years. Here we come upon a stray wayside temple of more modern times whose idols are perhaps now deserted and forgotten. But hie on, till you reach the place where Buddha preached of old—the Deer Park where, in one of his pre-existences, he was a king of the deer, and saved the life of a hind, big with young, by offering himself in her stead to a Raja of Benares, who used to draw his supply of venison from that forest reserve and thenceforward forbade the slaughter of the deer.

What now remains of the Deer Park is an expansive mound dotted over with mementoes of the hey-day of Buddhism, when it numbered among its followers the great Maurya Emperors of India. We approach it by a road that bounds it on the south-east, and on the other side of which is nearing completion the museum which would hold the splendid array of sculptures retrieved from the bowels of the earth. A spacious flight of flint steps to the east of the road takes us up to the raised level of the ruins. And in

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front of us stands the stately Dhamek Stupa crowned with blighted vegetation. To its north, and on a lower level, is a one-storeyed house of the Mahabodhi Society which is used by the Bauddha pilgrims as a resting place. To the south-west of the Stupa is a modern Jain temple which was built there before the ruins attracted much notice. On the other side of this temple stands a small rectangular building, with open sides secured by iron bars, doing duty for an archaeological museum. Before it, in the open, are strewn many old stone relics which could not be put inside the room. About half a mile to the east of this mound is a solitary Hindu temple not older than a century and a half—of Sarnath Siva, that has given the whole neighbourhood its present name.

These bring up the rear South-eastern end of the ruins. And in the foreground stretches an ample waste, with mouldering remains of old masonry, generally to the west, and deep trenches made by the explorers here and there. Among the finds unearthed from that western section of the ruins, is one of the most splendid specimens of old Indian sculpture—the Asoka column and its carved capital. The north-western extremity is lined by a lagoon that has now dried up—a portion of the *Nao-lakha jheel* that once watered the neighbourhood, and to which a tradition attaches itself that one who would spend a lakh of Rupees upon it would get nine lakhs in return. Thus the Deer Park—or rather what vestiges are left of it—is now encompassed on two sides between the metalled track, by which we approach the flight of steps near the Dhamek stupa, and the parched up waterway. On the other two sides, lie at a lower level broad fans of tilled soil.

Among foreign travellers who have left us any record of the old Buddhistic days of India, one of the foremost is Fa Hian who visited our shores as early as the 5th century A.D. But beyond mentioning a chapel, four towers and two monasteries, he does not give us any elaborate account of this Buddhist shrine. The famous Chinese pilgrim, Hieun Thsang, coming nearly 250 years after Fa Hian, has, however, described graphically what he saw there. He found the Deer-park divided into eight sections, enclosed within a wall. In the centre was a Vihara or temple-monastery, 200ft. high culminated by an *amalika* of gold, over a tower. This temple contained a life-size statue of Buddha in brass. There were 1500 monks there, studying the *Heena-jina* form of Buddhism, and lodged in palaces of one and two stories within the walls. To the south-east of this Vihara was a stone stupa built by Asoka, which, though partly buried, was still very high when Hieun Thsang saw it.

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This marked the exact spot where Buddha delivered his first discourse. In front of it the pilgrim found a column, some 70 feet high. He speaks of seven other stupas near by, some stone-seats, and a statue of Buddha in the posture of walking. West of the walls was a sacred tank in which Buddha used to bathe. About half-a-mile to the south-west (?) of the monastery was a large and lofty stupa, about 300 feet high, ablaze with the rarest and most precious objects, and finialed with an arrow. To the east of the Park there stood another stupa.

The story of this busy haunt of Buddhist monks, from the 7th century A.D., *i.e.* when Hieun Thsang visited it, down to the year 1795 is almost a blank ; and would probably remain so unless "haughty Time" tells it some day in a fit of justice. The latter date, 1795, marks an important event, when Dewan Jagat Singh demolished an entire tower and took away its materials to build Jagatgunj in Benares. This is not the only instance of vandalism. We are told several cart-loads of sculptured stones were taken away from Sarnath only to be thrown into water to serve as breakwater to the piers of the Baruna bridge. However, Jagat Sing's action had one beneficial effect. In the course of his destructive operations he found a stone box encasing a crystal receptacle which contained pieces of human bones, gold leaves and decayed pearls and corals. This drew the attention of the authorities to the spot ; and later archaeologists have identified the tope thus destroyed by Jagat Singh, with the memorial tower built by Asoka, some 300 years before Christ, to mark the place whence Buddha preached. And this conclusion is confirmed by the discovery, only a few years ago, of the Asoka monolith, alluded to by Hieun Thsang, fairly close to the tope. But of that hereafter.

It was not before some forty years had elapsed from the date on which Jagat Sing had made the interesting discovery, that Major-General Cunningham was attracted to the work of excavation. He directed his scrutinizing operations to the Dhamek stupa, which, in its isolated grandeur, stands to this day an object of wonder, and, thanks to the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of Lord Curzon, in much the-same condition as Cunningham found it in. A solid round tower, with a diameter of 93 feet at the base, it is 110 feet in height above the surrounding ruins, and 128 feet above the general level. Of this 110 feet, the lower 43 is of solid Chunar stone ; and the upper portion is of compact brick-work the outer seams being well worn out. There is no trace left of any plasterings that may have covered this naked masonry portion

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of the tower. The lower part is elaborately designed, there being eight projecting faces, each 21 feet 6 inches wide, divided by intervals of 15 feet. Each of these faces has got a niche high up, about six feet square, with pedestals for statues. Below the niches is a broad sash of carved ornamentation that forces unstinted admiration from us. This band is made up of three distinct parts. The upper one is the narrowest, depicting among other things a flowing festoon and tassels as of pearls. The middle band is composed of linear geometrical figures, fringed with two rows of full-blown flowers, and would, at a distance, look like a modern stencil work. In the lowest band is embossed a following scroll of lotus, held by a human figure, seated on a lotus in the centre, from which the stems branch out in either direction ; birds, which look like geese, being supported on some leaves. This last is the most elaborately worked ribbon of stone, and would stand comparison with the richest brocade ever made. To the south five projecting slabs of stones are fixed on the outside like steps, the uppermost one being almost near to the top of the tower and pierced with a round hole perhaps to receive a flag-staff.

In 1835 Cunningham drove a shaft, 5ft. in diameter, through this Dhamek, and made horizontal galleries from end to end at the base. He did not get at any relic chamber or any thing of importance besides an inscribed slab, about 10½ feet from the top, with a commonplace Buddhist legend or profession of faith which however does not throw any light upon the history of the stupa. At the top of the tower he found two small iron spikes like lances which may have supported some ornamental terminal. It seems the stupa was not finished in every detail ; this supposition seems probable from the fact that there are unfinished works traced in outline by the chisel in the band of ornamentations. The whole structure seems to have been based on some old foundations ; indeed, so many of the ruined structures at Sarnath are found to be so constructed that this mode of superimposing one memorial over the ruins of another appears to have been almost a meritorious work with the Buddhists. Some 110 feet from the top Cunningham again came upon solid brickwork, after an interval of 43 feet of solid stone at the base. The bricks were very large in dimensions. One interesting discovery was that in the 43 feet of solid stone-work no kind of mortar was used, each block of stone being secured to its neighbour by iron cramps. The probable date of the Dhamek is said to be 6th century A.D.

A little to the west of the Dhamek, some 500 feet from it, are

to be seen to day a large round hole and the crumbled remains of a circular foundation of a masonic structure, pointed out to travellers as the encasing ring of what was once a Brobdingnagian well. Perhaps it would be hard for one to realise that this is the spot where probably stood the hemispherical stupa of Asoka mentioned by Hieun Thsang and pulled down by Jagat Sing. Heic'was also found that urn containing the ashes—who can say of what pious sage? The diameter at the base of the ruined circle measures some fifty feet. Cunningham found a wall, 16½ feet in thickness, that encased the old stupa. And he inclined to the opinion that the inner hemisphere was an ancient relic stupa, this having become ruinous was repaired and an outer casing wall added by Sthira Pala and Basanta Pala in 1026 A. D. Others hold that this addition was made by King Mahipal of Gaur in that year, and an inscription was found on the outer wall to this effect. We found at least one gentleman, who is undoubtedly an authority about Saranath, maintaining that what has been called the casing wall was perhaps made up of three successive shells erected one after another, in different eras, by way of rehabilitation. The bricks found here seems to be of varying dimensions and of different ages, those of the innermost structure are the oldest and 22 inches long, the outermost rind being of the 11th century A. D. and the work of Mahipal.

Further excavations by Cunningham, and by Major Kittoe who came after him, led to some interesting discoveries, not the least among them being the traces of a hospital 125 feet west of the Dhamek, the remains of a chapel monastery were also found, and from the thickness of the basement walls it has been conjectured by Cunningham that it must have been 3 or 4 storeys high. There was a cloister surrounded by cells, and in the north-east corner of the cloister was a well remains of which are still visible. Evidences of drains were also found by the explorers.

Another stupa, the one we have left behind on the roadside about half-a-mile to the south of the Dhamek, and commonly known as the Humayoon Stupa, was explored by Cunningham. It was not a relic tower. It may be the one described by Huen Thsang as a magnificent stupa surmounted by an arrow. Only a mound is what remains of it to testify to the ultimate triumph of Mutability over man and his marvels. It is 74 feet high, and the octagonal tower which is 23 feet is a later addition in the reign of Humayoon to commemorate the Emperor's ascent of the mound. The top of this tower lends a most fascinating

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bird's eye view of the surrounding landscape and of Benares in the distant.

But the most momentous discovery, viz. that of the Asoka pillar was not made till the year 1904. And it is not a little gratifying to us that the name of a Bengalee would be associated with this historic event. Rai Bahadur Bepin Behary Chakravorty, District Engineer (now the Executive Engineer of the Benares division) was at that time in charge of the excavating operations under the auspices of the then Executive Engineer Mr. F. O. Oertel. About 700 feet to the west of the Dhamek, and not far from Jagat Singh's stupa, was a high mound close to a ruined temple. While the heap of debris was being cleared there, there appeared the broken end of a hard vertically fixed sandstone column. Near by, and lying flat on the ground in the direction of the ruined temple-walls were disinterred the upper portion of the pillar, truncated and gone into pieces, and the lion capital which has aptly been called "the finest specimen of Mauryan sculpture." Further clearing near the column brought to light a fragment of an inscription—an Asoka edict—enjoining certain rules of conduct on the Buddhists. The pillar retains its pristine polish and smoothness to this day, and was of an entire piece of stone over 40 feet, with a diameter of some two feet. The base goes about 12 feet underground, being fixed into a circular hole in a square slab of stone on a concrete foundation. While they were delving down to the lower end of the column, there were found three successive strata or floor-levels. The latest stratum just concealed from view the inscription on the pillar, and it was perhaps in this state that it was seen by Huen Thsang, for he makes no mention of the edict itself. This gives us the possible date of the latest Buddhist structures at Sarnath as the 6th or the 7th Century.

It is a feature of the later ruins near the Asoka pillar, that many odds and ends of the previously-built edifices were introduced into the later buildings at haphazard. Ornamented stones are thus found inserted into brickwork to serve as props or door-sills. A smoothly-polished sandstone railing that once surrounded the Asoka pillar was placed round a small *chaitya* in a room adjoining the ruined temple. It is there still, though not quite intact. And Rai Bahadur B. B. Chakravarty, Executive Engineer, informed us that the whole railing, which ran on four sides, was carved out of a single block of stone, and that he has not succeeded in finding out any joint in this wonderful work of the chisel.

The capital of the Asoka pillar is made up of four lions upon

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a panel in which are sculptured in bold relief the figures of an elephant, a lion, a horse, and a bull—divided by four wheels between them. The whole is based on a bell-shaped pedestal. This prodigy of old Indian sculpture is now kept carefully wrapped up and hidden from the vulgar gaze. The guardian-angel of the tiny, little museum, as he waxes talkative, would tell you confidentially that the *Sher* (the lion capital) has been so preserved as a protection against the staining touch of the "Baboons" which has taken off much of its shining smoothness. But we came to learn from a more informed quarter that the authorities were driven to this step by the materialistic globe-trotters who could not contemplate this object of art without being moved to make practical demonstrations, with the help of the mallet, about the difficult feat of imparting so lasting a shine and polish to the mere sandstone.

Everywhere indications are not wanting to show that some unforeseen, sudden disaster drove the monks of the Deer Park away leaving many of their works unfinished. Even the Asoka column fell a prey to violence. Cunningham and Kittoe during their work here found in the cells traces of charred wood, iron, bones, unhusked rice, calcined stones and idols all fused into huge heaps. And they had, therefore, concluded that the Buddhists could not long continue in their peaceful pursuits owing to the aggressive nature of the Moslem zealots who in the 12th and 13th centuries carried fire and sword through the place, which was hallowed by the memory of one who more than anybody else preached peace and goodwill to all mankind. The persecuted monks took refuge in Nepal, after heaping up the statues of their master in some rooms and leaving them to fate. Archaeologists have recovered some of these; but many of the things described by Huen Thsang have not been found, including the celebrated piece of stone on which Buddha used to spread out his *Kashaya* to dry, and before which Buddhists offered homage. Notwithstanding this, the collections in the small museum are a prized lot of sculptures, detached friezes and bass-reliefs. Yonder, resting on the ground is a huge representation of Mahadeva with ten hands—the destroying god, that, even in this sculptured form, retains his fatal fury. Not long ago, it sent a labourer to speedy death, having crushed him to jelly for his audacity in digging it out of the earth and thus exposing it to the irreverent eye of mankind. Here is a massive carved lintel with spirited relief-works and vivid ornamentations. There stands the awful image of the great Buddha. The place abounds in them—some are of red-stone others of grey, and one is headless. Some depict him

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engaged in deep meditaion, some in the attitude of preaching. Some of these were dedicated by his disciples : we read the name of one such—Sudhanya Gupta—engraved under the foot of a statue in a character midway between Devanagri and Bengali. Another statue of Buddha bears the name of Bala Devi. There lies a circular stone disc, nearly 9 feet in diameter, that possibly served as an umbrella over some of these statuettes. Inside the room are kept the smaller relics—numerous small *chaityas* of baked clay, bass reliefs representing the four principal events of Buddha's life, and a mutilated sculpture of Tara Devi. There are other sculptured stones—lions with men on their back, lions over elephants, and a lion-mouthed gargoyle.

Now it is time for us to leave. And as we pass beyond the Dhamek, after taking our last adieu, we chance upon a couple of *Bhikshus* in votive yellow, moving like sylvan gods amidst a clump of trees near the Mahabodhi rest-house. We approach them and learn that they are Arakanese who have come here on a pilgrimage. We soon fall into a general talk about divers subjects. Yes, they have heard about the Peshwar relics. But they are not sure if these are the ashes of Gautama Buddha himself,—charred bones like those of ordinary mortals are not likely to be the funeral remains of one who conquered the "six foes" of man. But they must be the ashes of some great sage. All the same, it is really a pleasure to them to find the Bengalees eager to honour the remains of Buddha. But, continue the monks, distribution is the very spirit of Buddhism ; and why should such a proposal in regard to the Peshawar find evoke so great an opposition ? It is really one way of spreading their faith. Asoka distributed Buddha's funeral relics over 84000 different places and raised memorial stupas over them, one of them being the one at Sarnath. We remind the Bhikshus that that was a case of a Buddhist Emperor parcelling out the ashes ; and here—is a difference. They smile significantly.

It is evening already. The ekka-wallah is growing importunate. And we must leave. The moon rises high as we return, and streams down her silver effulgence through the interstices of the giant host of trees that line the vista, through which our way lies, on either side. Not a leaf turns. Hushed is the hum of life. And there on the pavement below are traced in faultless execution filigrees and mosaics that might baffle the master-hands that wrought the artistic wonders of Sarnath—and Agra.

M. C. N.

OUR DUTY IN REJUVENATED INDIA

To me it seems that the present situation in India may be summed up by saying that the Indians assert that some of them, at least, are the equals of Englishmen, and that their people have the right to be equal to the English people. But Rudyard Kipling sings, and the English nation joins in the chorus that the black and the brown are the white man's burden. Brown India emphatically refuses to be any man's burden. He claims equality. New India in his infancy read in history that his ancestors were the same flesh and blood as the white man's. He realised the meaning of that when in England he saw that the self-styled "lord of human kind" was but a man,—a well-developed man in many important respects, but still a man, and not the god that he wanted to pass for when in black Africa or brown India. In the course of a few years young India in a few trials of individual strength, under equal conditions, beat the "lord of human kind" on his own ground at the university, on the cricket field and elsewhere. And he has seen also that in the farther east another young man, whom, according to the current, orthodox, logical, classification of mankind into white and not white, we may call a not-white young man, had a very good time of it in a trial of organised national strength with a white man. Young India thought over the matter, and doubted the English claim of unquestionable superiority, put forward usually the more arrogantly by the less deserving individual claimant. Young India recognised in himself human forces the same as those in Rudyard Kipling's white man, though many of the forces were not as well developed in him nor as well organised as in the white man, while just a few were perhaps better developed, though not better organised. But the likeness was there, and young India saw it. He claimed man's birth-right, even that "eldest of things, divine Equality."

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the claim of national superiority believed in by all Englishmen. The logic of facts unerringly points to the conclusion that, as a nation, the English are superior to the Indians. When 42 millions govern the destiny of 232 millions, nay, 294 millions, for it would be right to include the Native States of India also—those 42 taken as a whole must be superior to the 294 taken as a whole, in something. And I feel sure that that something is not mere brute force.

How then are we to remove the difference in level between the two nations? Certainly not by the cheap, but futile expedient of

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running down everything English and holding up everything Indian. That is a method which attempts to persuade men that the difference in level does not exist. The world has too much common-sense to be hoodwinked for any length of time. Nor need we take into account, for our present purposes, the agencies that tend daily to bring the English nation down to a lower level. For our own good, to prevent our own demoralisation, we should not rely upon those forces that tend to degrade the English nation. One cannot look with satisfaction and approval upon the degradation of another, without a reflex lowering effect upon the onlooker. Our only method, then, of removing this difference in national level should be by raising young India to a higher level. That is our national problem, how to raise young India to a higher level.

In dealing with this problem, we have to take into account, first, our 294 millions of men and women ; second, our physical surroundings, and third, our civilisation, rather, the afterglow of our glorious but departed civilisation.

To my mind the first, namely the 294 millions of men and women, are our most important assets. Man is more valuable than his surroundings, more valuable than even the sum total of his energy developed in the past, but available in the present. He is more valuable because he is the mind and the mover that will arrange and utilise and set in motion his surroundings, and his energy. In our case we have 294 millions of these men and women. Our numerical strength is an immense advantage which we should utilise. We have 294 millions to only 42 millions of the United Kingdom, who have in India less even than one-tenth of a million of British-born men and women.

But to take full advantage of our numerical strength, our preliminary duty must be to minimise the disruptive forces that are at work among the 294 millions, in particular, racial and religious differences. I am not one of those who exaggerate these differences and give out that India always has been and always must be a cage for a set of fierce and ever-fighting carnivora. They forget that the very fact that these carnivora have got to live in the same cage—a cage large enough and the only one without a second for these carnivora—take away a half of their fighting ferocity. And when we consider that these carnivora are all men with more or less developed human instinct for sociability, the duty of reducing the disruptive forces to a minimum seems to be not beyond our youthful strength. But the racial difference has been unnecessarily exaggerated. The ethnographer truly points out that by far the greater majority of

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the Indian Mahomedans are of the same race, the same original flesh and blood, as the Aryanised Hindus. They adopted the religion of the handful of Mahomedan conquerors, but did not thereby become a different race of men. As to religious difference, I think I can speak from personal experience of East Bengal, where the Mahomedan population predominates over the Hindu, and where I was born and bred, it is a fact that the Hindus and the Mahomedans do live in harmony with each other and in friendly spirit 364 days out of 365, and, in by far the greater majority of places all the 365 days of the year. Even in the present state of excitement when ill-feeling is being actively fostered by designing men, Hindus and Mahomedans are living in harmony all over India, except one disturbed corner. The reason for this harmony is not far to seek. In these days when the stability of the State is not incompatible with the existence of essentially differing churches, when difference in religion cannot mean any danger to the life of the State or to the interest of the individual, religious toleration is bound to be more and more in evidence. The present circumstances are all in its favour. And our negative duty of minimising the disruptive forces is bound to become easier day by day, for the forces themselves are getting weaker and weaker.

But the best way of doing this negative duty is to keep it in view but always in the background, and set before the people some positive duty or duties. Duty has in all countries a power of evoking enthusiasm. And we Indians have quite enough of that commodity. Some noble plan of work, some positive ideal should therefore be clearly set before the Indian mind. Young India will then remember the common ideal, and forget the difference in race and religion, which is in fact forgotten daily by people who work together in India in spite of such difference. And what is to be the common ideal, the positive duty?—The growth and development of the Indian nation, a nation of men and women who must, of necessity, live in the same land side by side, for they have no other land to go to.

At school I learnt that the whole is greater than the part. At College I read in one of my favourite Bengali authors some remarks about the Hindu hero Krishna, who by union in love with the heroine Radha, became one combined personality, represented by the image of Radha-Krishna. I read how, when Radha was deducted from Radha-Krishna, the remainder was not the original Krishna that was before the union, but something less, and when

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Krishna was taken away from Radha-Krishna, the balance left was certainly less than the original Radha. Later in life I learnt the complement of these two mathematical truths. Sociology lays down that not only is the whole greater than the part, but it is greater than the sum total of the parts taken one by one. This sociological truth underlies all organisation. Ten men organised into a body can turn out more work than the sum total of what each can do separately. The combined personality of Radha-Krishna is something more than the total of the original Radha and the original Krishna. The practical application of this simple truth to every-day affairs has made the Western nations so powerful. They are so powerful because of their skilful organisation of human energy. Their organisations are so effective because on the principle of division of labour, they have specialised their energy. Organisation and specialisation—there can be no more important words in the story of civilisation.

To return to our positive duty. Our duty will be skilfully to organise and specialise the energy of these 294 millions with a view to make them one organic whole—one rich nation, whose material, intellectual, and spiritual wealth can stand a favourable comparison with that of other rich nations. To go into concrete details, we must organise one part of our national energy to increase the physical efficiency of the 294 millions. We have just begun the work, but it is a very, very humble beginning. Four millions of men and women die every year in India of that preventable disease—fever. But we have done little or nothing to prevent this national loss by fighting with malaria as they in England are fighting with phthisis. Is there any Indian organisation for a scientific study of malaria? Have we Indians brought modern science to bear upon the physical development of the healthy portion of our people? If we neglect these and other duties they will be done, no doubt, but done by other agencies of Providence. But how poor will be the gain to India!

Then we must organise one part of our national energy to increase the mental efficiency of the nation. Our beginning here is hopeful. Utilising our rich inheritance from Sanskrit, and applying the modern method supplied by the West, we have done some substantial work in literature in Bengal, and should do more. In Science we have made a good beginning, but the "little done" is as nothing compared to "the undone vast." In Philosophy we have something to be proud of, for we have been born with a silver spoon in our mouth. But the world enquires what use

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the son is making of his father's wealth? In Art we have as yet achieved very little, but just waked up to a consciousness of our inherited aptitude for music, painting and sculpture.

But we do not want a few rich men only in our nation. We want a rich nation. Coming to the realities here, I cannot but feel shame. For of our 294 millions only 5·3 per cent can read and write any language. In other words, out of every 100 persons only 5—I should say less than 5—bring trained energy for application to the nation's work. Out of every 100 boys of school-going age, only 23·8 attend any school, and out of every 100 such girls, only 3·1. Let us realise the significance of these figures. They mean that of 100 boys and girls that are to work for the nation in the near future—whether at home or outside the home—only 13·5 are preparing to bring trained energy to the work. And 86·5 are mostly wasting their time, with just a few beginning their work without proper equipment. And while this is the state of affairs in India, in England they have compulsory education, and it is a punishable crime for a guardian to neglect his children's education. The more I think of the matter the more firmly do I resolve in my mind "I will arise and waken the multitude."

And lastly we must organise one part of our energy to increase the already rich spiritual wealth of India. If we have more, more shall be demanded of us. Our failure to make good use of the talent entrusted to us can have but one result. In the words of our oriental Jesus Christ, "From him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath."

Turning to the second point, our physical surroundings, we find they are not always incentive to physical activity. Nature is an over-indulgent Mother in India. We can live there without having had to fight constantly with adverse forces of nature. The inevitable consequence of this over-indulgence has been that we are less sturdy, less hardworking, than the English are in England. But our position has a compensating advantage; our climate favours mental and spiritual development. And if our people are less sturdy, they need not work to death merely to feed and clothe themselves. They can lead a simpler life in our climate. They can command more time for other work after the work of feeding and clothing themselves has been done. It is, I believe, our duty to take the fullest advantage of our climatic conditions, in so far as they favour a simple life, a life of plain living and high thinking. A slavish imitation of the complex and elaborate ways of life that suit English

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climate will be ruinous in India. When we cannot possibly get rid of the disadvantages of our climate, our best way is to utilise fully the advantages that our climate offers.

I can here refer to one or two points only, in respect of our natural resources, which are a part of our physical surroundings. It is estimated that out of the total area of 542·7 millions of acres of land for which returns could be had, we cultivated 233·6 millions, or 43 per cent., but allowed 106·5 millions or 20% to lie uncultivated, although they were available for cultivation. And take again another statement of a competent observer, to the effect that "in purity of ore and in antiquity of working the iron deposits of India probably rank first in the world." And yet it is a fact that until recently we had not even a decent scheme for working on any large scale an iron mine in India. These, and many other problems, require an application of our organised and specialised energy for the increase of the material wealth of our nation.

And finally, a few words about our civilisation. I look upon it as the sum total of our national energy developed in the past and available in the present. Ours is not young India, but rejuvenated India. As such our civilisation has its advantages as well as its disadvantages. The discipline of the past civilisation, our inestimable Indian traits, the oriental ideal of plain living and high thinking, our social and religious characteristics, so peculiarly oriental and so uncommon in the West, are all assets, and assets of no mean value. They make a nation great. They prevent the masses from being brutalised. Let us cherish them tenderly even under the trying circumstances of the present crisis.

We must however reject the disadvantageous relics of our past civilisation. It is neither patriotism nor common-sense to hold up everything Indian. We must by all means help the rejection of all those surviving institutions which tend to diminish our national efficiency under the present altered circumstances. It is easy to point out the attractive features of these institutions. Depend upon it, no institution grew that had not its utility or attraction in some respects at the time of its growth. But the times have changed, and these institutions are now effete and without vitality, for the men for whom they were devised are not now where they were then. It is no good crying for their revival, for that would mean setting back the hands of our national progress. Let us remove the gross inequalities under which our women, our widows, and our lower castes suffer. Let us severely discountenance child-maternity. What an addition to our national strength that would mean.

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Here then is a general outline of our duties. It is apparent to every thinking Indian that we have organisations to carry out in detail some of these duties, and for other of them we have none. For the duties for which we have no organisation at present, we must organise for ourselves. For those again for which we have organisations—organisations absolutely in our control—we must bring fresh energy and skill to bear upon them, and improve their efficiency. And lastly, we have organisations to carry out many of these duties, organisations under the control of the state under its various departments. These state organisations are manned mostly by our own countrymen, though in subordinate capacities. In other words, the working of the organisations is in our hands, though not the shaping of their general policy. Let us make the best use of these state organisations, for in its present condition the nation cannot afford to lose the service of so many of our good and useful men, nor of so much of our pecuniary resources. Let every Indian, then, who is within the State Departments, always keep before his mind, clearly and steadfastly, the ideal of an organically whole Indian nation. With the national ideal ever present in our mind we cannot but be of great service to the nation even while we are working in the State organisations. For up to a certain limit the methods of the State are, in fact, the same as the methods for working out the national ideal. And he that is not against us is for us. We shall therefore work, some within the State organisations and others without, but all inspired by the same new spirit of the national ideal. For many, silence, which is but another name for self-control, will be golden. Not that they should be indifferent to politics, but they should not become active politicians. The shaping of the general policy of the state organisations we must leave in the hands of our thoughtful politicians, not with our indifference, but with our deepest interest.

In conclusion I shall add a few words of thankfulness. To England belongs the honour of having roused in us this national ideal. We acknowledge thankfully that while our mother was in a swoon, Britannia nursed us, and with her children we grew up amid living examples of filial duty. Britannia was not then infected with egotistic imperialism. She could then boast of a greater than John Morley, greater even than Gladstone, yes, even the sublime, selfless spirit of Edmund Burke. But the times have changed. She now wants us to turn a deaf ear to our mother's call. We are thankful to her, but we cannot turn back. Yes, my friends,

TANTIA TOPI

"We shall march prospering—not through her presence,
Songs may inspirit us,—not from her lyre;
Deeds will be done,—while she boasts her quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

Yes, my friends, "we shall march prospering,"—a long march, a weary march—but for whose sake? Is she not worthy of the sacrifice? India, once the mother of wisdom and religion, upon whose holy forest home in the infancy of the world the young sun prided to shine,—India, still the queen of beauty and purity, whose sacred feet the majestic blue sea even now prides to lave and whose sacred person the hoary-headed, awe-inspiring Himalayas deem it a privilege to guard to this day,—India, the gods' favourite, over whose head they spread their deepest blue canopy studded with the brightest jewels of their heaven,—India, man's ambition, for whose hands the mightiest heroes from Alexander downwards have shed their nation's blood for upwards of twenty-two centuries,—loving her sons, hospitable to her enemies, generous to all, rich, happy, religious in days gone by. Is it too much of a sacrifice for thine own sons to approach thy feet and wipe away thy tears, divine mother?

E. B. S.

TANTIA TOPI

In obedience to the Nana's order, Tantia Topi had to go to Calpee to take charge of the magazine and army stationed there. A few days after, by Nana's order again, Tantia had to march against Chirkari with about 900 sepoy infantry, 200 cavalry, and 4 guns. After 11 days' hard fighting Tantia succeeded in taking Chirkari; 24 guns and three lakhs of rupees fell into the hands of the victorious general. No act of cruelty followed his triumph. At such a juncture, Tantia received secret overtures from Lutchmee Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, who had waged war against the British in consequence of Lord Dalhousie's unjustifiable act of depriving her adopted son of the territory of her husband. This was reported to Rao Shaheb who had recently arrived at Calpee and who receiving the necessary orders proceeded for the assistance of the warrior queen. Had Tantia shared an iota of the courage which the illustrious Lutchmee Bai displayed, then perhaps these two might have worked wonders between them; but Tantia's timidity wrecked all the brilliant plans of his female compatriot. On the way to the relief of Jhansi, Tantia gave way before an inferior English army, fearing it to be the main army of the antagonist.

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Had he boldly pressed forward then, the English would have been compelled to raise the siege of Jhansi and the victorious troops would have easily achieved brilliant feats in Central India ; perhaps the whole of Central India would have fallen an easy prey into his hand and its subsequent history written in a different way. However, Tantia fled to Kunch, where soon arrived Lutchmee Bai, after her miraculous escape from the beleaguered fortress of Jhansi. There the Jhansi queen and the Mahratta general had to suffer a defeat from the converging army of the enemy, after which Tantia fled to Chirki about four miles off Jalaun, where his parents had then been residing. From that place he was soon summoned to join in the bold plan to attack Scindia and occupy Gwalior, suggested by the indomitable chieftainess of Jhansi. With the aid of Tantia, she captured in no time the famous fort of Gwalior, which for its strength and impregnable position had come to be known at that time as "the Gibraltar of India."* In spite of the noble and faithful attempts and efforts of its young ruler the army of the Scindia had to beat a hasty retreat to Agra. But long the victors were not allowed to enjoy the luxury of occupying Gwalior. Inforcements sent by the English rendered their position critical. After four or five days' tremendous conflict, during which fell in the front rank of battle, the Ranees of Jhansi, the English succeeded in reconquering Gwalior.† This extraordinary female, whose age did not exceed 20 years at the time of which we are writing, was attired in the dress of a mounted officer and was found superintending the movements of the cavalry on the field and sharing in all the dangers of the struggle at the moment when she was struck down. The body of this wonderful girl was burnt by Ram Rao Govind, "upon the scene of her daring, to prevent its being profaned by the touch of the Ferenghees, whom she so notably hated."‡ Her death disheartened the rebel camp and in no time Gwalior was reconquered by Sir H. Rose and its noble Maharaja re-installed in the seat of the Government. Tantia succeeded in making his escape with 25 guns and about 8000 soldiers. Whither he had marched was totally unknown to his enemy. For a time he succeeded in manouevring his army from place to place without being at all detected by his great enemy. But it was afterwards found that he was marching rapidly towards Bharatpore. Bharatpore,

* Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. III., pp., 494-5.

† Ball's *Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II., p. 358.

‡ *Calcutta Gazette*, Jan-June 1858, p. 208, Jan-June, 1859, pp. 1—20. General Shadwell's *Life of Lord Clyde*, Vol. II., pp. 243—4.

however, was fortunately saved by the foresight of Brigadier Showers, who somewhat anticipated Tantia's movements.

Thus baffled by Showers he pushed towards Jeypore; but here also General Roberts' hasty approach saved it from an imminent danger. Thus foiled, Tantia turned southward, and, though closely pursued by his enemy, made a raid on Tonk, which he easily took possession of. The loyal Nawab failed to make any stand against this able Mahratta. Capturing four guns from the defeated Nawab, he started off towards Rajputana, followed closely by Holmes and Roberts. Thus Tantia was placed between the two detachments of his enemy, through the disobedience of his army whom he repeatedly advised to decamp and not to make a long stay there. However, he succeeded, though with the loss of all his guns, in extricating himself from this dangerous position and marching towards Chambal, pursued by Parker and Roberts. But Tantia this time shook off successfully his pursuers and, crossing the Chambal, pushed for Jhalwar Patan—which Tantia easily took possession of through the desertion of the army of Rana Prithi Sing, its faithful and loyal ruler. The Rana's guns, 30 in number, his ammunition, horses etc., fell into Tantia's hand. On Tantia demanding a contribution in money, the Rana offered only 5 lakhs of rupees. Rao Sahib who was with Tantia at this time demanded 25 lakhs. This was more than the Rana could afford to pay. Unable to meet this heavy demand, he flew to Mana leaving some barrels of powder for his family to blow themselves up if and when threatened with insult. As usual Tantia here also behaved most humanely and spared the vanquished people all acts of wanton cruelty or wickedness. There Tantia halted for few days. Idly he did not spend his precious time when the converging array of his enemy on all sides were trying their best to capture and make a prisoner of him. The money taken from the treasury of the Rana he employed in paying off three months' pay to his soldiers at the rate of Rs. 30 per month for every cavalry soldier and Rs. 12 per month for every foot-soldier. At this time he and his comrades, Bala Rao Saheb and Nawab of Banda, formed the bold plan of marching against Indore. He sent overtures to the vacillating soldiers of the Holkar to serve under the proud standard of the direct descendant of the mighty Peshwa. To carry this bold plan into execution the able Mahratta chief marched to Rajgurh with his army, now reinforced by the levies of Jhalwar Patan and with the guns captured there. The praiseworthy foresight of General Michel, who soon overtook Tantia and inflicted on him a signal defeat and in the hot pursuit that

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followed, captured 57 guns, however, saved the fate of Indians. It is strange that Tantia even did not make a stand before the English army, but allowed his soldiers to fly at their approach, leaving the guns behind them. It is fortunate for the English that their adversary, so clever in eluding all pursuit, could not give them the slip on this occasion owing to the sheer absence of courage and bravery. Thus defeated Tantia hastened towards the north and, wandering for sometime in the jungles of Betwa, turned his attention towards Sironj, somewhat in the easterly direction. Then he rested for eight days without any fear of the enemy, as heavy rain set in and rendered all pursuit totally impossible. After the expiration of the said period Tantia proceeded against the fort of Isagarh, belonging to Scindia, with 4 guns, and captured and stormed it. At this place the rebel leaders formed a plan of dividing their forces ; and accordingly Tantia, with the bulk of the army and 5 guns, proceeded to Chandairi ; and Rao Saheb with the remaining of the army and 6 guns marched towards Tal Bihat and thence to his brother, who had secreted himself in a jungle of bamboos, near Dhorgharee.

The English, on the other hand, after the cessation of heavy rains towards the end of September, commenced to act freely and resumed their operations against the flying enemy. On the 9th of October, Michel met Tantia near Mangaroli ; after a severe fight Tantia had to fly with his soldiers leaving again all his guns behind him. A few days later on the 19th of October Michel completely gained another victory over Rao Saheb at Sindunat about 30 miles east of Betwa. Rao Saheb succeeded in making his escape with his bare life and joined Tantia at Lalatpur. There they again formed the plans as to their future operations. On all sides the enemy gradually seemed to be closing on them. In a few days they would have found their scattered and diminished army hopelessly stifled in the enormous coils and folds of their redoubtable foe. Tantia saw this clearly. The only chance of escape, which by his keen perception he at once detected, lay in boldly breaking through this cordon in its weakest part, and if possible by putting the converging forces of the enemy on a false scent. This arduous enterprise he executed with such a finesse and tact that it failed not to elicit the fervent admiration of his implacable enemies. Dividing his army in two divisions, and leaving the weak division to engage the attention of the enemy, and thus leaving it to be totally annihilated, Tantia with Rao Saheb and the other division succeeded on the 25th of October in making his way through the circle and escaping to Rajgurh ; and then crossing the Nerbuda they passed into the

Nagpur territory. Noticing the presence of the British army there also, they turned sharp westward. Seeing that he was hemmed in here and also in the south and the west, Tantia directly turned towards the north-west with the intention of recrossing the Nerbuda and marching on to Baroda. When marching according to this programme on the 23rd, near Than, he fell on a number of carts laden with stores for the English. He captured the materials and made prisoners of the guards whom he ordered to be taken with his army. Tantia's main motive was to reach the Nerbudda before his pursuers, but fortune did not favour him in this hazardous enterprise. Michel had divined the intention of his astute adversary and had taken the necessary steps to baffle his well-conceived manoeuvre.

On the 24th, Major Sutherland, learning the loss of the store carts and the direction towards which Tantia had marched, hastened to follow him and came in sight of the rebel army near Rajpur. The time taken by the English General, to arrange his army in the order of battle, gave the veteran Tantia opportunity of giving the English army another slip. Sutherland thus deceived by his enemy resumed his pursuits, and after marching two miles came up with the enemy's force now reduced to about 3,000. After a short skirmish and after the loss of the only two guns that remained with him, Tantia had again to beat a hasty retreat. Pursued by the English in the direction of the Nerbudda and halting for a few days in the neighbourhood of Baroda, he again found time to think out his future plans and applied to the Begum of Bhopal to come to his rescue by helping him with troops and guns. "If you want them (troops and guns)," wrote the Begum in reply, "come and take them." At the same time she sent word about it to the English Generals who lost no time in hemming him round.* The situation of Tantia now became desperate. Michel in the rear and Parker on the right and Beaston's horse on the left pressed him; while Lord Markker with 600 Mahratta horse approached so near his position that even Tantia thought it was all over with him. Accordingly he sent a messenger to Kerr, asking the terms on which he might surrender himself to the English General. To this the English General gave a stern reply—"he would preserve his life until he had conferred with the authorities and obtained instructions as to his disposal; but that in the meanwhile, if he (Kerr) caught him in the field, he would certainly have him hanged."† Indignant

* Ball's Indian History, Vol. II., p. 547.

† Ball's Indian History, Vol. II., p. 515.

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at this brutal reply, the chieftain now availed himself of his unrivalled talent for eluding the grasp of his enemy.† He made a bold plan of fording the Nerbudda before the conquering army could close on him and accordingly he succeeded in crossing the Nerbudda, by boldly plunging in it on the 30th October, to the surprise and discomfiture of his enemy. Reaching the opposite bank, he lost not a moment to give his disappointed enemy a fresh opportunity to pursue him.

G. L. D.

† *Ibid*, p. 515.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

• ANANDA MOHAN BOSE

[*A Life of Ananda Mohan Bose* by Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar, M.A. ; Calcutta, A. C. Sarkar]

Time is yet full of the fragrant memories of the great man who passed away not many years ago—a man who by his many-sided activities had done a very great deal to mould the thoughts and feelings of his own generation and to elevate the public life of his country in more than one direction. But although his activities in the diversified walks of life can directly be traced in the many phases of Bengalee public life of to-day, the memory of his personality has not been very carefully cherished by young India. For a very pronounced characteristic of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose was his unobtrusive nature. Great undertakings stand to his credit ; movements which have been fruitful of the most beneficent influence on the destiny of our countrymen have been inaugurated by him; but he always managed to bring himself forward before the public as little as possible. Besides, from the very nature of the work done by him, he is bound to pass to future generations as little better than a mere name.

Indian public men have no opportunity, or till now had no opportunity, to mould the administration of the country in such a way that their names may be handed down to generations indissolubly bound up with measures of an abiding and beneficent influence. Their sole work has hitherto been, and is likely to remain for yet a long time ahead, to educate, shape, organise and focus popular opinion. Such work cannot, unfortunately, leave any tangible traces, and in the roll of our Indian public men how many have passed away from the memories of our countrymen who were once great and powerful and rendered most useful service to the mother-land in their own days. Hurrish Chandra Mookerji, Ram Gopal Ghose, Dwarkanath Tagore, Kristo Das Pal were men who did immense service to their people in their own days. Their work lives unperceived in the every-day public life of Bengal, but their memories have become all but an utter blank in the history of their own country.

Under circumstances such as these we welcome with the greatest pleasure this very interesting biography of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. It would surely have been better, as Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar himself suggests, if the biography had been compiled by a life-long friend and fellow-worker of Ananda Mohan Bose. But Mr. Hem Chandra Sarkar, although he cannot claim the advantage of having personally known Mr. Bose in the earlier stages of his life, yet occupies a position of undoubted advantage on account of his active connection with the Brahmo Samaj,

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no less than on account of his great intimacy with the family of Mr. Bose. It is evident that he has had access to a large body of valuable material for Mr. Bose's biography in his letters and journals. We only wish he had made a fuller and freer use of quotations from them. For it cannot be doubted that in nothing is the personality of a great man brought out in such an interesting light as in his own sayings uttered in the confidence of friendship or written in the privacy of a diary. We are grateful for the extracts that Mr. Sarkar has given us, but from what we do get we cannot refrain from asking for more. These extracts exhibit Mr. Ananda Mohan in his most characteristic light as a man of gentle mind and a highly religious temperament—overflowing with the milk of human nature and inspired by nothing else but by the spirit of God. His almost personal love for his mother-country was such a strong passion with him that, in whatever he did and said, it was bound to come out in its chrestest and intensest form. But even in this phase, there is one very important characteristic which marks it out from the patriotism which is found current in our country. His love of country was intensely spiritualistic, for in India he found the manifestation of the grace and glory of God and the gift of His choicest favours. His love of country, therefore, was only a part and parcel of his abounding love of God and a component of his spiritual nature.

The life of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose is indissolubly bound up with the political, social, educational and religious history of Bengal of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A history of that eventful period of development therefore forms an integral portion of the biography of Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. There was not one man in the whole of the past generation who filled so much of space in the history of the country as Ananda Mohan Bose. Mr. Sarkar has fully recognised the manifold character of Mr. Bose's life and has attempted to bring out the full significance of the versatile activity of the subject of his biography. Instead of therefore following a chronological method in the treatment of its events, he divides it into its various phases and devotes a chapter each to its political, religious, educational and social aspects. But we do not think he has done full justice to all these aspects of his career. But that does not appear to be his fault, for the political aspect of his life alone, if properly dealt with, might fill a large volume. The eventful period of the history of Bengal for instance between the viceregalities of Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin and the storm and stress of public life since Lord Curzon's assumption of the Indian Viceroyalty is dismissed with a very short treatment. The foundation and history of the Indian League, Mr. Bose's secession from it and the foundation of the Indian Association, the development of the Indian National Congress, the agitation on the Vernacular Press Act and the Ilbert Bill, the struggle for local self-Government and the incarceration of Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea,—these are some of the matters in the

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narrative of each one of which Mr. Bose's name would stand out boldly and his activities would come out everywhere in a very characteristic manner. Mr. Sarkar talks about all these matters, introduces us to all these subjects, but when we have just begun to take an interest in them, he refuses to take us further and leaves us unsatisfied.

To this biography, Sister Nivedita of Rk. V. contributes a special chapter on "Anandamohan Bose as a Nation-Maker." Whatever Mr. Bose's ideas about nation-building may have been, they were certainly not those which Sister Nivedita tries to explain Mr. Bose's life with. We are sorry Mr. Hemchandra Sarkar admitted this chapter in his beautiful biography of Mr. Bose, for the chapter in question does a great injustice to the memory of Mr. Bose and spoils a good deal of the effect of Mr. Sarkar's clear and unostentatious narration. Sister Nivedita may be welcome to believe in all sorts of Hindu prejudices and superstitions; but she has no right to thrust in a biography of Anandamohan Bose the exploded and silly doctrines of omens and chrisms. "When the great souls," says Sister Nivedita, "make their advent into life, why should their mothers, whose arms receive them on the threshold, not be made aware?" Sister Nivedita would have us believe in these rationalistic days all the silly signs and omens that are believed to have attended the births of Buddha, Christ or Sri Krishna. Oh, for the advance of the historic spirit!

Nor is the Sister fair to the memory of her deceased friend when we find her, reading between the lines, describing Anandamohan as losing all faith in constitutional agitation and joining hands with the party who would put no faith in an appeal to England for the better government of this country. Says the Sister :—

"The supreme test of Mr. A. M. Bose's political life came to him on his death-bed and he was not found wanting. Suddenly, the Indian people awoke to the realisation that their future depended on themselves alone ; that Nationality, not Constitutionalism, was henceforth to be their watchword ; that nation-building, not political organisation, was the task before them. In that hour there was found one man, clear-eyed enough to see that the story of the past was a tale only of experiments ; high-souled enough to acclaim that banner round which the armies of the future were already gathering ; and by universal consent worthy to confer the chrism and *abhishek* of a new life on the Indian Nation of the age. Few men have attained the spiritual triumph of giving welcome and benediction to that ideal which supersedes all for which they themselves have worked and striven. A. M. Bose, however, did this by instinct, and with his whole heart."

How significant are the words "not constitutionalism," "armies of the future," and "the ideal which supersedes all for which they themselves have worked and striven." Mr. A. M. Bose, so far as we knew him and we knew him to the last day of his life, never sneered at constitutionalism nor did he throw up the ideals of his earlier manhood—a faith and trust in lawful progress, in legitimate aspirations, and, above all, in a persistent agitation to improve the machinery of administration and not to supplant

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the existing Government. He himself never lost faith in the sense of justice of England as will be seen from the following appeal :—

"Let a nation which is Christian endeavour truly to shew the ideal of Christ, to earnestly realize that there is such a thing as National Righteousness and National Responsibility, and to carry out the divine command of doing to others what they would have wished done to themselves, in the exercise of their power, in their attitude towards Indian aspirations."

We shall now leave Sister Nivedita alone and shall try to draw our reader's attention to some of the cardinal features of the life of the late Mr. A. M. Bose. The first, the most noticeable and the most pronounced trait in Mr. Bose's character was, of course, his absolute reliance in the mercy of God. An entry from his diary will show this to the best light :—

"The memory arises in gloom and darkness of how I have neglected my opportunities, wasted my gifts, failed in my duties and yielded to weakness in a hundred directions : how, instead of progressing in the path of strength, purity and righteousness, I have often and often strayed from it and groped in the dark ; of how instead of ever holding my Heavenly Father by the hand and walking with Him, I have forsaken Him and been weak and miserable. And yet I cannot help thanking Him that, though I have forsaken him, He has not forsaken me, and often and often, in spite of my back-sliding, He has tried to pour comfort into my heart, and even now inspires me, amid my tears, with hopes for a better and brighter future. Will it ever be realized ? He knows. Like a little child I must be content to leave my future in faith and trust in His hand."

The next trait was unquestionably his patriotic earnestness. Here is how he refers to his own country in the address to the Congress over which he presided :—

"Do you, do we, Brother-Delegates, love that land, the land that gave us birth ; the land beloved of the gods, they say, in ages gone by, when the world was young and darkness lay over many of its peoples ; the land where knowledge lighted her earliest torch, the arts of life and civilization found their home, and philosophy pondered deep over the problems of life ; where Rishis sang those hymns to the Father in the Shining Sky, the earliest of the Aryan world which still live and throb in our hearts, and the eyes of the Seer saw visions of things not of this world ; that land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day ? That land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer, for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone. After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her, and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, Brothers and Sisters, fellow-citizens of this ancient land, it depends on us, on our sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streaks of that light shall broaden and grow into the lovely day. At length has India awakened from the stupor of ages, the fire of her intellect, of her heroism, of her piety, dimmed but yet not wholly extinguished, and waiting but the breeze of manly effort and kindly help to burn once again in the time to come, let us hope, with the splendour and lustre as of old.

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" You have cheered the name of India, our great mother-land, whenever it has been mentioned. Now, let it not be simple cheering, but let it be loving the country ; the love that is implanted in the depths, deepest depths of your hearts, a love that grows out of it, covers all the regions of your hearts."

There was no room for rancour or bitterness or a feeling of hostility in his intense love of his country. Even when he urged his countrymen " to avoid English goods and use those of Indian manufacture instead," he took care to point out that this step should not be taken in a spirit of hatred or ill-will towards England but openly out of love for our country. At the moment of the greatest depression and gloom in his life, he invokes the grace of God to save his countrymen from all feelings of despair. After the partition of Bengal was carried into effect by an executive order, he wrote :—

" We must drive all feelings of despair from our hearts, and instead be manly, patriotic, brave, and God-inspired. If we are men, then from our present adversity shall issue measureless prosperity and joy. Let us remember that from the dark and threatening cloud descends the life-giving shower, that in the muddy 'parted' earth is planted the blessed seed which sustains our lives. Let us thank God that in the midst of our lethargy and spiritless life, he has sent us this source of energy and manly efforts."

" We have to learn the divine lesson of how to suffer. No *Yajna* is complete without sacrifice ; and this is the teaching of Scriptures. Let us be prepared, if such should be the short-sighted and suicidal policy of any of our rulers, to suffer persecution for the sake of our Motherland, for from the thorns we shall tread will be formed a crown of glory for the country that gave us birth."

Next to his faith in God and love of his country, his anxiety to ameliorate the condition of our women-folk and our lowly classes formed almost a part of his religious life. He would never feel happy unless he could do something to elevate the condition of Indian women-kind and remove the fetters of caste and superstition and bring education to the door of all and sundry.

A most influential man of his own generation and provided with many good things of this world, he was scrupulously gentle to all sorts and conditions of men and placed his time and attention at the disposal of all who asked for them. Sweet reasonableness and a most soft and amiable character constituted the most striking characteristics of the social side of Mr. Bose's life. He was never hard upon or cruel to any one—not even to the man who had done him the greatest injury in life. The temper he maintained during the bitter controversies over the Kuch Behar marriage is a remarkable proof of how he never allowed personal affairs to disturb the discussion of public questions. As a moral, religious and intellectual force of his day, he was quite unrivalled and had attained to an eminence which none among his contemporaries, excepting, of course, Keshav Chandra Sen, could even dare to aspire. Pandit Sivanath Sastri rightly observes : " his example is still before me,—a beacon-light on the path of noble service to God and man." For an account of the inspiration he could give, we have only to turn to the

history of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, the Congress of 1898, the Report of the Education Commission of Lord Ripon, to the history of the political campaigns he conducted in England on behalf of India and to the life of the various public men who came under his direct influence.

And now we shall conclude this review with one of his most memorable utterances—an utterance that at once shows the wide culture, the deep faith and the intense patriotism of Ananda Mohan Bose :—

"And now, farewell, friends, with these, which may perchance be, the words which I shall utter to you on this side of Eternity. Farewell on this day of fraternal union when the bond of *Rakhi* is tied in our armies. Much that comes pouring into my heart much remain unsaid. Ours is not the land of the rising sun, for to Japan,—victorious, self-sacrificing and magnanimous,—belongs that title. But may I not say that ours is the land where the sun is rising again, where, after ages of darkness and gloom, with the help, let me gratefully acknowledge, of England and English culture, the glowing light is bursting once again over the face of the land, and the glorious dawn is heralding the approach of a bright and regenerated day ? Let us all pray that the Grace of God may bless our course, direct our steps, and make captive our hearts. Let action and not words be our motto and inspiring guide. And then shall my dream be realised of a beauteous land blessed by nature, and filled by men true and manly, and heroic in every good cause—true children of the Motherland. Let us see in our heart of hearts the Heavens opening and the angels descending. In ancient books the gods are described as showering flowers and garlands on the scene of a notable battle. See we not, my friends, those flowers dropped to-day from self-same hands, welcoming us to the new battle, not of blood, but of manly effort and stern resolve in the country's cause ?"

: LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

AIYANGAR, A. R.—The Indian Constitution (The "Hindu" office, Madras. 2/.)

CHATTERJI, RAMANANDA.—The Provincial Judicial Service of Bengal and East Bengal and Assam (A Compilation. Kuntaline Press, Calcutta.)

CROMER, EARL OF—Ancient and Modern Imperialism (John Murray. 10s. 6d.)

FORREST, H. T. S.—The Indian Municipality (Thacker, Spink & Co. 3/.)

HAVELL, E. B.—Essays on Indian Art, Industry and Education (Natesan & Co., Madras. 1/4).

IYER, A. K.—Cochin Tribes & Castes (Higgin bothan & Co., Madras. 10/.)

KOENIGSMARCK, COUNT HANS VON.—A German Staff Officer in India (Kegan Paul 10s. 6d.)

MARSHAL J. N.—The Archæological Survey of India, 1906-7 (Published by the Government of India.)

MALAVIYA, THE HON. PANDIT MADANMOHAN.—His Life and Speeches (Messrs. Ganesh & Co., Madras. Rs. 2.)

MAXWELL-LEFROY, H. & HOWLETT, F. M.—Indian Insect Life (A Manual of the Insects of the Plains—Tropical India. Published under the authority of the Government of India.)

PATTERSON, G.—A Geography of India (Christian Literary Society for India, London.)

SARKAR, HEMCHANDRA.—A Life of Ananda Mohan Bose with an Introduction from Pandit Siva Nath Sastri. (The Cheiry Press, 78, Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta. Cloth, Rs. 2.)

TROUP, R. S.—Indian Woods and their Uses (Government Printing Office, Calcutta. 4s.)

Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

THE PUNJAB

It has gone the way of many other representations to the Government—*vis.* the representation of the Punjab Hindus and the Provincial Congress Committee and the Punjab Reforms Hindu Sabha on the Council Reform scheme.

The Reformed Council Regulations bear very little evidence of any regard being paid to the representation of either bodies. The bureaucracy in the province only shows its reactionary hand—one may almost say its cloven foot—too plainly both in the original scheme and in the published Regulations. The Morleyean concessions have been doled out with regrettable stinginess. In official phraseology, the Punjab has been regarded as if it were the Boeotia of the Indian provinces. The elective element in the reformed Councils, so far as our province is concerned, is whittled and crushed down into a minimum, being limited to five out of a total of twenty five members. Excepting the backward province of Burmah, every province has got a larger proportion of elective members and nowhere except in the Punjab is the proportion less than forty per cent. of the whole. How can a Council be said to be reformed and enlarged, where the elected element forms only twenty per cent. of the total? It passes our comprehension why this province should in spite of its remarkable progress in every sphere of educational, commercial, industrial, social and philanthropic activity, be relegated to so inferior a position and treated in such a way! We do not know who is to blame for this invidious differentiation, but, whoever he may be, there cannot be the least doubt that the educated public in the province keenly and strongly resents the badge of inferiority which a hopelessly unprogressive bureaucracy has most unjustly branded it with. It is on this account that the reforms have failed to kindle any enthusiasm in this province. But this is not its only defect. The Regulations have been so framed—this grievance is common to all the provinces—as to leave the representation of the educated class at a disadvantage. Then again, in spite of the positive assurance conveyed to the Punjab Hindu Sabha in reply to its memorial by the Government of India, *vis.* that ample provision will be made to safe-guard the interests of all important minorities, the Regulations make absolutely no provision for the safe-guarding of the interests of the minorities in the province. The Sikhs, as Sir Louis Dane said in his speech in opening the Exhibition, constitute the back-bone and the flower of the Indian army and they form the most important minority in the province; yet nothing has been done to safe-guard their representation in the several clauses of the Regulations, while the Hindus appear to have been as much under a cloud as ever. It is true that for elections to the provincial Council, the Mahomedans, who are in a majority in this province, have not got any separate electorate—it would have been little short of a grave public scandal had

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it been so—but they have got a separate seat for themselves for election to the Viceroy's Legislative Council. It does not matter if for the present this reserved seat goes to them by nomination rather than by election; the fact is there that they have got, in spite of their numerical preponderance, a special seat. Certainly these are not features calculated to arouse any enthusiasm over the reform regulations in the minds of the great body of people who do not own allegiance to the Prophet of Arabia.

It will be, however, said that the Reform Regulations concede a non-official majority in the Provincial Councils. The non-official Majority This non-official majority, however, with regard to our Council, is recognised by even an Anglo-

Indian paper, the *Morning Post* of Delhi, as no real gain. It rightly says :—"One object of the reforms is to bring the non-official element into Councils in such a way as to make the influence of that factor something more than a mere theoretic principle. But India is a land so thoroughly permeated with official traditions that when we examine the communal areas which are to be the genesis of election, it seems to us that the really independent element of non-officialism will not have much opportunity of coming to the front. What are wanted are not only non-officials by name, but non-officials in mental outlook and point of view. There is a type of non-official, in this country, as, let it be admitted, there is in other countries, who is more of a human worm than anything else. Such men are mere time-servers, with often not even brains ; they 'get on' as the phrase goes, and become somebodies in their own little world by the exercise of arts, which, persisted in for a long course of years, makes them as invertebrate as jelly-fish. We all know this type of person." "The Head of the Province," continues the *Morning Post* "can nominate nine or more non-official members and he is hardly likely to select a man, who, in his opinion, would be a scathing critic of Government measures. Nor need any exception be taken to this attitude of caution, for after all said and done, L. G.'s are only human beings and do not pretend to be anything else. But we shall be extremely surprised if the nominated non-official members are not in their mental outlook, three parts official and we can only hope that we shall get real good men of whatever nationality they may belong to. Of five elected members there is the chance that the Punjab University may return an independent representative, unless he be too much of a mere theoretical doctrinaire. From the Municipal and Cantonment Committees, we are doubtful if much real non-official legislative talent will emerge."

The result of the elections as well as nominations by the Lieutenant-Governor to the Provincial Legislative Council The Elections only too painfully illustrates the point of the *Morning Post's* remarks. The educated community is entirely at a discount in the new Council—some of the Councillors, it is said, have only an indifferent acquaintance with the English language. They may perhaps approximate to Mr. A. Chaudhuri's facetious definition of an ideal Councillor with 'an undisturbed mind,' but can the Government congratulate itself on the fact ? In the elections, the Mahomedans in all cases excepting one have swamped the boards and the nominations further swell their strength. We have got no less than seven Mahomedan Councillors as against three Hindu

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and two Sikh Councillors. In the Viceroy's Council, there are two Mahomedan and one Sikh member from the Punjab but no Hindu member. It is thus that the assurance of the Government of India to the Punjab Hindu Sabha about the safeguarding of the rights of minorities has been carried out.

The Deputation of the Hindus that waited upon Sir Louis Dane on the new year's day and the trenchant and severely caustic remarks it met at the hands of the Hindu Deputation Lieutenant-Governor have come in for a good deal of criticism in the public press. The Deputation was headed by the Maharaja of Durbhangha and included Sir Pratul Chandra Chatterji and other Hindu leaders, and it went to convey felicitations and expressions of devoted loyalty to the Sovereign, to his local representative here and expected commendation from His Honour. But Sir Louis Dane seized the occasion for the delivery of a needlessly trenchant reply. He openly said that mere lip co-operation would not do, an active and zealous co-operation was the one thing needed and that those who were not with the Government were against it. He concluded with a threat for the introduction of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, if the dissemination of sedition was not stopped forthwith. The reply of His Honour has been most unfortunate. Does Sir Louis Dane mean that persons like the Maharaja of Durbhangha, Sir Pratul Chanda, Rai Bahadur Lal Chand and Lala Harkishen Lal should constitute themselves into special constables or form themselves into Vigilance Committees and relieve the C. I. Department of their duties? Nobody knows.

The alleged sedition cases in Patiala are drawing on their weary length, but no comment can be justified at this stage. But quite a large amount of irregularities in the proceedings has been brought to light. Mr. Gray, the prosecution counsel, frequently justified them on the ground that the Maharaja's will is law and that the Criminal Procedure Code can be abrogated at his pleasure. In spite of that, Mr. Gray lately entered a *noble prossegue* against forty of the accused, who were accordingly discharged. Mr. Gray's opening speech on behalf of the prosecution reads more like a crusade against the Arya Samaj than an indictment of the persons accused in this case. But of this anon.

THE UNITED BENGAL I. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

Quite a picturesque proposal has been on the tapis in Eastern Bengal and Assam for some time past. We have in our mind the proposed addition to the already existing departments of the provincial Government —viz. a Department of Commerce and Industry. It is said under its protective wings would sprout up new and undeveloped small industries fit to be conducted with local capital. But this is so perilously near Socialism!—and what would Mr. Rees say and his Highness of Burdwan? However, it appears from the E. B. Government report on Education that this new department is a settled fact now, and that it would play an important part in connexion with technical education of the province. It would supervise the training of recruits in technical and industrial work, as well as take control of the

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labour problems and statistical work relating to trade. So, it has "such a face and such a mien—as to be loved needs only to be seen." We will have a Director of Commerce and Industry with all the necessary paraphernalia of office. It seems the financial impediment has been got over, and the project seriously taken up—the Government of India finding the wherewithal. Whenever it comes, the important industry of Red Tape manufacture will certainly not be neglected by this new department.

A Judicial Inquiry It would be idle to blink the fact that, to many minds, what has really been the silver lining of the sable cloud of the Partition, is the wider and more impartial employment of the people of Eastern Bengal in

some branches of the State service hitherto overwhelmed by men of the other parts of the country. Before the partition was effected, those who lived about the metropolis had the best opportunities of burning incense at the altar of the departmental deities huddled together in Calcutta, and necessarily had the milk and honey of office to themselves. The provincial judicial service was perhaps remarkable for want of equipoise in this respect. With the formation of the new province, however, has come the sundering of this service into two in January last, and a practical recognition, by the English department of the High Court, of territorial and local claims—as evidenced by the post-partition recruitments for Eastern Bengal. But in the allotment of officers to the twin provinces, the reference to family residence has been made rather unreasonably stringent, and almost the sole standard to go by. As there has not thus been an even distribution, of senior and junior grade officers, between the two provinces, the vacancies caused by retirement in the two provinces do not correspond to the ratio which the two services bear to each other. This is a case of individual hardship, no doubt. But it is to be feared there is a more serious cause of complaint as well. Of the total of 60 Subordinate Judgeships and 313 Munsifships, Bengal's share has been 36 and 170 as contrasted with Ebassam's 24 and 143 respectively; whereas the number of Sub-Judges proportionate to that of Munsiffs in each province, would be 32·6 in Bengal and 27·4 in E. B. and A. The total monetary loss thus entailed to the Ebassam service is about Rs 1000 per month. Besides, before the allocation of the two provincial lists, six posts of District and Sessions Judge and one Presidency Small-Cause-Court judgeship used to be filled by promotion from the provincial cadres. But as matters stand at present, Ebassam has to be content with only two of these prize billets—as opposed to 5 of Bengal—although the proportionate number ought to have been 3·02 for E. B. and 3·08 for Bengal. A complaint—not without its enlivening humour—is heard, that of the two officers now blocking the way to that pinnacle of preferment in E. B., one is 51 and the other only 41 years; hence deferred hopes and sick hearts. Now, look on that rosy picture of Bengal, where majority of these fortunate five are past 55, likely to retire from active service etc long yielding place to new aspirants. As the buttered side of the bread has fallen to the share of Bengal, a special grade, for 12 munsiffs, carrying Rs 500 per month, has been created in Ebassam as a recompence. But while it has not particularly succeeded as a sop to injured interests, it has rather nettled the Bengal Munsiff a bit. Apart from all these, the lot of the Ebassam official is in no wise an

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enviable one. The new province is not so fortunate in healthy stations as Bengal undoubtedly is ; and the overworked E. B. judicial must therefore rough it out in comparatively insanitary places. The injustice of this becomes more apparent when we take into account the case of those E. B. officers who had entered the service before the dismemberment was contemplated, and rested their hopes of health by turns of the capricious wheel of " transfer."

We quite realise that the High Court, having no control over the governmental purse, is unable to do anything in the matter beyond making recommendations to the provincial governments concerned. Still we feel the Chief Justice should use his influence to ameliorate the adverse conditions of Ebassam's subordinate judiciary.

Perhaps a somewhat satisfactory solution of the whole problem would be to keep the sixty sub-judgeships and the seven higher places joint, making appointments to them in order of merit and seniority from the two provinces, from a common list of senior officers to be kept for the purpose. Really it would be cruel to ask the Ebassam service to wait till the Assam districts have developed a general demand for the services of higher grade judicial officers, and the climatic conditions of the province reached a higher tone of salubrity,—till the Munsif's millennium, that is.

We are not quite sure if we have not caught ' Max ' of ' Capital ' in one of his desperate joking moods this time. In Partition and High Court no other light are we disposed to take his repeated recipes for giving an " absolute quietus " to the (Partition) " agitation, which reasonable when beginn has now degenerated into a stale grievance." *Similia Similibus Curantur* seems to be the motto of this political Hahnemann. And nothing short of another partition—this time of the Calcutta High Court—would, according to him, be in any way efficacious in taking off the keen edge of the agitation. Apparently ' Max ' wants to make a " Happy Valley " of Ebassam, a self-contained and self-centred land—" complete in itself and entirely separated from Bengal proper." We had a notion that the Anglo-Indian commercial community would be generally opposed to any scheme that might look like shearing the Calcutta High Court of its importance. And we know how the author of the Partition bought the support of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce for his pet measure by a promise not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the High Court. However, ' Max ' is quite in the wrong if he believes that the grievances of the people of Eastern Bengal against the partition would be removed by such petty and dubious tinkerings as he suggests. What Sir Bamfylde Fuller has yet the hardihood to characterise as a more efficient form of administration of the transferred districts, is a mere mockery—a travesty—if set by the side of the system of government Bengal is about to enjoy under the Reforms. The people of Eastern Bengal and Assam feel this in their heart of hearts ; and the prospect of a bisection of the Calcutta High Court—and similarly of the University—would not be particularly pleasing to them. It would indeed be strange if it be, especially after the Burrah case. We are not so blind as not to see that, with a strong and independent Bar at Dacca, the public life of that sleepy hollow, and consequently of Eastern Bengal, may be improved to a certain extent. But it is doubtful if this gain would not be out-balanced by the net loss involved in the necessary weakening of the Bench. Chandpal Ghat

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it a far cry from Assam and Cachar. And 'Max' says it is now an anomaly that the Calcutta High Court should be the supreme tribunal for these places. But was it not so before, when Assam was a province by itself? And would it be anything short of an anomaly if people of Maldah and Rajshahi have to go all the way to Dacca for justice? Yet, "a High Court should now be established at Dacca, probably a Chief Court in the first instance would do." We are thankful to 'Max' for not suggesting a Star Chamber as an alternative.

We thought as much. Mainly it is hereditary wealth that sits to-day in the Dacca Council of Notables—euphemistically termed the Reformed Legislative Council. The proportion of the representatives of the middle classes has become beautifully less ; for "our country manners give our betters way." And there ought not to be any qualms at Burdwan, so far as one of the provincial councils at least is concerned. Besides the Lieutenant-Governor, twenty Europeans and twenty Indians compose the Council at present. Up to date we have had these 40 Memberships—10 less than the maximum sanctioned strength—gazetted ; of which only 18 has been on election, the rest 22—consisting of 16 officials and 6 non-officials—being nominated. Among the officials is an Indian Hindu—a senior Deputy Magistrate on the eve of retirement from service. And to the *Statesman's* correspondent at Dacca, who, we believe, is a member of the Indian Educational Service, "it is extremely pleasing to see that a member of the Subordinate Services or a pleader can acquire a seat on the Council." Of the non-official 24 (elected and nominated), 11 members are Hindus, 8 Mahomedans, and 5 Europeans. In the election, the Moslems have participated in two general seats, besides their four special electorates, and the Europeans have captured a seat from the mixed electorate, over and above the four seats reserved for the (European) commercial interests. The Hindus have secured both of the special seats set apart for the landowning class, as also five general seats. The number of zamindar electors for the provincial council was 356 ; and that for the Imperial Council 136. The qualified Mahomedan voters for their special seat in the Viceregal Council numbered 213. The number of Moslem electors for their special seats in the provincial council will appear from the following :

Dacca 163 ; Mymensing 213 ; Faridpur 155 ; Barisal 433 ; Chittagong 570 ; Tipperah 178 ; Noakhali 139 ; Rajshahi 138 ; Dinajpur 395 ; Jalpaiguri 41 ; Rangpur 479 ; Bogra 151 ; Pabna 110 ; Malda 114 ; Cachar 55 ; Sylhet 308. Total 3642.

Of this number 140 were qualified to vote as graduates. A goodly number of non-official Indian members are landholders whose "Hon'ble" ambitions ought to have been satisfied by their two exclusive seats. And it is a noteworthy feature of Eastern Bengal that among the nominated non-official Indian members, every one of the five appointed at first was a landholder : one addition having been made to this number later, almost as an after-thought. And every one of these six has got titular distinctions. In fact eleven out of the nineteen non-official Indian members are titled folk. To the "Pioneer" correspondent it appears "strange that the Mahomedan element has not had a proportionate importance as compared with the Hindu, in the reformed council," in a province in which there are 18 million Mahomedans and 11½ million Hindus out of

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a total population of 31 million persons. Quite so ; but if numerical proportion of population is every thing, is it not equally strange that out of pny 18 seats open to election, 5 have gone to the Europeans ? And we must not forget that the Lieutenant Governor himself exercised his rights of nomination in such a way as to return the Hindu majority complained of. Out of six nominations, of non-officials, four are Hindus and only two Mahomedans. It is no doubt remarkable that the Moslems have not been able, to send in more of their representatives in the general seats. The reason is not very far to seek: the percentage of Mahomedan members in the Eastern Bengal Boards is only 40·7 ; besides this Assam is largely Hindu. As the Moslems would come to take by and by a larger share in the local self-government, commensurate with their numerical strength, their certain majority in the general electorate seats would be restored, and the chance majority of the Hindus of this session would disappear. Even this year, the defeat of Mr. P. L. Roy, at the polls of the District Boards of the Dacca Division, and at the hands of a Mahomedan whom it would not be any slander to call a comparatively raw stripling, has its moral too obvious to need expatiation. However, this year's results cannot be unsatisfactory to the Hindus ; still we would continue our protest against the principles underlying the differential treatment meted out to the Moslems. Not that we are envious of our Moslem brethren. To use Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan's words, we are "not only not sorry, but are sincerely glad that direct representation has been given to our Mahomedan fellow subjects and that the franchise extended to them is fairly liberal..... The point of complaint is that the franchise has not similarly been extended to any non-Mahomedan." The non-Mahomedan and non-landholding population have no direct representation ; such representation as has been given them is through the District and Local boards and the Municipalities. And from Government reports we can judge the value of this franchise as well. The total number of District Boards in Eastern Bengal has been given as 283, of which 74 are ex-officio members, 105 are nominated, and 104 elected. The total number of Eastern Bengal Local Board members is 368, comprised of 27 ex-officio, 221 nominated, and 120 elected. Thus the three divisions of Eastern Bengal total 651 members, of which 427, or almost $\frac{2}{3}$ of the total number, are nominated and ex-officio, the remaining 224 or about $\frac{1}{3}$ being elected. So these three divisions have been given a seat each in the council. And we are asked to pin our faith to them as the popular seats—an adequate representation of the educated middle classes ! Assam on the contrary reveals an astonishingly better proportion of elected to nominated members—there being 76 ex-officio, 64 nominated and 174 elected, out of a total of 314. And they have got two members to represent them. We can also form an opinion about the three Municipal seats, when we remember that of the total 656 members of the Municipalities of the whole province, 327 are ex-officio and nominated, and 329 elected. In this respect the Assam districts (with 106 ex-officio and nominated, and 49 elected) are far worse off than Eastern Bengal. It will be seen that Assam, with less than one-fifth of the total population of the province, has got eight members in all—or one-third of the total of non-official members—six being elected (of which two are tea members) and two nominated. At the next

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general election, Assam will return one more elected member—as it would be the turn of the Assam districts to send a landholders' representative. We wonder if the partition was made all for the benefit of Assam. Of the three representatives (of Zemindars, Mussalmans, and non-official members of the provincial council) of the province on the Supreme Legislative Council, one is a Hindu and two Mussalman. The election of Sir Bamfylde Fuller's "Right Ghaznavi" to the Viceregal Council, as the representative of the non-official members of the Eastern Bengal and Assam Council, is an event not unworthy of notice. His opponent in the campaign was Rai Sita Nath who tied with him in the ballot and was defeated in the lottery. It is an open secret that the Moslem members voted solid for the Moslem candidate, and the Hindus present for Rai Sitanath, the Europeans being pretty fairly divided on either side. In this view, the nomination of one Hindu non-official *after this election was over* does not appear to be quite the thing one expects from a responsible Government. However, we are not at all sorry for Rai Sita Nath, who has had enough of 'Honour' already, having been nominated to the two provincial councils as the representative of the Indian commercial community. We doubt if it would have been physically possible for him to attend the sittings of a third. Very few Hindus of any note and public character put forth candidature from the Eastern Bengal districts. In fact the names of some of them, more than "qualified" even under the Hindu landholder's clause, were omitted in the electoral lists through a curious oversight which could not however be rectified this time, though the name of at least one Mussalman gentleman, we are told, was put in almost under similar circumstances. Another election episode was the vetoing of the first election of two members by the tea interests of the province. We do not know who was responsible for this muddle. It would not be quite out of place to allude here to the too frequent changes of high officers—especially the Legislative Secretary—in that Cinderella province. Legal Remembrancership being in that province the only stepping-stone to the High Court, hardly has one gentleman—a District Judge of Dacca—cooled his heels there when he is called away to fill a temporary vacancy on the High Court Bench. Thus we have our third Legal Remembrancer, in this the fifth year of the new province. We cannot close our review of the Council elections without referring to the unseethly broil among certain Moslem gentlemen over their special seats. Although, as the Nawab Seimulla told us in his rather cryptic manifesto, "the partition and council regulations have now afforded a great opportunity to the Mahomedans.....to earn fame and be Hon'ble members" "lamentable fracas and split are reported amongst the candidates." The Nawab would have his people elect only "those who can stand on their legs and without a staff", those in short who would be able "to carry on a debate with forcible arguments" and to "cope with the representatives of conflicting interests." The Nawab, who of course combines in himself these *sine qua non* for membership in a super-eminent degree, had "abandoned the idea of standing for election." An "old veteran" as he is, he wanted to "retire and make room for the new enthusiasts". But he never said that he had likewise abandoned the idea of exercising his prescriptive right of private entry, that is of slipping into the Council chamber through the back-door.

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of nomination ! So he is there. But may not all this lofty gibberish about the sturdy-legs-test and "debate with forcible arguments" refer to some "personal question", which, as the Nawab himself said, was "besmearing the whole canvass"? In this connexion we may recall the startling defeats—once in the contest for the Supreme Council, and once more in that for the Provincial—of Khan Bahadur Nawab Ali Chowdhury who, we used to think, was under-studying the part of the Nawab himself. The Khan Bahadur has no doubt been nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. Still it would indeed be scandalous if an impression were allowed to gain ground that the Mahomedan seats are practically in the keeping of one particular member of the community. However, now that the Nawab's nominees have all become Hon'ble, we hope they would quit themselves well in "coping" with "conflicting interests"—like champion pugilists.

II. BENGAL

The Elections during the current month excepting of course the elections to the Councils under the new rules. These elections have been a great surprise to all parties,—not because in many races dark horses have won but because more than half the men who have returned to the Council have so far been absolutely innocent of all knowledge of politics. The elections here, though not half so bad as those in the sundered province of Eastern Bengal, must be pronounced as a great disappointment. Out of a total strength of twenty-six elected members, the public have had not much knowledge of any body excepting Messrs Baikuntha Nath Sen, Deepnarain Singh and K. B. Dutt. These are the only public men who have cared to enter the new Council. Among the others, the Maharajah of Cossimbazar is believed to be a good representative of the landed interest which has returned him to the Bengal Council. The Behar band may be a very patriotic one, but their representative character has yet to be tested. If intellect and ability are taken into account, the new Council is a poor one inspite of its numbers. If representative character is to be considered, the Council has not been strengthened with any element of real representation or as the late Mr. Gladstone would have it 'live representation.' As regards stakes in the country well, well, there has been enough of their representation and perhaps with vengeance. If these representatives off special electorates will not succeed in helping the Council with sound and sane advice, they will at least not fail to support all legislations with the cumulative weight of their authority.

Oh, the shades of the Guelphs, the Stuarts, the Hanoverians and H. M. Burdwan the House of Brunswick ! His Magnificence Mahapatrapati III of Burdwan seems to have taken the shine out of them all. There is no man, woman or child in Bengal who can forget His Imperial Majesty of Burdwan even for a day. But that is no reason why his majesty himself should not be anxious to be in evidence to his heart's content. He has therefore come forward again before the public not with another speech from the

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throne but with a message to 'my brother Zemindars'. There is something peculiarly common between Mahatap III and the reigning Ksar of to-day, Wilhelm II, particularly about the method of their appealing to the public,—they do not always choose the throne to make their important pronouncements. However, that is another story. In the present case, Mahatap III has in a letter to the *Statesman* come forward to brandish the stakes (are they anything like sticks?) he has in the country. He begins by describing himself as 'a public man interested in public affairs'—a definition which would certainly have gladdened the heart of the first president of the Pickwick Club. As 'a public man,' therefore, his Magnificence of Burdwan reads a lecture to the Bengal Zemindars. He well might, for the poor poor Bengal Zemindars,—they are foolish, they are unwise, they are molly-coddled in their infancies, they do not develop a backbone nor do they combine talent along with gold mohurs. Altogether they make a very sorry and silly lot. How do they not envy the culture and education, the taste, and the weighty back-bone of Mahatap III? Whether these poor Bengal Zemindars will listen to his sound advice is more than we know, but the country at large is indebted to the Dhiraj of Dhiraj of Burdwan for the many wise saws of political philosophy with which he has cared to enrich his famous letter to the *Statesman*.

His Magnificence Mahatap III doubts the prudence of Zemindars 'forcing in through the ordinary way as well' while 'a useful weapon in the shape of a special electorate' has been provided to them. On that matter we are not competent to pass any opinion, for we have never been advocates of 'force' ourselves. Mahtap III, however, believes in 'perorations,' for he sums up in the concluding portion of his letter his reading of the general situation. We quote below these passages : "Sir Edward Baker has been called upon to govern a Province and to pursue a laid-down policy of British Rule in India, and sacred principles that can never be brought on the platform of party politics, and probably nobody realises this so fully as His Honour; and if this be granted, it seems mean to ascribe motives to a Ruler who has begun well, and whom in the first place, it is yet too early for the ordinary public to judge, and secondly whatever be his personal politics, Sir Edward is wide awake to the fact that conciliation is the key-note of bad government and consideration the golden gate to success."

How delicious indeed is the compliment paid to Sir Edward Baker and how heartily he of Belvedere must have enjoyed it; and how wise are the dicta about 'pursuing a laid-down policy,' and 'conciliation being the key-note of a bad government.' Since the days of Plato no thinker has been able to put forward saws of such supreme and condensed wisdom as these. What a pity and regret that his own country and people do not, as the adage has it, honour and appreciate such a prophet and a seer. We at any rate pray to God that his Magnificence Mahatap may long be spared to us, now that Lord Acton and Sir John Seely are no more to enrich political thought. We really need in these days a clever exponent of 'sacred principles that can never be brought on the platform of party politics' as well as a demonstration of stakes, talents, and gold mohurs.

The return of Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu to the Imperial Council has been received with mixed feeling in Bengal. One school of opinion seems to think that by entering the Imperial Council under the

Mr. Bhupendra
Nath Basu's
Election

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new regulations which deliberately ignore the claims of the educated middle classes he has shown a want of self-respect and of independence which is most regrettable in a public man of his position. Another school of opinion hold that it is no good sulking or keeping away from the Councils and that half a loaf is always better than no loaf. Evidently Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu belongs to the second school of politics,—whether rightly or wrongly it is difficult to say. At any rate, it goes without saying that the educated Indian opinion is hopelessly divided on the question, as will be seen from the fact that men like Mr. Gokhale, Nawab Syed Mahmood, Pundit Madanmohan Malavia have thought it worth their while to join the new Councils. It is no use going behind the scenes and imputing motives to any of them ; for no decent public man would ever impugn the transparent honesty of so respectable leaders of public opinion as we have named above. One thing must, however, be said against Bhupendra Nath that his views on this particular matter are not shared by the moderate party in Bengal, as is sufficiently evident from the manifesto issued in this connection by the leaders of this party.

However be it, some of Mr. Basu's overzealous friends would not allow this occasion to pass without some entertainment to his honour. And what a silly entertainment did they not get up to honour him ? They treated Mr. Basu,—yes, to a feast of light, a blaze of illumination, a bioscope exhibition and a pyrotechnic display. But that is not the whole of it, for, with commendable foresight and sense of fitness of things, the promoters of the party did not forget to include in their programme of entertainments some theatricals. Just fancy women from the stage brought down to entertain Mr. Basu for his having got into the Imperial Council—or did they think his entrance to the Bengal Council through the back-door of nomination even a greater honour than his "forcing in", in the memorable language of Burdwan, "through the open door as well." The promoters of the party, we have no doubt, must have had a very good time of it with theatricals, illuminations and fireworks,—but it breaks our heart to think that our esteemed leader should have been the central figure of this thoughtless buffoonery and allowed all this to have taken place in a party got up in his honour. Why cannot our Rajahs and Maharajahs leave our public men alone ? Alas ! for the folk who belong to that happy class of people whom Lloyd George has described in his felicitous language as "the great unemployed" and who in Bengal owe their autocratic temperament to the permanent settlement of Lord Cornwallis.

Since when, indeed, Rajah Binaykrishna Deb Bahadur of 106-1, Grey Street and his immediate *confidantes* have become the public of Calcutta ? We have hitherto known the Raja Bahadur in the amiable role of a sea-voyage agitator and an amateurish essayist, but who could ever guess that he was secretly emulating the temper and habits of the Czar of all the Russias ? Nobody would like the Raj at 106-1, Grey Street, to abandon its *hautier* and don't-care-a-straw attitude for, mind you, it is the seat of a live Raj ; but we should venture to suggest that the present atmosphere and environment of Bengal are hardly likely to encourage the cultivation of any aristocratic ambitions.

We really do not know if it is much of an honour for any leader

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Mr. S. Sinha and of Bengalee public opinion to get elected as a Young Behar member of the Imperial Council. At any rate things are different in Behar and we do not, therefore, feel any hesitation in congratulating Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha on his having been returned as a member of this Council. Though Mr. Sinha is about the youngest of all the members in the new Council, he carries a wise head over his young shoulders. As a distinguished Congressman and the editor of the *Hindustan Review*, he has done yeoman service by educating Indian public opinion on many questions of national interest. He may be a wee bit antiquated in his political ideas but that is no fault of his, as he shares them in common with most of his compatriots in Behar. If it is true, as is believed in some quarters, that the Behar members of the Bengal Legislative Council went in solid for him, it no doubt bespeaks well of their patriotism and the solidarity of their political opinions. Young Behar for once have asserted her position in the struggle for political supremacy, and if it can show a fight of this kind on similar occasions it will leave its mark on the contemporary history of India.

So far there has only been two meetings of the Bengal Legislative Council and in none of these has any important Meetings of the Local Council Bill been introduced or any new business been transacted. It is significant that none of the elected members have yet availed themselves of the extended functions of the Councils—following an interpellation with supplementary questions or by moving any Resolutions. We hope before long some of our 'honourable' men will justify Lord Morley's scheme and bring public grievances more prominently into the front either in the form of Resolutions or in carefully-worded interpellations.

The Bengal Deportees At last the Bengal deportees have been set at large and the country is none the worse for their being restored to liberty. 'Internal commotion,' in the sense in which it was used by the framers of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, has been conspicuous by its absence in Bengal since the indigo riots of 1872, and yet there have been people who have started at every sign of an awakening of a new life in these provinces. We do not know about all the nine Bengal deportees; but we cannot but pity the colossal ignorance of a Government which suspects any malevolent intentions behind the great moral, intellectual and industrial movement of which Messrs. Aswinikumar Dutt and Krishnakumar Mitter have for nearly a generation stood as very prominent and respectable leaders. At any rate, we thank the Government for having found out its mistake now—even though it may be fourteen months too late. But we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without expressing our deep gratitude to Lord Minto for this act of justice and more still for the bold declaration that the political agitation with which these gentlemen were so intimately associated had nothing whatever to do with the anarchist movement. What has the *Englishman* to say to this? As for the seditious character of the agitation with which they 'had been culpably implicated,' the Viceroy is privileged to have his own opinions. How we wish he had read the situation correctly and had accurate informations before him. But even Viceregal *ipsi dixit* must not in every case be taken too seriously.

In this connection, it would also be ungracious not to ac-

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knowledge in handsome terms the very kindly and considerate treatment which was accorded to all the deportees during the period of their incarceration. The released deportees are eloquent in their praise of the arrangements made for their comforts by the Government. This consideration shown to the deportees was an act of conciliation and 'humane statesmanship' for which one cannot sufficiently thank Lords Morley and Minto. It almost disarms criticism and reconciles ourselves to our good friend, Regulation III of 1818.

We congratulate the Co-operative Hindusthan Bank for the very good business it has done during the last half-year. The Co-operative Hindusthan Bank, of 1909. Banking business is a new industry in Bengal and people in these provinces have not yet begun to take kindly to this institution. Under the circumstances, it reflects great credit upon its Directors, particularly upon its chief manager, Babu Karunamaya Gupta, for having been able to get together 2 lakhs of Rupees for its working capital and, what is much more commendable, for having succeeded in making very good use of this money. A Co-operative Bank need not necessarily start with a big capital, for it expands itself with good and profitable work. It is, therefore, most encouraging to find that, in spite of public apathy in the matter, the Hindustan Bank has done substantial good business and been in a position to declare a dividend for the half-year under notice of 8 per cent. That is splendid to begin with, and, we have no doubt, with Babu Karunamaya Gupta at its head, it has still more brilliant future before it. We hope that this Bank will be able to prove in the course of a few years that Bengalees may succeed *even* in such a complicated experiment as banking on European lines,—an enterprise which has so long been entirely foreign to the Bengalee genius.

The tragic end of Moulavi Shyamsul Alam sets one furiously to think,—about the future of the great body of Terrorism in Bengal young men who hover between imprudence and idealism. That another Bengalee of very tender age should be soiling his hand with the innocent blood of a trusted public servant is an object-lesson in the development of the terrorist spirit in these provinces. The Government can spare more than a dozen Shyamsul Alams and as soon as one of them meets his doom in the hands of an anarchist another man comes up and takes up his place,—perhaps with greater zeal and devotion than his predecessor in office. Why should not our youngmen understand this is more than we know. Terrorism in no part of the world has been a successful weapon in the hands of the agitator. Its inevitable result everywhere has been to stiffen the back of the executive and to make Government more and more re-actionary and repressive. Terrorism or anarchism, nihilism or revolutionary societies have failed in their object in the west and have lesser chance of succeeding in the East. Why should then these youngmen be anxious to end their careers at the gallows by taking innocent lives is a matter with which the Administrator and the Legislator along with teachers, guardians and leaders of youngmen ought to concern themselves at once. The evil may yet be in the incipient stage. Now is the time for the society to come forward to put its foot down mercilessly upon this evil. We hope, therefore, that the Committees that have recently

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been appointed in Calcutta to co-operate with the Government in this matter will be able to devise some practical measures to meet this new danger to our life and progress. We would suggest to the Government to take a house to house census of all youngmen between the age of fifteen and thirty belonging to the literate classes of society in every part of the Empire, and to instruct their guardians to report to the authorities about their movements and whereabouts from time to time. The police may also use the census to keep an eye upon and watch over the movements of these youngmen and, if needs be, to pay domiciliary visits to their haunts and homes and enquire about their whereabouts. Care should also be taken to verify these reports as frequently as possible. This may not effectively kill anarchism, but may have a tremendous effect in arresting the further development of the Terrorist movement in these provinces.

'The curtain has at last been rung down over the Alipore Bomb trial. What a relief ! Out of the five accused whose The Manicktolla case was referred to a third Judge of the High Conspiracy Court, 3 have been let off. We think that Justice has vindicated herself all round in this unfortunate case.'

OFFICIAL PAPERS

THE PRESS ACT

FULL TEXT

The following Act of the Governor-General of India in Council received the assent of the Governor-General on the 9th February 1910, and is hereby promulgated for general information :—

ACT NO. I OF 1910

An act to provide for the better control of the Press

Whereas it is necessary to provide for the better control of the Press : It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (x) This Act may be called the Indian Press Act, 1910.
- (2) It extends to the whole of British India inclusive of British Baluchistan, the Santhal Parganas and the Pargana of Spiti.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,—

(a) "book" includes every volume, part or division of a volume, and pamphlet, in any language, and every sheet of music, map, cart or plan separately printed or lithographed :

(b) "document" includes also any painting, drawing or photograph or other visible representation :

(c) "High Court" means the highest Civil Court of Appeal for any local area except in the case of the provinces of Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg where it means the High Court of Judicature for the North-Western Provinces and the High Comt of Judicature at Madras respectively :

(d) "Magistrate" means a District Magistrate or Chief Presidency Magistrate :

(e) "newspaper" means any periodical work containing public news or comments on public news: and

(f) "printing press" includes all engines, machinery, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or materials used for the purpose of printing.

3. (1) Every person keeping a printing press who is required to make a declaration under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India :

Provided that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press kept in any place in the territories under its administration, in respect of which a declaration was made prior to the commencement of this Act under section 4 of the Press and Regis-

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tration of Books Act, 1867, is used for any of the purposes described in section 4, sub-section (1), the local Government may, by notice in writing, require the keeper of such press to deposit with the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction the press is situated security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees as the Local Government may think fit to require in money or the equivalent thereof in securities, of the Government of India.'

4. (x) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any printing-press in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 3 is used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise—

(a) to incite to murder or to any offence under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, or to any act of violence, or

(b) to seduce any officer, soldier or sailor in the Army or Navy of His Majesty from his allegiance or his duty, or

(c) to bring into hatred or contempt His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India or the administration of justice in British India or any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of His Majesty, or any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India, or to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the said Government or any such Prince or Chief, or

(d) to put any person in fear or to cause annoyance to him and thereby induce him to deliver to any property or valuable security or to do any act which he is not legally entitled to do, or

(e) to encourage or incite any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order, or

(f) to convey any threat of injury to a public servant, or to any person in whom that public servant is believed to be interested with a view to inducing that public servant to do any act or to forbear or delay to do any act connected with the exercise of his public functions,

the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing the words, signs or visible representations which in its opinion are of the nature described above, declare the security deposited in respect of such press and all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found to be forfeited to His Majesty.

Explanation I.—In clause (c) the expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.

Explanation II.—Comments expressing disapproval of the measures of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief as aforesaid with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, or of the administrative or other action of the Government or of any such Native Prince or Chief or of the administration of justice in British India without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection do not come within the scope of clause (c).

(a) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made in respect of such press

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under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

5. Where the security given in respect of any press has been declared forfeited under section 4, every person making a fresh declaration in respect of such press under section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom such declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

6. If after such further security has been deposited the printing-press is again used for the purpose of printing or publishing any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the keeper of such printing-press, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare—

(a) the further security so deposited,

(b) the printing-press used for the purpose of printing or publishing such newspaper, book or other document or found in or upon the premises where such newspaper, book or other document is, or at the time of printing the matter complained of was printed and (c) all copies of such newspaper, book or other document wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

7. (1) Where any printing-press is or any copies of any newspaper, book or other document are declared forfeited to His Majesty under this Act, the Local Government may direct any Magistrate to issue a warrant empowering any police-officer not below the rank of a Sub-Inspector, to seize and detain any property ordered to be forfeited and to enter upon and search for such property in any premises—

(i) Where any such property may be or may be reasonably suspected to be, or

(ii) where any copy of such newspaper, book or other document is kept for sale, distribution, publication or public exhibition or reasonably suspected to be so kept.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

8. (1) Every publisher of a newspaper who is required to make a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall, at the time of making the same, deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such an amount, not being less than five hundred or more than two-thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may in each case think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India :

Provided that if the person registered under the said Act as printer of the newspaper is also registered as the keeper of the press where the newspaper is printed, the publisher shall not be required to deposit security so long as such registration is in force :

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Provided further that the Magistrate may, if he thinks fit, for special reasons to be recorded by him, dispense with the deposit of any security or may from time to time cancel or vary any order under this sub-section.

(2) Whenever it appears to the Local Government that any newspaper published within its territories, in respect of which a declaration was made by the publisher thereof prior to the commencement of this Act under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, contains any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing, require the publisher to deposit with the Magistrate, within whose jurisdiction the newspaper is published, security to such an amount not being less than five hundred or more than five thousand rupees, as the Local Government may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

9. (1) If any newspaper in respect of which any security has been deposited as required by section 8 contains any words, signs or visible representations, which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare such security and all copies of such newspaper, wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

(2) After the expiry of ten days from the date of the issue of a notice under sub-section (1), the declaration made by the publisher of such newspaper under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, shall be deemed to be annulled.

10. Where the security given in respect of any newspaper is declared forfeited, any person making a fresh declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, as publisher of such newspaper, or any other newspaper which is the same in substance as the said newspaper, shall deposit with the Magistrate before whom the declaration is made security to such amount, not being less than one thousand or more than ten thousand rupees, as the Magistrate may think fit to require, in money or the equivalent thereof in securities of the Government of India.

11. If after such further security has been deposited the newspaper again contains any words, signs or visible representations which in the opinion of the Local Government are of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notice in writing to the publisher of such newspaper, stating or describing such words, signs or visible representations, declare—

(a) the further security so deposited, and (b) all copies of such newspaper wherever found, to be forfeited to His Majesty.

12. (1) Where any newspaper, book or other document whatever printed appears to the Local Government to contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, stating the grounds of its opinion, declare such newspaper, book or other document to be forfeited to His Majesty and thereupon any police-officer may seize the same wherever found, and any Magistrate may by warrant authorise any

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police-officer not below the rank of Sub-Inspector to enter upon and search for the same in any premises where the newspaper, book or other document may be or may be reasonably suspected to be.

(2) Every warrant issued under this section shall, so far as relates to a search, be executed in manner provided for the execution of search-warrants under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

13. The Chief Customs-officer or other officer authorized by the Local Government in this behalf may detain any package brought, whether by land or sea, into British India which he suspects to contain any newspapers, books or other documents of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), and shall forthwith forward copies of any newspapers, books or other documents found therein to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the local Government may direct.

14. No newspaper printed and published in British India shall be transmitted by post unless the printer and publisher have made a declaration under section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and the publisher has deposited security when so required under this Act.

15. Any officer in charge of a post-office or authorised by the Post-Master General in this behalf may detain any article other than a letter or parcel in course of transmission by post, which he suspects to contain—

(a) any newspaper, book or other document containing words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), or

(b) any newspaper in respect of which the declaration required by section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, has not been made, or the security required by this Act has not been deposited by the publisher thereof, and shall deliver all such articles to such officer as the Local Government may appoint in this behalf to be disposed of in such manner as the Local Government may direct.

16. (1) The printer of every newspaper in British India shall deliver at such place and to such officer as the Local Government may, by notification in the local official Gazette, direct, and free of expense to the Government, two copies of each issue of such newspaper as soon as it is published.

(2) If any printer of any such newspaper neglects to deliver copies of the same in compliance with sub-section (1), he shall, on the complaint of the officer to whom the copies should have been delivered or of any person authorised by that officer in this behalf, be punishable on conviction by a Magistrate having jurisdiction in the place where the newspaper was printed with fine which may extend to fifty rupees for every default.

17. Any person having an interest in any property in respect of which an order of forfeiture has been made under section 4, 6, 9, 11 or 12 may, within two months from the date of such order, apply to the High Court to set aside such order, on the ground that the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order was made did not contain any words, signs or visible representations of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

18. Every such application shall be heard and determined by a Special Bench of the High Court composed of three Judges,

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or where the High Court consists of less than three Judges, of all the Judges.

(19). (1). If it appears to the Special Bench that the words, signs or visible representations contained in the newspaper, book or other document in respect of which the order in question was made were not of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1), the Special Bench shall set aside the order of forfeiture.

(2) Where there is a difference of opinion among the Judges forming the Special Bench, the decision shall be in accordance with the opinion of the majority (if any) of those Judges.

(3) Where there is no such majority which concurs in setting aside the order in question, such order shall stand.

20. On the hearing of any such application with reference to any newspaper, any copy of such newspaper published after the commencement of this Act may be given in evidence in aid of the proof of the nature or tendency of the words, signs or visible representations contained in such newspaper which are alleged to be of the nature described in section 4, sub-section (1).

21. Every High Court shall, as soon as conveniently may be, frame rules to regulate the procedure in the case of such applications, the amount of the costs thereof and the execution of orders passed thereon, and, until such rules are framed, the practice of such Court in proceedings other than suits and appeals shall apply, so far as may be practicable to such applications.

22. Every declaration of forfeiture purporting to be made under this Act shall, as against all persons, be conclusive evidence that the forfeiture therein referred to has taken place, and no proceeding purporting to be taken under this Act shall be called in question by any Court, except the High Court, on such application as aforesaid, and no civil or criminal proceeding, except as provided by this Act, shall be instituted against any person for anything done or in good faith intended to be done under this Act.

23. (1) Whoever keeps in his possession a press for the printing of books or papers without making a deposit under section 3 or section 5, when required so to do, shall on conviction by a Magistrate be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 4 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

(2) Whoever publishes any newspaper without making a deposit under section 8 or section 10, when required so to do, or publishes such newspaper knowing that such security has not been deposited, shall, on conviction by a Magistrate, be liable to the penalty to which he would be liable if he had failed to make the declaration prescribed by section 5 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867.

24. Where any person has deposited any security under this Act and ceases to keep the press in respect of which such security was deposited, or, being a publisher, makes a declaration under section 8 of the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, he may apply to the Magistrate within whose jurisdiction such press is situate for the return of the said security; and thereupon such security shall, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Magistrate and subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained, be returned to such person.

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25. Every notice under this Act shall be sent to a Magistrate, who shall cause it to be served in the manner provided for the service of summonses under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

26. Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to prevent any person from being prosecuted under any other law for any act or omission which constitutes an offence against this Act.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

We are much the wiser and the sadder at the end of our first General Election. The results are, on the whole, a surprise to all parties. In view of the return of a large number of representative men as members of the Imperial and the Provincial Legislatures, it will no more do to say that the new regulations have been so framed as to prevent leaders of popular opinion from coming into the Councils. The return of men like Messrs Gokhale, Bhupendra Nath Bose, Madan Mohan Malavya, Nawab Syed Mahmud and Sir Vithaldas Thackersay to the Imperial Council, of Messrs Deep Narain Singh, K. B. Dutt and Baikunta Nath Sen to the Bengal Council, of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Messrs Parekh and Joshi to the Bombay Council, of Pundit Motilal Nehru and Gangaprosad Varma to the United Provinces Council, of Mr. Krishnan Nair to the Madras Council and of Mr. Sahdilal to the Punjab is due to no mere accident, and must have been the outcome of considerable liberty and discretion among the electors of the Empire. Everywhere we find that the best men have invariably been returned, excepting in one or two cases where the defeats must be set down to adventitious circumstances. Such freaks occur everywhere where a system of popular representation obtains, no matter in what form or shape. It is a matter of congratulation, therefore, that in the first general election under the new rules popular fears have been greatly belied. The question now arises whether the return of so many popular men has been effected with the aid of the regulations or inspite of them. That seems a most difficult question to answer ; at any rate it is impossible to answer it before some more elections take place. On our part we still seem to think that the regulations have effectively stood in the way of more real representatives of the people from coming into the councils than helping them in the same object. If the regulations were more liberally framed and the system of election were not so cribbed and confined as it is, we think there would not have been much to take exception to them.

On another point we have been agreeably surprised. We have all along been urging that the policy of granting special representation to the Mahomedan community, even in Provinces like Eastern Bengal, was unwise. The elections in Eastern Bengal, however,

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have removed our misapprehensions to some extent. For even there, where the Hindus are only 35 per cent of the population, they have succeeded in returning to the Provincial Council as many as eight representatives against six of the Mussalmans, who are about two-thirds of the population of that province. This appears to be almost a justification of the Government policy, though the fact remains on the other hand that not a single Mussalman candidate who contested a seat in the Eastern Bengal Council ever got defeated. This shows, if anything, that there is not a sufficiently large body of educated Mahomedans in Eastern Bengal who have the necessary qualifications or the energy or the interest to contest a seat in the Council. That is another point upon which it is difficult to make any generalisation. There is, however, no denying the fact that if the framers of the regulations were not so generous or partial toward our Mahomedan fellow-brethren, the Hindus would have swept the board in the new province. Given equal conditions, there is not a single Mahomedan gentleman in Eastern Bengal who could ever think of ever contesting a seat successfully with such men as Messrs Aswini K. Dutt, Ambika Charan Mozumdar or Ananda Chandra Ray. The need under these circumstances of special representation to our Mahomedan fellow-brethren in the Eastern Province at least seems to be justified, if the principle of special representation on the basis of religion can be accepted at all.

On these two points, therefore, the Government seems to have scored over us. But to what extent and how far remains yet to be seen. We must frankly acknowledge the weakness of our position about the exclusion of educated public opinion from the Councils of the Empire. As regards the special representation to our Mahomedan fellow-brethren in particular provinces of the Empire, we must also give in a bit. Considering, therefore, every point of this complicated question it would appear to us that the golden mean of representation would lie between the extreme Government position and the extreme position we had taken up on behalf of the educated middle classes of India.

The Council regulations have been subjected to severe criticism from all points of view. 'There is no good triverting the old ground again.' The question with which we are now confronted is not whether the regulations have erred nor how far have they gone to meeting continental wishes. More than one provincial governor have directly hinted at the early modifications of these regulations. It is the duty of all publicists now to suggest in what way these regula-

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tions ought to be modified. The time for criticism is over, for reconsideration is come.

We shall, therefore, on our part, suggest to the Government the reconsideration of the whole question and a modification of the regulations with a view to

(a) removing the disqualifications now imposed upon all dismissed government servants and all men who are bound by district magistrates or subdivisional officers to keep the peace for over six months or have been charged with an offence which is punishable with more than six months' imprisonment;

(b) to leave the voters in all district boards and municipalities absolute freedom of choice in the selection of their members;

(c) to introduce into every electorate, as in the case of the Universities and all special electorates, a direct personal vote and bring to an end the system of election by delegates;

(d) to give up the present complicated system of special electorates and carry out a scheme of general electoral colleges with instructions to vote for a definite proportion of members from among such communities as may happen to be in a minority or in a position of disadvantage; and lastly

(e) to establish special electorates for the members of the learned professions such as law, medicine, engineering, journalism, etc. and for graduates of over ten years' standing in every province of the Empire.



An unkindly fate seems from the outset to have dogged the **THE LAHORE CONGRESS** footsteps of the organisers of the 24th Indian National Congress which met at Lahore in December last. An exception was taken in the Punjab early last year to the propriety of inviting the Congress to Lahore without consulting Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends. Then in the matter of organizing the Reception Committee,—if there was ever such a thing as the Reception Committee of the last Congress—the Convention party did take good care to see that no discordant elements or advocates of advanced ideas in politics found any place in it. Up till the 11th hour, no representatives of the advanced school did care to join this Committee. The personality of Mr. Harkishen Lal bulked largely from the beginning in the organization of the session in question, he remaining the boss of 'the show till the end of the chapter. All this was unfortunate enough, but more unfortunate still was the fact that till October last no worthy or estimable person

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could be found in all the Punjab to accept the responsible office of the Chairman of the Reception Committee ; and, in absence of any such man coming forward to accept it, it was Lala Harkishen Lal again who was elected to fill up that office.

Then came the difficulties about electing a suitable president to the Congress. We shall not at this stage mention all the ugly incidents that characterised the election of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta nor is it any good at the present day to make any comments on Sir Pherozeshah's (they call him Sir Leo in Bombay) dramatic resignation of that great post of honour. We are not one of those people who believe that Sir Pherozeshah or for the matter of that any single individual has in him the power to make or unmake a session of any Congress which describes itself as national, nor do we believe that any person can be such an important factor in Indian politics as the National Congress cannot do without. But at any rate the grief and concern exhibited by the Mehta Press over the question of his resignation serve as a good object-lesson of the great evil of putting too much trust in the sense of duty not in princes alone but in autocrats also. However, as we have said, the fate of neither the Congress nor the country hang on the good wishes of any individual patriot or leader, however able and brilliant he might be. When Sir Pherozeshah resigned, there was hardly three weeks' time for the Congress to meet. But even in that short time, the All-India Congress Committee (mind you, not the Reception Committee of Lahore) managed to tide over the difficulty by electing Pundit Madan Mohan Malavya of Allahabad to accept the position vacated by Sir Pherozeshah. It is however open to doubt if the procedure adopted by the Secretaries in securing the votes of members by telegrams or letters was one which is provided by the constitution of the Congress, beyond which our conventionist friends in other parts of the country are anxious not to travel an inch. But be the procedure constitutional or not, the election of Pundit Madan Mohan as President of the Lahore Congress was accepted everywhere in India as a good solution of a bad problem.

How Pundit Madan Mohan acquitted himself as president of the Congress is a question to which we shall now address ourselves. It is unfortunate that Pundit Madan Mohan had barely a week's time to prepare his address. There was certainly a period in the history of the Congress when any responsible publicist in India could take up the office of the president of the Congress, as in the case of Sir Naryan Chandravarkar, at so short a notice. But things are moving fast in India and the days of leisurely patriotism are no

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more. Now, it is not so easy to undertake with a light heart and at short notice the responsible and strenuous work of presiding over a session of the Indian National Congress. It is therefore no disparagement of Pundit Madan Mohan when we say that his address to the Congress was a little bit disappointing. Pundit Madan Mohan spoke no doubt very eloquently and sometimes very feelingly and courageously. Here and there he made good hits and scored good points, but he taxed the patience of his audience to the breaking point by making an unconscionably long speech and travelling over the entire field of Indian politics. We do not think that any man has any right in these days to keep an audience waiting for nearly two hours and a half to listen to a single speech. People would not ever listen to Lord Rosebery for so long a time. Lord Curzon did not take more than five quarters of an hour for delivering what perhaps remains the longest speech in the Imperial Council. The most brilliant of the Chancellors of the English Exchequer have never succeeded in engaging the attention of the House of Commons in modern days for more than two hours. It was only Mr. Gladstone who took nearly three years in introducing his Home Rule Bill in 1893; but that was 17 years from to-day and the occasion was historic. Yet Mr. Gladstone failed to keep even half the number of members of the House to their seats for the whole time he was speaking. We labour this point so much not to condemn Pundit Madan Mahon's want of discretion but to give a warning to all people who are in the habit of abusing public patience. In the case of Pundit Madan Mohan, the prolixity and the unconscionable length of his speech was due to his inability to condense matters and to his mistake in thinking that a President of the Congress must necessarily deal with all questions of Indian politics, no matter how small, insignificant, or impracticable. In these days it is a rule and not the exception with the presidents of learned societies and national federations and social organizations to confine their speeches to one or two main topics only and leave the others to be discussed by following speakers. If Pundit Madan Mohan had adopted the same procedure and confined himself merely to the Reform Scheme, the only topic which was to the fore this time, and left other speakers to dwell on the minor questions, he could not only have found time to condense his observations on the main question but have been merciful to his audience at the same time. There is another thing to be said against the practice of covering too wide a field in the presidential address—it places the subsequent speakers of the Congress

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at a great disadvantage and lessens the importance to a considerable extent of all subsequent speeches. Very often men can be found to bring their special knowledge, study and their experience in the discussion of special subjects which the president of the Congress may himself lack. Under these circumstances, it becomes a matter of the merest necessity for the president to maintain a discreet silence over minor issues. We mention all these not to belittle Pundit Madan Mohan's utterance but to put our foot down against a practice which seems to have got into vogue in the Congress for a long time and which, we maintain, is inconvenient to the President, intolerable to the audience, and unjust to subsequent speakers.

With regard to Pundit Madan Mohan's speech we shall not be too critical in view of the difficulties which we have already pointed out. Nor is there much comment to offer upon the speech, as it was merely a rehash of the criticism that had already appeared in the Press on the Council Regulations and other topics. People do not expect the President of the Congress to dress up stale meat. In Pundit Madan Mohan's speech, unfortunately, we do not find any new points of criticism of the Reform Scheme, nor does he care to present the criticism in much attractive shape. The speech, therefore, is neither illuminating nor informing ; but it has special value of its own as an exhaustive statement of the entire Congress propaganda.



It is evident that the Government has been overtaken by a sense of panic. Though Lord Minto has repeatedly assured the public mind that there is no cause for alarm in the Indian political situation, the measures recently adopted by the Government of India seem to indicate that the Government is evidently arming itself against a period of crisis. The first notable step that the Government has taken to cope with sedition is the counsel it has taken with the native princes and ruling chiefs of India. The second step has been marked by vesting the Local administrations with the power to prohibit meetings under the Seditious Meetings Act of 1907. The third has been the gagging of the Press.

As regards the first step, it is indeed a matter of congratulation that for the first time in the history of British India the Government has gone out of its way to take the Indian Princes into its confidence on a question of domestic policy. In writing to the Nizam on the subject, in August last, the Viceroy wrote :—“ Now

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that the seditious people have endeavoured to spread their nefarious doctrines in several Native States I feel it desirable to address your Highness on the subject. These doctrines being subversive of internal peace and good government, and the interests of the Government and those of the Ruling Princes being identical, your Highness will agree that it is appropriate that we should exchange opinions on the subject with a view to mutual co-operation against the common danger. I feel the time has come when we can advantageously concert measures and prepare a policy to exclude effectually seditious agitation. "It is very true that in such a matter to be forewarned is to be forearmed. I do not contemplate or counsel the adoption of any general rules or course of action. Circumstances in different States vary so greatly that any general policy would create endless difficulties. Your Highness will probably agree that each State must work out its own policy. Even though some combination may be necessary I am firmly of opinion that each State should deal with its own problems. I should greatly value a full and frank expression of your opinion on effectual measures to exclude the insidious evil of sedition and on the manner in which I can assist, confident that your Highness, an old and valued ally of the British Government, will gladly help with wise advice."

Similar letters were addressed to about twenty other Indian Chiefs, the replies of all of whom have been published in a special *Gazette* and show how they are thankful to Lord Minto for his having taken them into his confidence in this matter. As regards sedition, most of these Princes say that no spirit of disaffection has been able to gain a footing in their territories. As for remedies, some propose a stricter surveillance of suspected itinerant agitators, some stricter Press law, and others a more frequent use of Regulation III of 1818.

In the matter of the extension of the Summary Jurisdiction and the Seditions Meetings Acts to the whole of British India, excepting Burma, the government has armed local administrations with powers which more often than not are likely to be abused. But fortunately up to date no local administration has taken out this weapon from its armoury and so long as it does not, it would be unfair to make any comments upon either the existence or use of such a weapon.

Lastly we come to the Press Act. It is taken for granted in every responsible quarter that the liberty of the Press has almost universally degenerated in India into literary license. Not many

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weeks before the Press Bill was introduced the Viceroy himself said on a memorable occasion : "We have tolerated revolutionary literature too long out of a chivalrous unwillingness to interfere with freedom of speech." We do not believe that the Indian Press as a whole have been engaged in disseminating revolutionary literature, nor do we believe that it is revolutionary literature alone that is responsible for the growth and development of anarchism in this country. The Press and the Platform are no doubt responsible for much wild talk, but one must go elsewhere to trace anarchism to its root causes. It is poverty, a sense of helplessness, a spirit of absolute resignation to fate and a conviction of apparent failure of constitutional agitation in this country that lead people to desperation. And neither the spouting or vapourings of the platform nor the silly writings of a wild press should alone be held responsible for the spirit of restlessness which has engendered the anarchist movement. The Press only acts as a safety-valve and to sit tight upon it is neither prudence nor statesmanship.

He would, indeed, be a great fool who should think that in a country like India—governed by a people who live several thousand miles away—there should be no violent interruptions to the freedom of the Press and the Platform. Thrice during the last seventy years the liberty of the Press has been sought to be curtailed. For the fourth time now, considerable restrictions have been imposed upon the freedom of speech and writing. We are not surprised that an alien bureaucracy should consider the press and the platform as powerful engines for the dissemination of seditious thoughts and revolutionary ideas. But the pity of the whole thing is that it should have fallen to the lot of the most advanced and consistent exponent of democratic thought of the present age to have given his sanction to a most re-actionary and repressive legislation. Of course we know that Lord Morley does not believe in the fetish of a free press, and he has already expressed an opinion that the pen can be dipped in picric acid as much as the bomb. As a theory, of course, it is incontrovertible ; but in practice, if we must not use the brush with which Sir Herbert Risley has tarred us all black, 90 p.c. of the newspaper press and 97 p.c. of book presses in India have had absolutely nothing to do with either the preaching and propagation of anarchist ideas or doctrines of independence. It may of course

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serve the purpose of the Government to take out strong and indiscreet passages from this newspaper and that to show how the evil is spreading, but to place a seditious tendency to the credit of the entire newspaper press of India is a piece of indiscretion and an act of culpable exaggeration which it would be difficult to excuse even in a Home Member of the Government. No doubt, there have been a class of newspapers which have indulged in literary license and encouraged revolutionary ideas, and it may also be that they are scattered in all parts of India, but their number is so limited that for the sins of the few the Government should not have punished the many.

It would be interesting in this connection to take a running survey of the course of legislation that have so far related to the control of the Press in India. The newspaper is an exotic in India and was established in this country by the enterprise of Europeans. A few months ago we reprinted in these pages a very interesting article contributed by Mr. S. M. Mitra to the *Nineteenth Century* on the growth and history of the Indian Press, showing how kindly has this exotic taken to the soil of India. In the first stage of its development, it was no doubt looked with disfavour by the Anglo-Indian rulers who took active part in consolidating the empire. Even so liberal and wise a statesman as Sir Thomas Munro believed that the free press was incompatible with the continuance of British Rule in India. Until 1838, therefore, occasional restrictions of very vexatious nature were imposed upon the Indian Press. In 1838 Sir Charles Metcalfe, for the time being the Governor-General of India, removed all these restrictions from the Statute Book and made the Indian Press as free as that of England. That was a landmark in the progress of Indian administration which stands to the eternal credit of Sir Charles Metcalfe. In a memorable dinner given by the Free Press to Sir Charles Metcalfe in 1838, Sir Charles said : "A free press is a blessing in any country. We have ample proof of the vast benefit accruing from a free press in our own country and in America, and it was on this proof that we acted in emancipating the press of India." He further observed that it is "the imperative duty of a Government to confer the incalculable blessing of knowledge on the people, and by what means can this be done more effectively than by the unrestrained liberty of publication and by the stimulus which it gives to the powers of the mind." There is a remarkable passage in another speech delivered on the same occasion which we can not refrain from quoting for the edification of those members of our aristocracy who are always so

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anxious in these days to stifle all legitimate aspirations. Speaking at the same dinner, Babu Prasanna Kumar Tagore remarked in connection with the emancipation of the Press by Lord Metcalfe : "The day when the distinctions of colour, caste and religion and the difference between the conquerors and the conquered would be totally banished, when we shall be treated not as conquered but as fellow-subjects of the British Crown, is, I am happy to say, fast approaching." Since Metcalfe's time there have been three occasions when restrictions have been reimposed upon the Indian Press. We shall not here recall the dark days of the sepoy revolt and the panic which followed and justified the restrictions upon the liberty of the Indian Press. As regards Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act of 1878, the restrictions were not universal and were softened by the appointment of a Press Censor before whom it was necessary for the vernacular papers to submit all their comments on political news. The Act was bad enough in all conscience, but its scope and mischief were both limited. At a historic debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone made a remarkable attack on Lord Lytton's measure. As a result of this strong attitude taken by Mr. Gladstone, the Vernacular Press Act was repealed as soon as the Liberal Government came back into power. The speech delivered by Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India while repealing the Act deserves to be cherished as perhaps one of the most sympathetic pronouncements ever made by any Imperial Pro-consul. The next occasion when an Act was passed in reference to the Press was in 1907, when Sir Harvey Adamson carried through the Council, against the most eloquent protests of Dr. Rash Behary Ghose and Mr. Gokhale, a Bill for the confiscation of Press in cases of incitements to violence.

We shall now turn to the various phases of the restrictions imposed on the Indian Press during the last seventy years. In all previous restrictions upon the Press the Government only penalised real offence. In introducing the Act of 1870, Sir Fitzjames Stephen distinctly laid down that nothing but 'an appeal to force' constituted the essence of sedition. In Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act the same was the underlying intention of the Legislature. In 1898 when Lord Elgin amended section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and replaced the words " ill will" by "disaffection", the liberty of the press was not practically interfered with. In introducing the Bill which was euphemistically described as the Indian Penal Code Amendment Bill the Hon'ble Mr. Chalmers, then Law Member of the Council, said :

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"We have been urged both from official and private sources to re-enact the Press Law. But we are entirely opposed to that course. We do not want a press in leading strings that can be made to dance to any tune that its censors may think fit to call. We want simply a free press that will not transgress the law of the land." Lord Elgin in summing up the debate endorsed that view by saying that "as a matter of fact our Legislation is not a Press Act at all." The present Press Act, however, recognises no appeal to force, no preaching of disaffection nor transgressions of any law of the land. It does not concern itself with the intentions of the writers, but penalises all tendencies of words or representations to do certain things either by implication or inuendo.

That is where we stand today. Under the new Press Act honest and frank criticism of all legislative and administrative work will become absolutely impossible. No man in these days will risk valuable properties in saying things what the Government may not like. We are therefore muzzled and have to remain mute until the Act is abrogated. It is certainly desirable that journalists should be taught to measure their phrases and weigh their words, but it is most cruel as well as unjust that the process of teaching this lesson should involve the sacrifice of all sorts of outspoken criticism.

We can not conclude this note on the Press Act without making a present to our rulers of an observation made by an Anglo-Indian statesman of an earlier generation. Speaking in reply to a deputation from the Press, Lord William Bentinck made the remarkable pronouncement : " I have derived more information from the Indian Press of the real state of the country than from all the Councils, all the boards, and the Secretaries by whom I have been surrounded."

THE DEBATE ON THE PRESS BILL The debate over the Press Bill is a puzzle in contemporary politics. In an enlarged Council of nearly sixty members, half of whom are elected, there was not more than two to oppose the Bill and no more than sixteen to press for its restrictions to a period of, three or five years. Mr. Gokhale who opposed in 1907 the Newspapers (Incitements to Violence) Act in a strong speech blessed the present bill with his good wishes. Mr. Chitnavis who in 1898 stood for the defence of the Press of India was not sure if the present bill went far enough. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, a pressman himself of no mean reputation, had not a word of condemnation of either the principles

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or any of the clauses of the bill. His eloquent support of the measure was conveyed through a silent vote. Rao Bahadur R. N. Modhalkar, whom we shall all be glad to see filling up the presidential chair of the Congress at the next year or the following, was evidently of opinion that the Indian press was such a vile thing that it richly deserved to be put down with a high hand. These are the stalwarts of the Congress who strengthened the hand of the Government in gagging the Indian Press.

It is refreshing to note that of the other four Congressmen in the Council, Nawab Syed Mahmood gave a half-hearted support to it; Mr. Jinnah did not open his tongue at all—he had perhaps taken a fright at the attitude taken up by his leaders in the matter; and only Mr. Bhupendranath and Pundit Madan Mohan were left to lead a forlorn cause.

The puzzle is, who of these men have voiced the real public opinion in this matter,—Messrs. Gokhale and Mudholkar or Mr. Bhupendranath and Pandit Madan Mohan? We shall for the present leave the public to solve the puzzle.

It may be difficult at the present moment to characterise the attitude of the supporters of this bill, but a day must come when these so-called representatives of the people will feel heartily ashamed of the part taken by them in muzzling the Indian Press. The press can not sufficiently express its thankfulness to the splendid help rendered to it by Mr. Bhupendranath Bose and Pundit Madan Mohan Malavia in an hour of sore trial. We have indeed fallen on evil days and evil tongues and are by danger and darkness encompassed and we cannot sufficiently express our gratitude to the gentlemen who have befriended our cause at a moment of great crisis. That was a masterly and brilliant speech of his—the speech which Mr. Bhupendranath Basu delivered on the Press Bill in the Imperial Council. Almost good enough, as the *Amrita Basar Patrika* suggests, to live in the pages of history. If his eloquence has not succeeded in averting the doom that awaited the Indian Press, more is the glory and honour for the noble fight he has made on its behalf.

Mr. Sinha, on the Government side, however, did acquit himself better than most of the self-styled leaders of public opinion. He frankly began by expressing regret and humiliation that they should have that day to take part in passing a measure which undoubtedly—he did not seek to conceal it—placed greater obstacles than had ever existed on the freedom of the Press. Humiliation indeed!—to put fetters upon a press which had enjoyed liberty for nearly 70 years.

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We however join issue with the Law Member in his dictum that the press is a fuel which supplies the material for the anarchists. It has been a time-worn custom with certain classes of people to give a dog a bad name before hanging it. We are sorry to see Mr. Sinha following that custom without looking into it more carefully. Nor do we agree with Mr. Advocate-General Kenrick when he says that the whole scope of the bill 'is preventive and not punitive and the object of it is not to stamp out free criticism but the abuse of free criticism and the attribution to Government and its officers of malignant and corrupt motives.' Put down all preaching and inculcation of hatred of British rule and British people if you please, but why, in the name of suppressing crime and sedition, should you arrest the development of a press and choke the springs of knowledge, as Mr. Bhupendranath Bose beautifully put it, passeth ordinary human comprehension. Of course, as Mr. Sinha argued, the existing laws were not sufficient for the purpose of the government, but it shows poor skill and worse statesmanship if a civilized government of the present day can not put down such writings in the public press as are likely to create bitterness and hostility towards government without imposing a tax upon knowledge and letters.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Government of India will have no hesitation in accepting Mr. Gokhale's **THE SOUTH AFRICAN GRIEVANCES** Resolution on the South African question. It is a most reasonable and moderately-worded motion, and should pass unchallenged. It merely proposes to empower the Government of India to stop the recruitment of indentured labour for Natal. Curiously enough, the Emigration Act of 1908 appears to have been faulty in this respect, for it gave no powers to the Government to stop recruitment, for such reasons as are well-known in the case of South Africa, of labour for the various scheduled territories to which such emigration is lawful. There are many reasons why this step should be taken in regard to South Africa. Apart altogether from the general question of the ethical propriety of the indenture system—about which we hold strong views—two main reasons may be given why South Africa should be deprived of Indian labour. The first is that it would be a gross scandal to continue to send labourers to a country whose laws provide for their disfranchisement and demoralisation and force them into a condition of helotry. The second is that India's high displeasure would be marked, in an unmitakable manner, at the treatment

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that has for years been accorded to the Indian colonists of South Africa. The first would safeguard those who might otherwise be beguiled into going to that land of bigotry and intolerance. The second would be for the protection of those who are already in South Africa or who, under any ordinary civilised code, should have the right, as cultured citizens of the State, to go there. It is argued that in regard to the labourers themselves, they will be deprived of a ready means of earning a livelihood. We deny this, and the facts themselves disprove the statement. The average amount brought back by an adult emigrant, after five years' tremendous expenditure of physical energy, is officially demonstrated to be insignificant. As against it, we know only too often the degree to which the moral fibre of the emigrants has been sapped, and how their higher nature has been crushed down in them. These are phenomena common to the system all the world over. Unfortunately we are so rejoiced, as a rule, at this easy means of escaping from the responsibility of considering the material welfare of many thousands of our compatriots year by year, that the moral obliquity attaching to the manner in which they earn their daily bread is completely forgotten by us. India will yet have to pay the penalty for the tears and agony of her simple, confiding peasantry who have suffered and rotted in distant lands under terms of indenture verging upon slavery. Then, too, it is argued, in some quarters, that South Africa ought to be allowed to do as she likes within her own territories, and that to accept Mr. Gokhale's Resolution would be to foment the evil of racial feeling and intensify existing bitterness. Unfortunately, South Africa has carried the persecution of her resident Indian population too far, and the Transvaal has even gone to the length of striking India a blow in the face, in all the pride of race-superiority, by declaring that all Indians, no matter what their degree of culture, are undesirables, are unworthy of citizenship, and will therefore be treated as prohibited immigrants and classed with the scum of humanity. A vicious man unrestrained becomes only the more vicious. To allow South Africa to do as she likes with her Indian residents, who, disfranchised, as they are, are Imperial wards, would be to invite a worse condition of affairs than already exists. And why may not India indicate the resentment of mortified pride? Is it only South Africa's tender susceptibilities that are to be sedulously regarded? Why? What has that black land ever done to deserve it? It has recently achieved a "union from whose benefits the Indian colonists are carefully excluded. For the past quarter of a

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century, in one portion or another of its area, it has put affront after affront upon the people of India, and has done its best to imperil Imperial relations with this country. The very Colony that has avowedly benefited by the presence of the Indian immigrant has ruined many Indian trading concerns with a most wanton cruelty, not two years ago passing legislation that would have destroyed every Indian business within ten years. That same Colony shows a suicide-rate amongst indentured Indians which is fourteen times as high as for all India—and thinks nothing of it. Natal imposes a tax upon freedom on every Indian lad of 16 years and girl of 13 years introduced under indenture into or born to indentured parents in the Colony since 1895, destroys Indian family life, drives Indian men to crime and women to immorality, and forces the free Indian labourer to compete at a slave-wage with his indentured brother. Though the Transvaal trouble were to be ended to-morrow, the existence of the iniquitous £3 tax of Natal on her "free" labourers should be sufficient excuse for the cutting off of her labour supply. If the Government of India, as they should do, accept the motion and proceed to act upon it, Natal, according to the confession of the materialist Commission that has just reported in that Colony, will directly suffer, as she deserves to suffer, whilst the Transvaal will be struck at indirectly, for she will gradually be deprived of that portion of her aboriginal native labour supply which today she is enabled to draw from Natal by reason of the latter's facilities for the introduction of an alternative, more reliable, and more skilled labour supply from India. Thus, the acceptance by the Government of Mr. Gokhale's motion will at least strike a partially effective blow at the two South African Colonies which have caused so much misery to India's sons and daughters, and have so often put shame and insult and humiliation upon the mother-land. Retaliation is the only weapon and alternative left to us now to bring the South African Colonies to their senses and to induce them to appreciate a sense of imperial responsibility.

DIARY FOR JANUARY, 1910

Date

1. A deputation headed by the Maharajah of Durbhangā and consisting of many respectable Hindus of the Punjab wait upon Sir Louis Dane and express their abhorrence of terrorist crimes and unflinching loyalty to the British throne. The L. G. in reply expected practical co-operation with the Government instead of "mere lip expressions of abhorrence."

3. The first sitting of the reconstituted Legislative Councils of the Punjab takes place today at Lahore.

At the All-India Brahmin Conference held at Lahore under the presidency of the Maharajah of Durbhangā various steps are discussed for the social and intellectual improvement of the community.

A new Sugar Factory is opened today at Pilibhit in U. P. entirely by Indian enterprise.

4. The opening meetings of the reformed Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Ebassam are held to-day in the capitals of the respective Provinces.

The Government of India approve of the Rulers of the Native States in India using their own particular National Anthems in future on all ceremonial occasions in place of the British National anthem.

The Maharajah of Jaipur issues orders prohibiting the importation of 45 newspapers including the *Punjabee* of Lahore into his territory.

5. The Travancore Agricultural Exhibition opens today at Trivandrum.

A mass meeting of Gour Brahmins gathered from all districts of Delhi division is held at Rohtak to convey their thanks to the Government for its having declared this community as an agricultural tribe under the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1909.

At the Travancore Popular Assembly held today Dewan Rajagopal Achari submits the annual administration report for the year ending August 15 last showing the revenue of the State at 1,16,98000 and the expenditure at 1,11,90000, leaving a surplus of 5,08,000 as against 57000 in the previous year.

The reconstituted U. P. Council opened today at Allahabad.

At an important and largely attended Conference of the Co-operative Credit Societies of the Punjab held today at Lahore, Sir Louis Dane dealt on the beneficial effect of the co-operative credit system upon the languishing sugar industries of the province as well as upon the immense improvement this system has effected in agriculture in the province by helping to introduce grain elevators and many other scientific agricultural implements.

6. An Indian loan of 7½ million sterling, the price of issue being 96½, bearing interest at 3½ p. c., is announced in London.

A public meeting of the Mahomedans in Burma is held at Rangoon in which steps to organise a branch of the Muslim League at Burma are considered.

The *Aka*, plying between Barisal and Khulna catches fire, causing loss of several lives and considerable damage to property.

8. Bhai Parmanand, Professor, Dyanand College, Lahore, is arrested today under the security sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and released on bail.

The break in American values of cotton is reported to cause a drop of 25 rupees a candy in the Bombay cotton market.

At a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held under the presidency of Sir Narayen Chandravarkar to express regret at the murder of Mr. Jackson at Nasik, it is determined to raise a memorial in honour of the deceased.

10. A white paper issued today gives a list of East Indian State Prisoners numbering 23, with the causes and places of detention.

11. At a general meeting of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce a proposal by the president to support a resolution, favouring preferential trade in the British Empire, is rejected as being outside the scope of the Chamber's affairs.

The returns of gold and silver imports into India from April to November, issued today, show net imports of 677 lakhs' worth of silver and 500 lakhs' worth of gold. 27 lakhs' worth of rupees were examined and made over to Native States and 8 lakhs of British dollars were coined, but no coining of rupees took place.

At a meeting of Christians of all denominations held at Madras it is decided to establish a "Converts' Home" for all converts who are in need of it.

The annual report on the Akbari administration in Madras for the year 1908-9 attributes the increased consumption to the growing prosperity of the classes addicted to stimulants.

12. At the meeting of the Lahore Municipal Committee, Lala Dunichand's motion for making primary education free in the schools in Lahore is agreed to for one year. A proposal to make it compulsory for all boys of school-going age is opposed and dropped.

14. A largely attended meeting of the Moslem community at Mandalay urge the necessity of (1) raising the Aligarh College into the status of a University (2) founding at least one college for Mahomedan boys at Mandalay and (3) translating the Koran into the Burmese language.

In the *Akash* Sedition case at Lahore, Mr. Ganesh Lal, Editor, offers an apology which is accepted by the Court, subject to the production of Rs 1,000 security for future good behaviour.

The opium Revenue is shown by the return for the first nine months of the current official year to be just one crore better than estimated.

15. Lala Lajpat Rai resigns his membership in the D. A. V. College Managing Committee, in the Antaranga Sabha of the Arya Samaj and in the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha.

22. In connection with the suppression of the arms traffic on the Mekran coast, two guns of a mountain battery and half a company of sappers are added to the Native Infantry already detailed for this service.

Some important correspondence from the various Native Princes of India in reply to a circular letter of the Viceroy on the subject of the means to be adopted in coping with sedition is published today in a special *Gazette*.

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13. At a meeting held at Ahmednagar in Bombay to express regret and disgust at the recent Nasik murder a Vigilance Committee is formed of the leading citizens to guard against evil and to watch the moral well-being of the younger generation.

The operation of the Seditious Meetings and Crimes Acts is extended throughout India by an order of the Government of India.

Returns issued today show an estimated consumption of 324 lakhs of maunds of salt in this year against 329 lakhs last year and 259 lakhs ten years ago.

The statement published of rupee coinage shows that, while amounts ranging from 16 to 25 crores were coined annually between 1903 and 1907, only 2½ crores were coined in 1908-09 and 1½ crore in the past nine months.

The returns issued by the Collector of Sea Customs show that there was a further advance in December in the imports of foreign merchandise into Calcutta, the total amounting to Rs. 4,07,84,468, an increase of Rs. 81,55,268, over the figures for December 1908, the expansion in cotton piece-goods being no less than Rs. 73 lakhs and sugar shows an increase of nearly Rs. 5 lakhs.

The steamer *Kashmir* proceeding towards Rangoon catches fire at Dedaye causing damage to life and property of the passengers.

16. A meeting of the citizens of Agra is held at the Town Hall in which Mr. Polak and others condemn the treatment of Indians by the South African Government.

Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and other citizens of Barrackpur organise themselves into a Vigilance Committee to adopt means to put a stop to attempts at train wrecking on the E. B. S. Ry. line.

A public meeting is held at Allahabad to protest against the treatment of Indians by the Transvaal Government. Over Rs. 3000 are subscribed on the spot in aid of the suffering Indians.

17. Sir John Hewett lays the foundation stone of the Allahabad University Senate Hall.

19. The editor of the *Khulnabasi* of Khulna in Bengal is arrested under section 124A. and released on bail of Rs. 500.

Four Marhatta and Marwari Brahmins are arrested at Poona in connection with the Nasik outrage. A great quantity of gunpowder, blasting materials and other explosives are found at the house of one of them in course of the police search.

20. A resolution on the general report on Public Instruction in E. B. and Assam for the year 1908-9 is published today in which the expenditure of the Department is shown to have increased from a little less than 11 lakhs to nearly 31½ lakhs during the year.

A resolution on the report of the co-operative credit societies in E. B. and Assam for the year ending June 1909 is published today in which the total number of societies is shown as 231.

21. The Madras Government reviewing the report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1908-9 published today expresses gratification that the year was marked by an advance especially under elementary education.

Messrs. Gordhan, the author, and Virumal and Chitumal, printer and salesman respectively, of the pamphlet *Swadeshi*

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

Hakka, and accused in the Sukkur sedition case in Bombay, are sentenced to 5 years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 5000 and three years' transportation and a fine of Rs. 1000 respectively.

The Bhumiha Brabmin Maha Sabha holds a sitting at Mussufferpore under the presidency of the Maharaja of Benares. About 6000 people attended and resolutions condemning the money stipulation and extravagance in marriage were passed.

22. The Royal Indian Marine Steamer "Hardinge" sails from Bombay with a number of native troops, ordered for service in the Persian Gulf for the suppression of illicit traffic in arms.

23. The 10th Jats are ordered to leave Calcutta probably as a result of a recent arrest for suspicion.

A comet of much brilliancy is visible for the first time in many parts of India.

24. Khan Bahadur Moulavi Shamsul Alam, a Deputy Superintendent of Police, who took prominent part in several political cases in Bengal, notably the Alipore conspiracy case, is shot dead within the precincts of the Calcutta High Court by a young lad, Birendra Nath Dutt-Gupta, who is immediately arrested.

25. The reconstituted Imperial Legislative Council meets today at the Calcutta Government House for the first time. The members take oath of allegiance to the throne. Lord Minto makes a remarkable speech reviewing the present political situation in India.

26. Srimati T. C. Kalyani Amma, the talented wife of the well-known Malyalam scholar, Mr. T. K. Krishna Menon, and the editress of the *Sarada Malayalam* has been elected member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

A meeting of the Bombay medical profession held today under the presidency of Sir Bhal Chandra Krishna to consider the Medical Registration Act protest against the inclusion of Hospital Asistants and Military Assistants and Surgeons in the lists of duly qualified medical men as derogatory to their status and prejudicial to their interests.

27. A resolution published in to-day's *Gazette* on Abkari report notes with satisfaction the decrease in the issue of country spirit in the Bombay Presidency.

28. At the annual meeting of the Mining and Geological Institute of India, held today in the rooms of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the president, Mr. S. Heslop, makes an interesting review of the coal industry in India, ranging from the early discovery of the mineral in the Ranigunge field in 1774 to the slump in coal shares in 1908.

The Gaekwar gives a refreshment party to more than 500 depressed class pupils of the Baroda Schools. Each pupil is presented with a suit of clothes and prizes.

28. Mr. C. R. Rao, formerly a Sanitary Inspector at Madras, is arrested while disembarking from the French Mail Boat *Sydney* at Bombay, on a charge of possessing in his trunk a quantity of arms and ammunitions and prohibited literature.

The annual meeting of the All-India Muslim League is held at Lahore under the presidency of the Prince of Arcot.

28. The District Magistrate of Khulna in Bengal passes orders confiscating the local *Kamala* Press on a charge of publishing sedition.

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30. A numerously attended public meeting of all classes, Zemindars, Hindus, and Mahomedans is held at Barisal under the Presidency of Syed Mahomed Hosain, Vice Chairman of the District Board and Zemindar of Shaistabad, to protest against the proposed introduction of the Patwary System into Barisal according to which men with primary education on a monthly pay of Rs. 10 will be appointed in every village to record mutations in the record of rights and also to give correct and first hand information to the authorities on every rural matter.

31. A memorial is sent to the Bombay Governor from Kamgar Hit-Vardhak Sabha suggesting various alterations in the proposed Factory Bill now before the Imperial Council.

The Gauhati Railway Extension is opened today by Sir Lancelot Hare.

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THE INDIAN WORLD

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MARCH—1910

[No. 60

DIARY FOR FEBRUARY, 1910

Date

1. Birendranath Datta-Gupta, the murderer of Moulvi Shamsul Alam, is sentenced to death by the High Court of Calcutta.

The Maharajah of Jhind issues a notification prohibiting the importation into his State of ten newspapers, including the *Amritabazar Patrika*, the *Punjabis* and the *Bangabasi*.

2. A congratulatory dinner in honour of Mr. Amir Ali took place in London in which there were present many distinguished persons like Sir A. Lyall, Bhawanagree and Sir B. Fuller.

Anant Laxman Kanhari, an accused in the Nasik tragedy, is committed to the High Court Sessions and the remaining 6 accused are committed on charges of abetment of murder.

A meeting of the members of the Nama Sudra Sikha Samiti is held at Jhalakati in Eastern Bengal in which several resolutions are passed for trying to impart moral and religious education among the Namasudras.

3. A Press *communiqué* issued today provides for a grant of Rs. 1500 to the family of Shamsul Alam for their immediate necessities.

The results of the first matriculation examination of the Madras University held in accordance with the new University regulations, published today, show that out of 1902 candidates only 150 passed.

The opening ceremony of the Agricultural and Industrial Exhibitions at Dhubri and Sylhet in Assam is performed by the Lieutenant-Governor of E. B. and Assam and Mr. Jeffries, the District Judge, respectively.

A notification published in the current issue of E. B. and Assam Gazette states that, owing to the conduct of the inhabitants of some of the villages within the jurisdiction of Munshiganj and Srinagar Police Stations in the Dacca District, it has been decided to increase the number of Police by the appointment of an additional force consisting of 1 Inspector, 4 Sub-Inspectors, 4 Head Constables and 36 Constables to be quartered in these villages at the cost of the inhabitants.

4. A Bill to provide for 'the better control of the Indian Press' is introduced into the Viceroy's Legislative Council by the Hon'ble Mr. Risley and is referred to a Select Committee, consisting of Mr. Sinha and some other members.

The first Tuberculosis Sanatorium in South India is opened today by the American Arcot Mission at Punganur, North Arcot, on a small scale.

5. Sir Harold Stuart's letter to Provincial Governments with regard to the recommendations of the Conference on Malaria which met at Simla in October last is published today inviting their special attention to the carrying out of statistical inquiries and the preparation of a malarial survey of the provinces.

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6. Srimati Gayatri Devi delivers a lecture in Calcutta on "The Ideal Woman", urging enthusiastically the need of education among our women.

7. The Governor of Madras announces a State scholarship of £150 per annum for two years available for award in the Presidency in the current year for study of glass-making.

8. Mr. Ganeshlal, Editor of the 'Akash', Delhi, and the accused in the Akash Sedition case, is let off by the Court of the Special Magistrate on his submitting an apology.

A largely attended meeting of all castes and creeds is held in the Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore, to consider the situation of Indians in South Africa under the presidency of Sir D. P. Sasson, in which Mr. Polak makes a stirring appeal for the Transvaal Indians.

The Press Bill is passed into law and the release of the nine deportees of Bengal is announced by the Viceroy in the Imperial Council.

9. Referring to the Indian revolutionary journal "Mohantal", printed in Berlin, Reuter telegraphs that it is conclusively proved that there is not the slightest trace of any revolutionary activity among the handful of harmless Indians in Berlin.

In the Administration Report of U. P. for 1908-09, just published, it is acknowledged that the Indian Press of U. P. bears no resemblance to the violent press of Bengal.

11. A public meeting of the citizens of Bareilly is held in the Town Hall to sympathise with the grievances of the Transvaal Indians, Mr. Nand Kisore Kachar presiding.

A right royal reception is given to Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt at Jhalukati and Barisal on his release and return home.

12. Nirode Baran Das, Printer of the *Hitabadi* newspaper, who was charged under section 124A, I. P. C., is sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta.

14. A Conference of Bengal leaders is held in the rooms of the Indian Association to consider what steps should be taken to cope with the growth of anarchism, in which, after some discussion, a Central Association and a Press Association is formed, consisting of many leading men of both Hindu and Mahomedan communities.

15. The Dhubri Exhibition in Assam closes today.

The opening ceremony of the Patti-Pookur Branch of the Barasat-Basirhat Railway is performed by his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

16. In the *Pallikitra* sedition case at Khulna in Bengal, the Editor is sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for 4 years and the Printer for 6 months under sections 124A and 153A.

The Editor and Printer of *Khulnabashi* having offered an unqualified apology are let off with a fine of 100 rupees each.

The Maharaja of Kashmir prohibits the entry into his State of the Urdu newspaper "Zamindar" published at Karamanabad.

In the "Swarajya" sedition case at Allahabad, a lad of 14 years, Satish Chandra Biswas by name, is sentenced to 3 months' simple imprisonment by the District Magistrate for refusing to take oath as a witness in the Court.

The Khulna Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition is opened by the District Magistrate.

Sir John and Lady Hewett formally open the Hewett Weaving School and the Lady Hewett Zenana School at Barabanki in the United Provinces.

Eleven men are arrested in different localities of Howrah and Calcutta in connection with the Netra Daubity case.

18. In the Alipore Bomb Case, Krishna Jibon Sanyal, Sudil Kumar Sen and Indranath Nandy are acquitted by Mr. Justice Harrington and

Birendra Chandra Sen and Satyendranath Bose, are sentenced to 7 years' transportation and 5 years' rigorous imprisonment respectively.

A meeting of the people of Darbhanga is held under the presidency of the Maharaja in which anarchist propaganda is strongly condemned.

19. In reply to a memorial from the Parsi community for separate representation, the Governor of Bombay says that there are not sufficient grounds to allow them a separate election or right of recommendation.

21. On the reopening of the Parliament after the general election, Lord Lansdowne declared that English public opinion was much puzzled at the simultaneous introduction of the Press Act and the release of the Bengalee deportees.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Asquith, while supporting the release of the deportees, stated that it was the deliberate opinion of the Viceroy and Lord Morley that there was no justification, on social or political grounds, for keeping the deportees any longer under restraint.

The case against all the accused in the Patiala sedition case is withdrawn, but they are ordered to quit the Patiala State by His Highness.

Birendranath Dutt Gupta, murderer of Khan Bahadur Shamsul Alam, is hanged today in the Presidency Jail of Calcutta.

23. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council has granted leave to Mr. Clarke, a former District Magistrate of Mymensingh, to appeal against the two judgments delivered by the High Court of Bengal against him in the Jamalpore riots case.

A crowded meeting of the citizens of Gorakhpur is held in the Campier Hall to consider the question of the Transvaal Indians, the Hon'ble Narsingh Prosad presiding.

A meeting is held at Tuticorin with Mr. K. Srinivasa Row, Sub-Judge, in the chair, to consider the question of the elevation of the depressed classes.

A determined attempt is made to wreck the 39-down Goalundo Mail on the E. B. S. Railway early in the morning, but the driver, happening to notice some objects on the slippers from a distance, averted the disaster.

Mr. Montagu, the new Under-Secretary of State for India, in reply to Mr. Rees in the House of Commons, says that Lord Morley is considering a special provision for the family of Mr. Jackson who was assassinated at Nasik.

24. The first case under the new Press Act comes up before Major Parker at Belgaum in Bombay who inflicts a fine of Rs. 200 upon the proprietor of the Dundiary Press for publishing about 50 notices without imprint of the Press on them.

The appeal preferred by Nirod Baran Das, Printer of the "Hitabadi", against the sentence passed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate in the "Hitabadi" sedition case in the High Court is admitted by Messrs. Justices Stephen and Carnduff and bail is granted to him.

In reply to a question put by Lord Curzon, Lord Morley says among other things that strict neutrality will continue to be observed by the Indian Government with regard to the Tibetan crisis and that Dalai Lama will be received with the courtesy and respect due to a ruler of his high spiritual authority when he arrives at Darjeeling.

25. At a meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, Mr. Gokhale moves a resolution to the effect that the Governor-General-in-Council be empowered to prohibit the recruitment of indentured labour in British India for the colony of Natal and is supported by many other members. The Resolution is accepted by the Council.

In the Imperial Council, the Finance Member, while introducing the financial statement for 1910-11, proposes a fresh taxation on liquors and tobacco, on silver and petroleum and an increase in court-fees and stamps with a view to obtain an additional revenue of £967,000.

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The Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition at Khulna in Bengal is closed today.

At an extraordinary general meeting of the Madras Glass Works, Ltd., a resolution is passed to raise the capital of the company from 2 lakhs to 4 lakhs and to issue out of this Rs. 1,00,000 worth of new shares, reserving the remaining lakh for a further issue.

26. In reply to a question from Sir William Bull, Mr. Montagu says that the law with regard to sedition in India applies to Indians and Europeans alike.

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GENERAL

A Noble Undertaking

An influential committee has been formed in India to collect a lakh of rupees (£6,666) towards the cost of preparing a critical edition of the Mahabharata, a work the need for which was affirmed at a meeting of the International Association of Academies in London in 1904. The text of the great Indian epic has undergone numerous changes, both by addition and omission, in the course of centuries, and the object of the critical edition, now being arranged for, is to constitute the text from which all existing manuscripts of the Mahabharata, both of Northern and Southern India, are derived. Well-known Sanscritic authorities in Europe and America have offered their services as collaborators in the undertaking.

A Sikh Revivalist

Altogether unaffected by the turmoil of an English General Election, many Indians assembled in Westminster, in January last, to commemorate the anniversary of the birth of Guru Gobind Singh, a Sikh of the thirteenth century, who helped to carry on the mission of harmonising and strengthening the many different religious forces of India. Professor Tega Singh gave a lecture dealing with the work done by Guru Gobind Singh and his predecessor, Guru Nanak. India, said the professor, was still spoken of as a divided country, but though there might be many superficial differences on account of the diversity of religious beliefs, he was confident that India would be united within the next half-century. Speaking of the great revival that came to India in the thirteenth century, he said that the pioneers rose up, as did Luther, to do away with the system of caste from which the country was suffering, and to make a religion of love instead of one merely of dogma. After them came Guru Nanak, and to him was given the task of reorganising India. He preached against hypocrisy and formalism, and Guru Gobind Singh continued Nanak's work, believing that religious teaching should reach every man in his own language.

Lord Curzon on India and the Cotton Trade

In a speech at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, Lord Curzon dealt with Mr. Churchill's contention that, if England decided for Tariff Reform, India would not merely abolish her countervailing excise on the cotton products of her mills, but would impose protective duties upon our cotton exports to India, and upon English manufactures in general. "This apprehension," said Lord Curzon in reply, "is a mere chimera. India is not in a position to take up such an attitude. It ignores the very elements of the Constitutional position. India is not a self-governing colony, but is governed from Westminster. Is it likely that any Secretary of State would seriously propose that India should be allowed to treat this country as, for instance, Germany might do? It would be

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a declaration not merely of fiscal independence, but of hostility between the two countries. No one in his senses could contemplate such a situation except with horror. No friend of India would propose such a solution. I have been told that there is a strong Protectionist movement in India, and I think that may very well be the case. But nothing amuses me more than when I see our Labour and Socialist members of Parliament going over to India, most ardent Free Traders, before they start, and becoming hot Protectionist once they reach Bengal."

Who is the Real Successor?

In spite of the somewhat definite statement that the Viceroyalty of India will be offered to Lord Kitchener, there is good reason for stating that no such step is as yet contemplated. The Government are in something of a quandary in consequence of the difficulty of finding a successor to Lord Minto. Lord Minto is anxious to retire. He has had exceptionally trying time since he succeeded Lord Curzon—perhaps the most that any Viceroy has had for a generation. His life has been attempted more than once, and it was only at the pressing request of the Government that he decided to remain longer. It is believed now that the post will be offered to Lord Macdonnell. This would be a remarkable departure from precedent, for no civil servant has ever held the Viceroyalty, but the Government would probably justify the appointment on the ground of the gravity of present conditions. Probably no man alive has greater experience of India or a better reputation as an administrator—though he was hardly a success as Irish Under-Secretary. He rose to the highest post in the Indian Civil Service, and it is well-known that Lord Lansdowne when Viceroy formed the very highest opinion of his abilities. Lord Macdonnell is popular with all classes of Indians. He is a man of ironwill, who can be ruthless when occasion demands, but he has learned to respect the few fundamental prejudices of the Indians. The Viceroyalty was some time back offered to the Earl of Dudley, now Governor-General of Australia. neither he nor Lady Dudley has enjoyed the best of health since leaving England, and on this ground Lord Dudley had to refuse.

Ruins of Chitore

Says Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.: "Whoever comes to India and does not sit down on the plain below Chitore with a history at his elbow and a plan on his lap, and then go up the hill—on an elephant if possible—to the ruined temples, palaces, bazaars, tanks, and the still almost perfect towers, might as well have stayed at home. My friends are dinging it into my ears that there is no India. I do not know, but Chitore gives me something to go upon. Round these walls tradition has woven most sacred garlands. Wending one's way up the long zig-zag road, which is flanked all along by massive walls and spanned every now and again by a frowning gate, one may still imagine that he hears the tramp of the Rajput cavalry going out to die, and it is easy to translate the hum of voices and other sounds which come down and go up from the villages at the top and bottom of the hill as the bridal song of the women going to their awful death by fire in the caverns of the palace rather than become prisoners in the hands of the Moguls. The whole place is a vast temple of chivalry. Through

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these narrow lanes and over these ruined heaps one should go barefooted head and foot. The sun set whilst we lingered there. Suddenly the land was filled with the beating of tom toms ; lights flickered from the temples ; the hum of prayers rose on every head ; queer forms moved in the gathering gloom. The spell of the Mighty Past fell upon us. At Chitor the past is dead, and only comes from its grave at nightfall. But not far off, in the new capital of the State, Udaipur, the Old Time still lives in the light of day."

Problem of India

At a meeting held in London early in the year, Lord Cromer expressed approval of the decision—though entertaining some doubts in regard to certain details—to associate educated Indians to a greater extent than heretofore with the executive government of the country. It had also been decided to go at one bound to greater lengths than appeared to him to be wise in the direction of effecting legislation through the machinery of representative bodies largely composed of elected members. It was now useless to hazard any conjectures as to what consequences would be produced by these bold experiments. We must await the result with what patience we could. It would, however, be well for England, better for India, and best of all for the cause of progressive civilisation in general, if it be clearly understood from the outset that, however liberal may be the concessions, we had not the smallest intention of abandoning our Indian possessions, and that it was highly improbable that any such intention would be entertained by our posterity. The foundation-stone of Indian reform must be the steadfast maintenance of British supremacy. In this respect, concluded Lord Cromer, something of the clearness of political vision and bluntness of expression which characterised the Imperialists of Ancient Rome might, not without advantage, be imparted to our own Imperialist policy. Nations wax and wane. It may be that at some future and far distant time we should be justified, to use a metaphor of perhaps the greatest of the Latin poets (*Lucretius*), in handing over the torch of progress and civilisation in India to those whom we had ourselves civilised. All that could be said at present was that, until human nature entirely changed, and until racial and religious passions disappeared from the face of the earth, the relinquishment of that torch would almost certainly lead to its extinction.

The Indian Anarchist Propaganda

Reuter's representative learns that, owing to statements appearing in the British Press, the Berlin political police have conducted an inquiry into the allegation that an Indian revolutionary journal, *Mahan Taksav* by name, is printed in Berlin, and that the editor is believed to be a young Indian who recently fled from the liner Macedonia at Ismailia. A searching investigation, however, has shown that the journal is certainly not produced in Berlin, and police experts are in a position to prove that the type used is English. The paper is also almost certainly English, though it may possibly be Belgian. Further investigation has shown that there are not more than half-a-dozen Indians in Berlin,—all harmless, of whom two are students, the others being employed in restaurants. The Berlin police have been

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intermittently occupied with the Indian anarchist propaganda since February, 1908, when both the British Embassy and the German Consul-General at Bombay called their attention to statements made in connexion with the Alipur case that a vast anti-British conspiracy was being carried on in the European capitals. Investigation has failed to elicit the slightest trace of any revolutionary activity among the handful of Indians in Berlin, and it is emphatically pointed out in official quarters that, with the Prussian system of compulsory registration of all residents and visitors, it would be impossible for an Indian to live in Berlin, much less to carry on an illegal propaganda, without the knowledge of the police. An Indian known to associate with anarchists would be ruthlessly expelled if he carried on a propaganda inciting to murder or rebellion. He would be prosecuted and would be liable to ten years' imprisonment, so that it is exceedingly unlikely that Indian revolutionaries would favour Berlin as a centre of activity. This attitude of the German authorities is not the outcome of a desire to stand well with Great Britain or any other Power, but simply part of the policy of keeping "their own house clean."

The Arya Samaj and Sedition

The Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab has replied to a letter from the President of the Arya Samaj at Lahore, requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to make an announcement as to the attitude of the Government towards the Samaj, and desiring an assurance that it is not to be prosecuted as a body. It was explained that apprehension had been caused to the members of the Samaj by the prosecutions launched in the Patiala State against certain members of the Patiala branch of the Samaj, and reference was made to rumours of action in contemplation in British territory. The reply states that Sir Louis Dane does not disguise from himself the fact that many authorities entertain an opinion adverse to the Arya Samaj, and he recognizes that it is an association capable, if not guided by wisdom, of producing a great deal of mischief, more especially when local branches of the Samaj come under the control of members who may have a seditious inclination. But the Lieutenant-Governor is not convinced that as a body the Arya Samaj is at present disloyal and seditious, and he believes that many of the members are actuated only by a desire for religious reform. He says that to his knowledge the Arya Samaj contains a number of earnest and devoted men who have done much for the cause of education and also, he believes, for social reform. The fact that they belong to the Arya Samaj will not, he feels sure, be allowed to tell against them, and that any charges that may be brought against them or any other members of the Samaj will not be prejudiced merely on account of such membership, unless and until the Samaj is proved and declared to be a seditious body. At a meeting of the Samaj at Lahore a resolution was passed expressing most sincere and heart-felt thanks to the Lieutenant-Governor for his sympathetic pronouncement, and assuring his Honour that in the future as in the past the Samaj will "stick to its right and righteous path of religious and social reform in this country and elsewhere, as chalked out by its great and revered founder Swami Dayanand."

Indians in the Transvaal

Mr. Ritch, reviewing in England the general position, of the Indians in the South African colonies mentioned that there were in Natal to-day something like 60,000 indentured labourers—he was not speaking of the Chinese in the Transvaal, but of Natal and British Indians. He might on some future occasion have very much to say as to the treatment of these indentured Indians. But he would content himself then with telling them that the treatment of these Indians in Natal was such that the suicide rate among them stood about 550 per million, many times in excess of the suicide rate of England and Wales. In the wake of the indentured labourers went to the Colony a number of merchants, a few lawyers and doctors, shopkeepers, and hawkers. Some crossed the border into the then Transvaal Republic and settled there, and trouble arose with the European traders who did not like the competition of the Indian traders. The latter never aggregated more than 2½ per cent. of the white population. There had never been any flooding of that country by Asiatics, but the white traders played upon that colour prejudice which had always been indigenous with the Boer. In 1885 the Government of the Transvaal made certain proposals to the Imperial Government, which had a sort of suzerainty over the country, suggesting the passing of legislation which imposed certain disabilities on Indian and Chinese coolies. There never had been any Indian coolies in the Transvaal. However, the law was passed, and ever since the war, in spite of the righteous indignation of Lord Lansdowne and Lord Selborne and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton's promises, Indians had found every obstacle placed in their way on getting permits to return to their homes in the Transvaal. For a year and a half 30,000 Indians were debarred from returning. The Indians, who had helped to carry the flag to Pretoria, found that the law was not to be repealed and that their rights were to be signed away. 'Natives' were not to be granted political rights, and by some strange freak "natives" had been interpreted as "natives of India." The Indians found also that they were liable to be segregated in compounds and subjected to the £3 tax. Next they found that a law passed against Boer irreconcilables had been distorted into an Asiatic Exclusion Act to keep out loyal Indian subjects who had not resided in the Transvaal previous to the war. To-day Indians outside the Transvaal were classed as undesirables, with paupers, lunatics, lepers, and criminals, by reason of their colour. When Lord Milner invited them to take out identification certificates the Indians demurred, but as a tractable people registered themselves, hoping for peace and the right to carry on their business. But the same old agitation was renewed, and in 1906 a Registration Act was passed rendering the former certificates nugatory and requiring the issue of new certificates with most insulting conditions attached, including the taking of finger-prints. The Ordinance, however, did not receive the Imperial sanction because the Government were on the eve of granting responsible self-government to the Transvaal. But the Transvaal Government repassed the Law, and the British Indians met and took solemn oath to resist this attack on their communal rights. They took out no registration certificates. In time Mr. Gandhi and other leaders were arrested and went to gaol. This did not intimidate the rest of the Indian community. In view of this insolent defiance by

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"mere coloured people," General Smuts promised to repeal the law if the Indians would take out the new certificates. This was done, and then General Smuts went back on his word. Thereupon the new certificates were made a bonfire of, and this was followed by an Immigration Law which excluded the whole of the 300 millions of Indians who had not previously resided in the Transvaal. During the last two and a half years nearly 3,000 British Indians, old men, young boys, had passed through the Transvaal gaols in consequence. The prisoners had been housed in tents, half frozen because of insufficient clothing, half starved for the want of proper food, and bullied by brutal Kaffir warders. Every device had been used by the Transvaal Government to break the resistance of these people, but the fight was still going on. Business had been ruined, young Indians had been deported; but the men were fighting for their communal honour, and all that the Imperial Government would say was that as they had granted self-government to the Colony they could not interfere. This was the new Imperialism which said that the strong should be licensed to outrage the weak and the defenceless, who were to be cut off from any appeal to justice. We, in this country, said Mr. Ritch, were responsible, for the fair treatment of the subject races, and it was for us to make the responsible Ministers understand they were not representing the opinion of this country. A "White South Africa" must mean a repression of the ambitions of the natives of South Africa, and that the Indian must go, or the white superiority would become impossible. He asked that meeting to send a message of sympathy to their fellow British subjects who were fighting for a great principle.

Sir A. Lyall on Indian History

At a meeting of the Central Asian Society, held in London on February 9 last, Lord Ronaldshay, M.P., presiding, Sir Alfred Lyall read a paper on "Some Aspects of Asiatic History" in the course of which he said that towards the close of the 18th century the British Government at home began to give serious attention to Indian politics. But the English nation at large knew little about them and found Anglo-Indian books unreadable. Those who wrote from special personal knowledge of India very rarely possessed also the gift of imparting it in the style and shape demanded by the high standard of ever-popular literature, and consequently their books were rarely read. This general ignorance and inattention was very damaging to the reputation of Indian administrators, who seldom got a fair hearing. He believed it was Macaulay who first woke up the English people to a general interest in the early exploits of their countrymen in India during the 18th century. Macaulay's famous essays on Clive and Hastings actually created the public opinion almost universally held up to the latter part of the 19th century upon the bold political strokes by which these resolute Englishmen knew anything of these things; he implicitly believed Macaulay's version of them, and it would have been vain to protest that there was another side to the story. Yet, although Macaulay's strictures were severe, and in some degree unmerited, the general effect was to the advantage of Clive and Hastings; for he set them up on a pedestal, he brought out the heroic element in their deeds and character, and the signal services that, in spite of their faults, they rendered to their country. Qualities of this kind were always appreciated

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by our people, who were not disposed in such cases to be hard upon moral shortcomings. If a man commanded success, the nation was not greatly concerned to inquire whether he deserved it. These essays were a fine example of the power of style. Macaulay was a great impressionist who knew the art of managing detail so as to bring out striking effects, to sharpen the leading points, and to group his figures in high relief. A few strokes of his pen illuminated the whole landscape and we had before us a picture. In two brilliant pages of his essay on Clive, he sketched the scene of confusion and strife of races which followed the fall of the Moghul Empire. It would be remembered that he begins that essay by deplored the little interest excited among Englishmen by the great actions of their countrymen in the East. The subject, he says, was to most readers insipid and even positively distasteful, and he adds that the fault lay partly with the historians. Unfortunately, Macaulay's splendidly rhetorical essays on Clive and Hastings only threw into deep shade the sober Anglo-Indian literature. The general reader was quite satisfied with Macaulay ; he had no desire to go further ; and the plodding conscientious Anglo-Indian writers, mostly men who had spent their lives among the scenes and people whom they described, were left more than ever in obscurity. Even Mountstuart Elphinstone, the best and most readable of Anglo-Indian historians, was discouraged. He had just settled down to an account of the growth of the English dominion under Clive and Hastings when Macaulay's essays appeared. He was dazzled and disheartened by their brilliancy. He decided that James Mill had treated the period philosophically and Macaulay dramatically, in a manner that left him no excuse for going over the same ground, and he abandoned his work in a fit of despondency. We thus lost all but the first volume of a history which, so far from being superfluous, would probably have succeeded in just those parts of the subject which Mill and Macaulay misunderstood or unintentionally misrepresented. James Mill had no sympathy with the difficulties of the English in India, nor did he rightly understand the surface of Asiatic States and societies. Macaulay saw at a glance the whole panorama of the wreck of the Moghul Empire, and the tossing sea of confusion upon which the English embarked so absolutely. But he was, at times, inaccurate as to facts and their significance, for he had not Elphinstone's familiarity with them, or his profound insight into Asiatic character. Macaulay was content, as an historian, with making a bold plunge into that labyrinth of complicated events. His two essays were flashes of genius that illuminated, for the moment, that obscurity that hung over the field of Anglo-Indian war and politics in the 18th century.

EAST INDIAN STATE PRISONERS.

A White Paper [330] has been issued in England containing a return showing the names of persons in India who are now detained under the provisions of the Bengal Regulation III of 1818, and kindred Regulations ; their cast, race, or nationality ; the grounds for their detention ; the place and nature of their detention ; and the date from which their detention commenced. The following are the details :—

Serial No.	Name.	Caste, Race, or Nationality.	Ground of Detention.	Place and Nature of Detention.	Date of Commencement of Detention.
1	His Highness the ex-King Thebaw of Burma.	Burman, Buddhist	Political reasons. He is the deposed King of Burma.	Ratnagiri. At large ; under police supervision.	20th Nov., 1885. At Mandalay. Arrived at Ratnagiri on 16th April, 1886.
2	Kunwar Bhim Singh, alias Kalubha of Jannagar.	Rajput, Native State Subject.	Implicated in a poisoning case	Ahmednagar. Under surveillance	13th Aug., 1891. 9th Sept., 1891.
3	Tirokh Singh Nongthoba, of Manipur.	Native State Subject.	Concerned in the Manipur rebellion, and murder of British subjects at Manipur.	Port Blair. Under restraint	22nd Oct., 1891.
4	Dhon Singh Sagol, of Manipur.	Manipuri Native State Subjects.	Rebellion and murder	Ditto	3rd May, 1894.
5	Ponadhamba Singh, alias Ashangha Kut, or Manipur. Kailan, of Chin Hills	Syin-Chan. Native State Subject.	Concerned in the disturbances of Chitral in 1895.	Ochcamund. At large ; under the surveillance of the police.	10th Sept., 1896.
6	Amir-ul-Mulk	Native State Subject.	Chitral. Native State Subject.	Ditto	—
7	Daniel Beg	... Ditto	... Ditto	Ditto	—
8	Gauhar Khan	... Rajput	Conspiracy to murder	At large ; under the surveillance of the police.	8th Nov., 1902.
9	Madho Singh, ex-Maharaja of Panna.	... Rajput	... For murdering his servant	At large ; under the surveillance of the police.	24th Nov., 1903.
10	Ram Singh, ex-Maharaja of Bharatpur.	Jat (Hindu)	Detained in consequence of intrigues in Nepal, and to prevent recurrence thereof.	At large ; under police surveillance.	2nd March, 1895 (Date of arrival at Saugor.)
11	General Khedga Shumsher Jung, Rana Bahadur of Nepal.	Kshatriya. Subject of the Nepal State.	Detained in consequence of tribal feuds, and to prevent recurrence thereof.	Akyab. In District Jail as a civil prisoner.	1st May, 1908.
12	Bahé, Kami Chief of Bahé village in Upper Burma.	Kami. British Subject at time of arrest.			
13					

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Indian Coal

A recently-issued publication of the Indian Commercial Intelligence Department shows that last year there were 125 joint stock companies engaged in coal production in India, with a nominal capital of £5,404,140, of which £4,384,823 was paid up. The total number of persons employed in coal-mining in India in 1908 was 129,173. In that year the production was 1,769,635 tons, as compared with 1,015,210 tons in 1878. About 90 per cent. of the output is produced in Bengal. The consumption in 1908 was :— Railways, 3,684,000 tons ; port trusts, 91,000 ; bunker coal, 1,100,000 ; inland steamers, 500,000 ; jute mills, 635,000 ; cotton mills, 843,000 ; iron and brass foundries, 528,000 ; tea gardens, 94,000 ; colliery consumption and waste, 1,300,000 ; other forms of industrial and domestic consumption, 3,879,000 tons. The imports of coal in 1908 were 220,149 tons, and the exports were 571,582 tons, mainly to Ceylon, the Straits Settlements and Sumatra. Nearly 98 per cent. of the coal used on the railways is Indian, and most of the vessels that touch at Indian ports use Indian coal.

Indian Duties

Import Duties before 25th of February last were levied under the Indian Tariff Acts VIII of 1894 and I of 1906 on almost every item of merchandise at 5 per cent. advalorem. Machinery, Coal and Cotton Yarns were free.

Import :

Cotton Piece-Goods 3½ per cent.

Iron and Steel 1 per cent.

Petroleum 1 anna per gallon.

Ale Beer, Porter, Cyder, etc. 2 annas per gallon.

Spirits Rs. 70 per proof gal.

Perfumed Rs. 110 per Imp. gal.

Liqueurs Porters Rs. 100 per Imp. gal.

Sparkling Wines per 2-8 Imp. gal.

Still wines per 1 o per Imp. gal.

Salt per 1 o per maund.

Special duties are levied on Sugar.

Export :

Rice in and without husk As. 3 per Indian maund (827 lbs.)

All other articles free. Since the 25th ultimo, an additional duty has been imposed on the import of silver, petroleum, liqueurs salted fish and tobacco, both cured and raw.

Indian Railway Developments

The Government sanction to the Indian Railway programme of 1910-11, on a 16½ crore basis, enables the Railway Board to put in hand at once certain new lines, as funds are available for the preliminary work up to the end of next March, when the programme-money can be drawn upon. These new lines include, in the Punjab, the ast. 6in. line from Kalabagh to Bannu, which will open up the Makarwal coalfield ; in Eastern Bengal and Assam,

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the metre-gauge railway to Mangaldai, which will serve an important tea district ; in the Central Provinces, the Balaghat-Katangi aft. 6in. line, passing through manganese areas and providing also for local requirements. In Burma, the Southern Shan States Railway, which the Local Government and the mercantile community have advocated for several years. The programme, says the *Times of India*, provides ample funds for pushing on the Allahabad Rai Bareli line, which is now being constructed, as well as for the Sitapur-Shahjahanpur and Sitapur-Palamau projects, on which considerable progress has been made. The important Itarsi-Nagpur and the Chindwara-Nagpur lines will also have large grants made to them so that work may be rapidly proceeded with during 1910-11.

SELECTINS

THE NEED AND METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

In April last a valuable and suggestive paper on this subject was contributed by Mr. F. J. E. Spring. The question has also been treated in more or less detail in various articles in the periodical Press during the last year or two. Some apology is therefore needed for the choice of the subject for another paper.

The very great importance at the present juncture of all the complex problems connected with the utilization of the industrial resources of the vast continent of India is my only excuse. Mr. Spring confined himself in his discourse almost exclusively to the educational aspect of the question. His lucid exposition of the many faults underlying the educational system now in vogue in India left little more to say. It must, however, be remembered that it was not possible for Mr. Spring, within the compass of his paper, to deal with all the aspects of the industrial problem, and it is my object to draw attention to some other branches of the same question.

The great importance of the subject will be gainsaid by few. The position of a state in the comity of nations is now adjudged in accordance with its economic strength. For the preservation of peace, the war expenditure of the nations is reaching enormous figures. In conformity with the progressive ideas of the day, vast sums are spent on schemes of social and sanitary reform and amelioration. All these objects involve heavy taxation, and heavy taxation can be borne only by a nation which has many sources of economic wealth. In India, agriculture is practically the only source of national wealth. Of all industries, agriculture is peculiarly dependent on variable atmospheric conditions, and it is extremely difficult to guard against unfavourable circumstances. The national revenues in India are on a very precarious basis, and it is therefore a heroic task to inaugurate any extensive scheme of social, administrative, or military reform which involves consistent expenditure of money for a prolonged period. This is perhaps an explanation of the defect noted by our late Commander-in-Chief, that statesmen in India do not look sufficiently ahead. In order, therefore, to raise the position of India, or even to maintain her position, among the various component states of the Empire, and in the scale of nations, it is imperative to multiply the source of national wealth developing industries other than agriculture. To avoid misapprehension I may mention I do not belong to the school that holds that my country is poorer now than it was one or two centuries ago, but the real question is, whether the wealth of India is increasing as fast as the wealth of the other countries of the world.

The imperative necessity of the development of the industrial resources of the country is also evident when we consider what is known as *personal* or *internal* wealth as distinguished from *material*

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wealth. In an agricultural country the great bulk of workmen are unskilled labourers, and although the landed gentry in every country is remarkable for its culture, enterprise and public spirit, there is a wide gulf between the two classes. Even in India at the present day, at least in North India, the stress of competition is gradually diminishing the number of peasant proprietors. The middle classes in such a society come to be composed almost entirely of men belonging to the public services and the lower ranks of what are called the learned professions. Now it is a well-known fact in political science that public spirit and the feeling of a corporate life are fostered much more quickly in towns where there is an artisan class than in villages. The freedom of industry, an enterprise consisting of "a certain independence and habit of choosing one's own course for oneself ; a self-reliance ; a deliberation and yet a promptness of choice and judgment ; and a habit of forecasting the future and of shaping one's course with reference to distant aims"—all these qualities taken together—are, according to Professor Marshall, the fundamental characteristics of modern business life. These qualities will be developed in a nation only along with the growth of a many-sided industrial life, and they will be lacking in a state where all activity is limited to a few monotonous grooves. These are also the qualifications which fit and prepare a people for political life. The moral is obvious in the existing political situation of India.

In view of the intricacy and complexity of the problems, one welcomes the attention that has been bestowed on them in recent years by the official as well as the non-official world in India.

A great deal of important work has been transacted at the annual meetings of the All-India Industrial Conference, held in successive years since 1905 at Benares, Calcutta, Surat and Madras. Similar conferences with more provincial aims have been held in other cities of the Empire. Some extremely able and informing papers have been contributed to these meetings by gentlemen holding responsible positions in the public service or in the industrial and mercantile world. A noteworthy feature of these conferences has been the discussion of the subjects in a broad, moderate, and rational spirit, altogether different from the tone one often sees displayed in the public Press and platform in India. Much credit is due to the organizers of the Conference for helping to create a healthy public opinion in India in industrial matters. The State has also helped in the same cause by timely and considered action. The new department of commerce and industry, initiated by Lord Curzon, had for its first minister Sir John Hewett, who is well known for his deep and abiding interest in industrial development. The department has ever since been sympathetic towards indigenous enterprise: the organizers of the Tata Ironworks have publicly acknowledged their indebtedness to it for assistance in various forms. One of the very first acts of Sir John Hewett on assuming the reins of government in the United Provinces was to initiate a survey of its industrial condition and possibilities, and to preside at a conference in Naini Tal of representative officials and non-officials, which went thoroughly into the question of establishing a sound and comprehensive system of technical and industrial instruction suited to the needs of the province. The recommendations of the Conference were practically unanimous, and gradual effect is being given to

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them. Unhappily, the famine of 1907 and 1908 exhausted the financial resources of the province, and the larger schemes embodied in the resolutions of the Conference await more prosperous times. More recently the government of Sir John Hewlett has taken another step towards the removal of irksome burdens on trade and industries by examining carefully the evil effects of the Octroi system of municipal taxation. The example of the Naini Tal Conference was followed by the Madras Government, who convened a similar conference at Ootacamund in the autumn of last year. The Ootacamund Conference had the advantage of a first-hand knowledge of the valuable pioneer work done in the province, often under very adverse conditions, by Mr. Chatterton. In the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, a representative conference, to deal with the same question, met at Dacca in February last.

In the matter of an industrial survey also, the action of the Government of the United Provinces has been followed by similar measures on the part of other Local Governments. In Bengal, the Honourable Mr. J. G. Cumming has brought up to date the industrial survey conducted by Mr. Collin in 1890. Mr. Cumming also examined thoroughly the present condition of technical and industrial instruction in the province, and his excellent report was published last autumn. The industrial survey of Eastern Bengal and Assam was carried out by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I. C. S., and his report was the basis of the deliberations of the Dacca Conference. In the Central Provinces, the industrial survey has been entrusted to the able hands of Mr. C. E. Low, C. I. E., and I expect his report will be soon before the public. The Government of Bombay, I understand, has decided to have the survey carried out in sections by experts in different industries, and a gentleman is now engaged in examining the indigenous textile industries of the presidency. As a result of these activities and deliberations, schemes of technical and industrial instruction have been formulated by all the Local Governments in India, and are now before the Supreme Government. The newspapers to hand by a recent mail state that these proposals have to wait till the present financial exigencies in India have disappeared. Our late Viceroy and the late Commander-in-Chief agree that in India one should look ahead. Large and comprehensive schemes take a considerable time to initiate, as a good many preliminary and sometimes unforeseen obstacles have to be overcome. It is therefore to be hoped that the schemes submitted by the Provincial Governments will receive early consideration and approval, so that initial arrangements may be taken in hand immediately, and the actual schemes launched as soon as money is available.

In another direction also a good deal of excellent work has been done in recent years. I refer to the holding of industrial and agricultural exhibitions and competitions. The initiative—one is pleased to note—came from unofficial sources. Exhibitions of the various indigenous industries of the country were held at Bombay and Benares in the autumn of 1904 and 1905. The exhibition held in Calcutta in the winter of 1906 received considerable aid, financial and otherwise, from the Government of Bengal, and was opened by His Excellency the Viceroy, who delivered a most sympathetic speech on the occasion. In the following year the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Berar decided to co-operate with the responsible public leaders of the province in holding an exhibi-

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tion at Nagpur. Thanks to the splendid organizing capacity of Mr. Low, of the Indian Civil Service, who was ably seconded by several non-official gentlemen, the Nagpur Exhibition of last winter was a remarkable success. The Government of the Punjab is now associating itself with the Princes and the public of the province in organizing an exhibition at Lahore during the ensuing winter. Arrangements are also already in progress in the United Provinces, with the direct aid and under the patronage of the local Government to hold an exhibition at Allahabad in the winter of 1910-1911.

It is obvious that the Government, as well as the people, are now fully alive to the need of industrial development in India. There is, however, great diversity of opinion regarding the scope and method of such development, and the rest of this paper will be devoted to some consideration of this branch of the subject. It is exceedingly desirable that the principles on which industrial work should proceed should be clearly threshed out ; although there is no one royal road to industrial progress, much waste of time and money and consequent disappointment will perhaps be avoided if we have from the beginning a clear conception of the ideals we are pursuing.

It may be taken as axiomatic that attention should first be directed to the establishment of such industries as would utilize raw material already available in the country, and would produce commodities for which there is an already existing demand in the country.

* The Tata Ironworks afford an excellent illustration of this type of industry. The raw materials—iron ore and coal—are locally obtained ; the main products—pig-iron and steel—if of sufficiently good quality, will have a ready market in India itself ; the bye-products in the shape of various chemicals are also likely to be consumed in the country. Other examples of possible industries which would have equally favourable conditions, would suggest themselves to all who have studied the trade figures of India. There is at present an enormous export of oil-seeds from India. The total value in 1906-1907 approached nine millions sterling. These seeds are utilized in Europe and America for the manufacture of various articles of commerce, and also for cattle food. During the last few years the export of cotton-seed from India has increased by leaps and bounds. If well-organised cotton oil-mills are established in India, there is every likelihood of the cake finding a ready sale as cattle-food in the country itself. The edible oil will sell as a suitable substitute for *Ghi* (clarified butter), of which the supply is now falling short of the enhanced demand. The remaining products like soap-stock will also be useful for other growing industries in India. The prospects of the industry have been fully set forth in an excellent pamphlet written by the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence.

Take again the case of paper. The import of paper into India in 1906-1907 was valued at more than half a million sterling. Education is spreading in India. The number of books and periodicals printed every year is increasing. The growing trade and commerce of the country would also help to augment the demand for paper. The raw materials for paper making are available in the country, though not in an exactly accessible form. Fibrous grass from the forests at the foot of the Himalayas is now mostly used by the few Indian mills ; but, with enterprise and organization, large supplies of wood pulp and wood meal could probably be made

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available from the forests of spruce and silver fir in the mountains. The trade in hides and skins affords another illustration of this same point. In 1906-1907 India exported more than ten millions' worth of hides and skins. The consumption of leather goods of all kinds is much larger now in India than it was thirty years ago. The import of boots and shoes only has practically doubled itself within the last ten years. Yet, the number of tanneries and properly equipped leather factories in the country exceedingly few. We may also glance at the business in dyes and tans. In the trading days of the East India Company the vegetable dyes and tans of India were among the staple objects of commerce between the East and the West. Now, the exports under this head, if indigo be excluded, are practically negligible, while the imports amount to nearly two-thirds of a million sterling. It is true a great portion of the imports consists of synthetic products of coal-tar, but the vegetable dyes and tans of India are still there. No systematic investigation has ever been made regarding a reduction in the cost of their manufacture, or an improvement in the processes of their utilization. They have simply been neglected. Moreover as the Professor of Tinctorial Chemistry in one of the leading technical Universities in this country recently remarked to me, there is no reason why synthetic dye-products should not be built up from some of the numerous raw resources available in India. I have chosen this illustration to show how a certain amount of pure scientific research work must be done in order to facilitate the industrial revival of India. Much hope is entertained that the Tata Research Institute at Bangalore, which is now getting into working order, will accomplish much useful work in this direction. One must not, however, forget that India is a vast continent, and it will be impossible for one institution, however well equipped, to cope with the numerous problems that await solution in different parts of the Empire. In agriculture the State has recognized this point by employing scientists who devote themselves to the problems of each province apart from the experts who work at the Imperial Institute at Pusa. Similarly we require in India at the present day industrial research laboratories for each province. This is a moderate demand considering the numerous laboratories at work in European and American countries. Even England, which awoke rather late to the necessity of scientific industrial research, has now a large number of expensively equipped institutions dotted over the industrial centres of the country, and they receive liberal aid from the State. If all this activity is necessary in countries pre-eminent in industry and commerce, how much more is it required in a backward State like India !

While all thoughtful persons are agreed that industrial development is urgently needed in India, there are two schools of opinion regarding the scale on which the industries should be revived or inaugurated. According to some authorities, efforts should be restricted to the regenerating of the many indigenous hand-industries that flourished in the country in days gone by, while others contend that in these days of mechanical and scientific improvements, when the whole world is one vast market, it is useless attempting to resuscitate or bolster up the dead or decaying cottage industries, and all endeavours should be directed towards the establishment of modern factories fully equipped with all the latest

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appliances, and manned in all ranks by the best trained labour. There is a great deal to be said from the sentimental and sanitary point of view in favour of the opinion of the first school. In cottage industries the artisan is master of himself, and his assistants are, as a rule, members of his own family. There is harmony in the work, with the result that the product has one, at least, of the essential qualities of art. Although the large industrial towns, like Bombay, Calcutta, or Cawnpore, are of comparatively modern growth, town-planning is a science yet unknown in India; the industrial towns are also the most insanitary, and artisans in these places live under the most unwholesome and, if one may use the expression, un-Indian conditions. Sentiment has, however, very little influence in business matters, and the experience of all western countries has demonstrated beyond doubt that hand-power in most manufactures has very little chance against mechanical power. Moreover, it is not certain that hand-workers, even in India in the days when there was practically no competition with the machine-made goods of the West, earned anything more than the absolutely bare necessities of life. During a fairly extensive inquiry into the indigenous industries of the United Provinces, nowhere did I come across any stories or traditions of a hand-worker rising to a position of wealth or affluence. As has also been pointed out by modern economists, the use of complex machinery enhances by a considerable degree the demand for judgment, intelligence, and generally faculties of a high order. Moreover, machinery performs the more fatiguing and monotonous parts of any particular manufacture, leaving the artisan free to devote himself to the parts of the work that are interesting and require skill and judgment in manipulation. The sentimental considerations are not, therefore, entirely in favour of hand-industries. As regards sanitary considerations, in the present conditions, if no attention is paid to the matter, a village can be as unhealthy as a town. In the province of Bengal the villages are, as a matter of fact, much more unhealthy than the towns, which have organized some system of drainage and water-supply. With the experience gained in the industrial towns in India in the past, and with lessons learned from the many recent town-planning experiments in Western countries, it should not be difficult to render the future industrial centres as sweet and healthy as the present towns and villages. The two chief arguments against the introduction of power industries are therefore not incontrovertible. It may, however, be at once conceded that in the purely art industries, which cater for a limited number of discriminating customers, hand-power will always retain a predominant position. Thus no one advocates the introduction of extensive machinery in the manufacture of the beautiful silks of Benares, the embroideries of Agra, the pottery of Bulandshahr, or the art metal-work of Lucknow, Delhi, and Moradabad, although the adoption of better tools and appliances may be feasible and desirable in all these industries. The enthusiasts who have been in recent years working so steadfastly for the revival of Irish industries have grasped this point, and everyone admits that the quality of the art products of Ireland, like laces and carpets and poplin, will only deteriorate if mechanical power be employed for their manufacture. The question of giving new life and vigour to the art industries of India has received considerable attention in recent times, and it is not necessary to dwell any longer on it in

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this paper. In the case of commodities, of which the demand is large, and only standard qualities are required, it is eminently desirable that the latest modern methods of manufacture should be employed. Sugar will afford an apt illustration of my meaning. It has been cultivated and manufactured in India from time immemorial, so much so that the Sanskrit word for sugar seems to have given the name for the commodity in most countries of the world. Even now sugar-cane is the most favourite crop in all rich land and among the best type of cultivators in Northern India. Sugar refining is perhaps the most important industry in the United Provinces, where the average annual produce has been roughly valued at ten crores of rupees, or seven million sterling. The methods of cultivation of the cane, owing partly to the system of land tenure and partly to defects of agriculture, are far from economical, while the industry of pressing the juice and refining and crystallizing it follows processes extremely crude, primitive, and wasteful. During the last few years, in spite of an artificial inflation of the demand for country sugar caused by sentiment and prejudice, the imports of cane sugar from Java have increased immensely in value. The sentiment in favour of country sugar is bound to die out sooner or later. The most up-to-date methods are in vogue in Java for both cultivation and manufacture. Japan is now making elaborate preparations for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar according to the latest scientific methods in the island of Formosa, which possesses a soil eminently suitable for cane. The indigenous industry in North India is threatened with ruin unless timely steps are taken to reorganize it on modern scientific lines. It is hardly necessary to point out that any injury to the industry of sugar refining will have disastrous results on the best forms of cultivation in the trances affected. Another illustration of the need for the introduction of modern machinery will be found in the conditions of the industry of manufacturing domestic vessels of brass and copper. There is a very large demand for this kind of article, and several towns in Northern India, like Mirzapur, Benares, Farrukhabad, Lucknow, and Moradabad in the United Provinces, Berhampur and Bankura in Bengal, thrive on this style of business. In the case of copper, imported sheets have always been used to a large extent. In recent years imported brass sheets have been fast replacing the use of old brass melted down or recast into new shapes. The artisans are fairly well paid, and the sanitary conditions of the industry are satisfactory. Within the last decade or so these metal-workers have been threatened with very serious competition. The consumption of machine-made enamelled iron-ware is increasing very much. Aluminium vessels turned out at the factory in Madras and also imported are gradually finding their way to remote country villages. The wealthier classes are taking to the use of glass, china, and earthenware. Moreover, mill made brass and copper vessels of standard shape and size are being sold in the large bazaars, which were at one time monopolized by the hand-made article. Looking ahead for a quarter of a century or longer, one fears that the thriving brass-workers of North India will find their occupation gone unless meanwhile the industry is reorganized and power machinery utilized to replace the slow and fatiguing parts of the hand processes. There has been a good deal of controversy in recent years regarding the prospects of the hand-weaving industry in India. All over the

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country this is far the most important industry at present, and by all accounts the weavers just manage to earn a bare livelihood where they have not already been compelled to throw themselves on to the land or to adopt some other occupation. Much attention has been devoted within the past few years to the invention and popularization of efficient looms and other accessories, and to the improvement of the condition of the weavers by many indirect methods. The measures adopted in the different provinces are all more or less in the experimental stage, and no safe deductions can yet be made. It seems clear, however, that the hand industry is the most likely to retain its position in the weaving of fine artistic fabrics and of very coarse cloth, the two extremes which the larger factories do not for obvious reasons care to touch. There is also a much greater prospect of the hand industry being successful when organized in the form of small factories managed by trained business men than when the individual weaver carries on all his work of buying and manufacture unaided, without co-operation or division of labour. In other words, the hand industry has the greatest chances of survival when it adopts the methods of the power industry without actual resort to power machinery.

What I have said about the relative advantages of power and hand industries must not be taken to imply that I in any way deprecate or discountenance measures taken to foster cottage industries. On the other hand, I am strongly in favour of all possible steps being taken to give a systematic training to the workmen in their various crafts, to introduce more efficient tools and implements, and to enable the artisans to buy their raw materials in the best market, and to sell their finished products for the most advantageous prices. We are now in India passing through the period of transition in industrial methods that took place in Europe between 1780 and 1830. The industrial revolution in England, as you are all aware, caused untold misery to individual workers. With the experience of Europe to guide us, our object should be to minimise individual suffering as far as possible, and gradually to fit the handworkers of India for the changes that must come eventually.

Another point on which much difference of opinion has prevailed is whether an elaborate system of technical and industrial instruction should follow or precede the actual establishment of industries in India. According to some authorities, industrial schools cannot teach a trade which does not already exist in the country, and if a lad is instructed in a craft for which there is no opening, he will soon lapse into a cultivator, or whatever else his hereditary calling may be. Similarly in the higher stages of technical instruction it will be a great waste of time and money to train a young man for a particular industry if at the end of his period of training he cannot readily find employment. When an industry has been firmly established in the country with the aid of imported labour in the highest grades, the demand for local training for these ranks and for previous training in the lower ranks will be legitimate, and can be met by the foundation of required institutions. On the other hand it is argued that imported labour is expensive and uncertain. The initial difficulties in establishing a pioneer industry in India are already very great. Native capitalists in particular are frequently deterred from undertaking otherwise promising forms

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of business by the consideration that it is impossible for them to get entirely reliable technical experts, especially when there is no certainty of replacing imported men by local talent even ten or fifteen years later. If technical institutions turn out capable men, they should not have much difficulty in securing capitalists to finance them. It seems to me that there is a great deal of force in both views, and I submit that the only proper method of development would be the establishment of technical colleges and industrial schools *simultaneously* with the actual starting of pioneer factories. It is true that in advanced occidental countries systematic instruction has followed the establishment of an industry, but we must not lose sight of the fact that at the present day all European countries possess thoroughly equipped technical institutions, and it will be sheer folly to enter into an industrial combat with them unless our arms and organization are equally efficient. If all skilled labour has to be imported, the cost of production will be heavy, and will remain heavy for ever. A professor in an English University, who has given much thought to the question of industrial progress, observed to me some time ago that no country could possibly develop its industrial resources to an adequate extent if the bulk of the skilled labour has to be imported from other lands. It has been suggested that the difficulties can be overcome by sending Indian youths for industrial training to other countries. This course is now being pursued to an increasing extent. The State and some philanthropic bodies are assisting a number of young men, and many leave India relying entirely on their own resources. I have given some attention to the matter, and I do not think the present conditions are altogether satisfactory. Technical Universities in England or on the Continent have extensive workshops, but they do not pretend that the training in these workshops fits a young man for the actual work of life. English students generally obtain introductions to factories working on a commercial scale. They spend a considerable time in such factories during the college vacations, and also subsequent to the college training before seeking remunerative employment. Indian youths have, for obvious reasons, the greatest difficulty in securing such practical training. Moreover, the local conditions are so entirely different that an Indian student, unless he has had prolonged practical experience, is unable to adapt to Indian circumstances the knowledge gained in European colleges. Another defect, I hope, will be remedied, now that more attention is being paid in this country, as well as in India, to the requirements of Indian students in foreign lands. Young men often come from India with a vague aspiration for an industrial training without any idea of the particular industry they wish to learn, of the prospects of that industry in India and of their own fitness for any kind of industrial work. Under existing conditions the emigration of Indian students to the seats of technical instruction in other countries is necessary, but the system cannot be a permanent solution of our difficulties. At any rate, only a very small number of industrial students can afford to come to distant countries, and institutions in England or the Continent can find room for only a very limited number of such youths. The need for suitable provision in India itself is becoming urgent, but, as I have said before, the establishment of colleges only, however well equipped they may be, will only be a

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partial solution. The training will not be complete unless the students can learn practical work in actual factories.

We must have a parallel development. Private enterprise and capital should undertake the pioneering of promising industries, while technical instruction to meet the requirements of these nascent industries should be the province of the State. Co-operation between the State and the captains of Indian industry is essential for the success of such a development. The deliberations of the official and non-official conferences, to which reference has been made earlier in the paper, have been full of promise in this respect, and I have every hope that, when the well-considered schemes of the Local Governments actually take shape, the leaders of the more intelligent and thoughtful sections of the Indian public will render all loyal assistance to insure the success of the State measures.

The next question that suggests itself is where the capital is to come from for the establishment of industries in India. Capital is proverbially shy in India; besides, its organization is antiquated and out of date. The landed classes have only in a comparatively few cases much ready money, and it is desirable that their capital should be sunk as far as possible in their own domains; the land in India is capable of absorbing large sums towards innumerable agricultural improvements. The moneylending classes have so far lent mostly on the security of land or other real property, except in cases where they have financed trade as distinguished from industry. A middle class is, however, now growing up in towns and large villages, consisting, as I have already said, of public servants, tradesmen, and members of the learned professions. This middle class is saving money, and is capable of exercising greater thrift if the prospects of a suitable return were better than they are now. The funded securities of the State and the large joint-stock banks afford absolute safety, but the interest derived from these sources is comparatively small. On the other hand, ordinary money-lending, or the financing of tradesmen, yields a handsome return, but the business is more or less of a speculation. What is wanted is something between the two extremes. The system of district banks which has been inaugurated in Northern India under the impulse of the co-operative movement, seems to offer a practical solution of the problem. These banks are not too large to get in touch with the smallest depositor, while, if well managed, they should be able to discriminate between sound and unsound industrial schemes and to finance promising undertakings at a reasonable rate of interest. After all, factory buildings, machinery, and raw materials, though liable to depreciation, are less speculative security than the goodwill of a trading firm. As Mr. Cuming has pointed out in his report on the industries of Bengal, one looks for progress in the immediate future to the efforts of small capitalists and small syndicates. In the pioneering of new industries a small syndicate has many advantages over a joint-stock company with a large body of shareholders, and also over a single-handed capitalist. A syndicate of capable business men who invest a fair amount of their own capital in a new industry is not likely to experience much difficulty in obtaining loans on moderate terms from the banks. Not only is the number of small district banks increasing every year, and so far as can be judged from a short experience, these banks are in most cases

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prudently and successfully managed, but all over India a number of large banks has been established within recent years with the ostensible object of furthering industrial enterprise. These larger banks are supported by well-known names in mercantile and financial circles in the country, and they have secured the services of experienced and competent English managers. The signs are therefore full of promise. Once in any industry the pioneer factories are successful in surmounting the initial difficulties, one has no hesitation in predicting many fresh ventures in the same line. Then will come the turn of true joint-stock enterprise. The growth of the cotton spinning and weaving factories of Bombay and Ahmedabad furnishes a sufficient illustration.

I have already submitted that the State should undertake technical and industrial instruction in all stages. It is not possible here to enter into any details regarding the requirements, because they vary from province to province, and have already formed the subject of careful deliberation in India. It is necessary, however, to mention that attention must be given not only to what may be strictly called technical instruction, but an improvement should be aimed at in all stages of general instruction. The education of the eye and the hand should be as much an object as the education of the brain. Mr. Spring in his paper insisted on this feature of the problem when he advocated a three-dimensional education instead of one of two dimensions. The point was recognized at the Naini Tal Industrial Conference, and the Government of the United Provinces has already taken measures, in accordance with its financial capacity, to introduce manual training in the lower forms of ordinary schools, and to give a practical and scientific bent to the instruction in the middle and higher forms.

It is also submitted that in India the function of the State in the industrial development of the country cannot be limited to the mere provision of technical and industrial instruction. It is ordinarily true that private enterprise and capital must come forward to establish industries, but State aid and encouragement are necessary in this direction also. I am quoting the opinion of the honourable Mr. Cumming. "It is not the fault of many would-be industrialists but of their traditions and environment, that they lack initiative, co-operation of capital, business capacity, and organization. The feature of the present position is that it is not the Indian commercial classes who wish to engage in industrial enterprise—commerce pays them better ; but it is principally classes in whom the commercial instinct is not fully developed, and who are finding that the pressure for existence in literary lines is too great." The suggestion has therefore been made in most provinces in India for the appointment of a Director of Industries, whose advice should be available to the Government on the one hand, in regulating its system of technical instruction, and to the public on the other hand regarding the best and safest methods of industrial enterprise. Such an officer must not only be an expert with a wide knowledge of technical processes and developments in advanced industrial countries, but should possess or acquire an intimate appreciation of local conditions in India. In Madras the Government has been fortunate enough in finding already in its service a Director of Industries with all necessary qualifications. It may be difficult to secure suitable men for the other provinces, but the want is keenly felt by all

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classes interested in industrial growth, and I venture to think that if sufficiently attractive emoluments are offered we shall get men who will fit themselves for their duties within a reasonable period.

The question has been raised whether the State in India should not go even farther, and actually pioneer industries which in its opinion are likely to benefit the country, but which private enterprise is unwilling to take up owing to peculiar initial difficulties. The problem is an exceedingly complex one, and will take more time than I can devote here for an adequate consideration. It may, however, be noted that modern economists of pronounced individualistic views have theoretically approved of State participation in the development of rural and agricultural industries. The principles of the new Development Bill in this country have not encountered as much criticism as the methods and machinery proposed by the Government. Orthodox economists from the time of John Stuart Mill have admitted the soundness of State aid for nascent industries. In India we have no protective duties, and it is difficult to devise any system of protection which will be equally efficacious against all outside competition. Consequently the State aid to nascent industries must assume forms other than the imposition of Customs duties ; the pioneering of an industry, on the distinct understanding that the business will be transferred into private hands as soon as its productivity has been established, is likely to be less mischievous than many other forms of State aid that can be imagined. Moreover, the Government in India has already, almost unconsciously, but with conspicuous success, pioneered some industries—e.g., dairies in North India and aluminium manufacture in Madras. No untoward results have followed such undertakings. The question should, in my humble opinion, be left to the discretion of the Local Governments, which may be safely trusted not to enter upon any project without a most careful consideration of all the circumstances.

In some special cases, I think it will be readily conceded that it is the duty of the State to undertake industrial enterprise. For instance, the vast forests of India are the property of the Government, and it is exceedingly desirable for many reasons that they should be carefully conserved by the State. Consistently with this policy every effort should be made to make State afforestation a commercial success. At present no adequate use is made of many forest products. Thus the soft woods, like spruce and silver fir and the bamboos of Indian forests, will probably yield very valuable pulp, which is the raw material for paper manufacture. Owing to the situation of the forests, the establishment of private factories for pulp manufacture is beset with special difficulties. I would submit that if expert opinion pronounces favourably on the commercial prospects of the pulp industry, and if private enterprise is not forthcoming, the State should have no hesitation in organizing and conducting a factory under its own control.

I now come to the last point to which I should like to invite your attention. The stumbling-block in the way of all educational reforms in India, including the introduction of a liberal and modern system of technical and industrial instruction, is the want of money. After many lean years, when all spending departments were more or less starved, we had some prosperous seasons, and comparatively large grants were made towards education, mainly primary educa-

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tion. The results, as will be apparent from a perusal of the many official publications on the subject, were phenomenal. It was evident that the masses of the people eagerly availed themselves of the new facilities. In most places they clamoured, and are clamouring, for more opportunities. The prosperous years have again been followed by a period of financial shrinkage. Instead of the expanding needs of education being met by further expenditure, the purse-strings have had to be tightened. The result is likely to be a permanent set-back to the cause of education pursued along right lines. In Egypt, during the many years of financial stringency, Lord Cromer followed the policy of easing the burden of taxation on the people rather than spending large sums on eminently desirable objects like administrative or educational reform. I do not think the condition of India can be compared in this respect with that of Egypt. Taxation in India is not heavy as compared with taxation in all civilized countries of the world. The need for a larger expenditure in education is admitted by all classes. In the circumstances I think the State will be justified, if funds cannot be provided in any other way, in imposing fresh taxation to meet the increased expenditure. It is not necessary here to discuss whether such taxation, specially earmarked for educational purposes, should be imperial or local. The leaders of all sections of the Indian public are unanimously of opinion that the educational needs of the country demand large additional expenditure. In the reformed councils the representatives of the public will have a splendid opportunity of discharging their duty to the country, and I trust they will cordially co-operate with the Government in finding money for the most pressing and imperative requirement of the land at the present day.—(Atul C. Chatterji, B.A., I.C.S., in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.)

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At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on the 25th of February last, the Hon. Mr. Gokhale moved the following resolution : "That this Council recommends that the Governor-General in Council should be empowered to prohibit the recruitment of indentured labour in British India of the colony of Natal. In moving it, he said :

My Lord, I must at the outset express my deep sense of the manner in which the Government has afforded facilities for to-day's debate. It is a matter of some significance that the first exercise of the new privilege of moving resolutions in this Council should be in respect of a question which has not only roused intense feeling among all classes of His Majesty's subjects in India but in regard to which the Government of India itself is understood to be of one mind with the people. That being so, I think, it is not too much to hope that my motion will be accepted by the Council, and that the Government will thus place itself at the head of what is undoubtedly the universal sentiment in the matter throughout the country. My Lord, my object in raising this debate to-day is two-fold :—First, to call the attention of the Council to the positions of British Indians in South Africa, and secondly, to strengthen the hands of the Gov-

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ernment of India in applying a remedy to the situation to the extent to which a remedy can be applied. I think the first thing to realise in this matter is the fact that the whole of the Indian problem in South Africa has arisen out of the supply of indentured labour to Natal. The Indian population in South Africa may be divided into three classes :—(1) Those who are under indenture. This class is of course confined to Natal. (2) The ex-indentured and their descendants, by the ex-indentures being meant those who have completed their term of indenture but not returned to India nor have got themselves re-indentured but are struggling amidst great difficulties to earn their livelihood as free Indians. This class has of course grown out of the first. And (3) traders and other Indians who have gone to South Africa at their own expense. These persons have gone there in the wake of the indentured Indians and primarily to supply their needs. It will thus be seen that but for the introduction of indentured Indians into Natal, there would have been no Indian problem in that sub-continent to-day. Now, my Lord, my own view of this system of indentured labour is that it should be abolished altogether. It is true that it is not actual slavery, but I fear in practice in a large number of cases it cannot be far removed from it. To take from this country helpless men and women to a distant land, to assign them there to employers in whose choice they have no voice and of whose language, customs, social usages and special civilisation they are entirely ignorant, and to make them work there under a law which they do not understand and which treats their simplest and most natural attempts to escape ill-treatment as criminal offences—such a system, by whatever name it may be called, must really border on the servile. I strongly hold therefore that the system should be done away with altogether. This is also the view which the entire Indian community throughout South Africa take of the matter, as may be seen from several petitions addressed by them from time to time to the authorities on the subject. But it is not merely on its own account that I advocate an abolition of this system ; I also advocate it because continued influx of indentured labour into South Africa and the consequent inevitable annual additions to the ranks of the ex-indentured tends steadily to lower the whole position of the free Indian population. The feeling of contempt with which the indentured Indian is generally regarded comes to extend itself not only to the ex-indentured but even to traders and other Indians of independent means. The struggle of free Indians to maintain themselves becomes more and more acute by these constant additions and the whole community feels an intolerable economic and continuously increasing burden placed upon its shoulders. I therefore urge the total abolition of this system of indentured labour. I may however be told that this is an extreme view to take, and that, though circumstances may arise which may lead the Government of India to prohibit altogether the supply of indentured labour to Natal, for the present it would be a more prudent course to utilise Natal's need for securing an improvement in the treatment meted out to Indians in South Africa generally and in Natal in particular. Now, my Lord, though this is not the highest view to take of the matter I am prepared to recognise that from a practical standpoint there is a good deal to be said in its favour. The position of Indians in South Africa which has

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gone from bad to worse during the last fifteen years has now grown absolutely intolerable, and in any remedy therefore which the Government can apply to the situation it is entitled to the strong and hearty support of the people of this country.

What, my Lord, is the position of the Indian community to-day in different parts of South Africa? I trust the Council will bear with me while I present to it a brief survey of that position. The total Indian population in the four colonies or states of South Africa which have recently been federated into the South African Union is about 150,000. Of this number 120,000 are in Natal, about 15,000 are in Cape Colony, about 13,000 are entitled to be in the Transvaal—though the actual number there owing to the struggle of the last three years is not more than 6,000 at present, and about 100 only are in Orangeia. Let us take Natal first. I take it first both because the bulk of the Indian population in South Africa is within its borders and also because as I have already pointed out the Indian problem in South Africa has grown out of the industrial or the needs of this colony. This supply of indentured labour from India to Natal first began in the year 1850. And with the exception of a brief period of eight years from 1866 to 1874, it has continued to the present day. From the figures kindly supplied to me by the Hon. Mr. Maxwell, I find that the total number of Indians actually under indenture to-day in Natal is about 40,000. In addition to this, there are about 65,000 ex-indentured Indians and their descendants, while the trading Indian community stands at about 15,000. The period of indenture is for five years after which a person may return to India, in which case he gets a free passage to this country, he may get himself re-indentured, or again he may remain as a free individual in the colony on the payment of an annual license of £3 for every male above 16 years of age and every female above 13. Now, so far as the persons actually under indenture are concerned, the principal grievance is naturally ill-treatment by employers. Very grave allegations on this subject have been made and I must say that I have not seen them satisfactorily answered. On some estates the Indians are no doubt well treated—at any rate as well treated as they can be in the circumstances, but the very relations between the employers and the employees are such that they easily lend themselves to serious abuse and flagrant cases come to the notice of the public from time to time. The Protector of Immigrants being an officer of the Natal Government, he affords but little real protection to the poor Indian labourers. He is ignorant of their language and their ways of life and is generally imbued with the prejudices of the Colony and it is not his fault if he is unable to enter into their feelings or understand their grievances. A startling fact which has been mentioned and have not been contradicted is that the rate of suicide among the indentured is double of what it is among the ex-indentured and from ten to twelve times what it is among those classes in India from whom the indentured are drawn. My Lord, all these allegations require a searching and careful enquiry, and I think the Government of India should urge on the Government of Natal a joint inquiry by representatives of the two Governments in the matter. I also think that the Protector of indentured Indians in Natal should be an officer of the Natal Government. So much for those who are actually under indenture. Let us now turn to the case of the

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ex-indentured. Their number in the Colony is, as I have already mentioned, about 66,000. The policy of the Colony towards them has undergone a gradual and now a complete change. In the earlier years after the system of indentured labour came into existence, the one anxiety of the Natal Government was how to keep in the colony those whose term of indenture had expired. Various inducements were offered and one of the conditions then insisted on was that no indentured Indian should leave the colony before the expiry of ten years from the date of his arrival. There is no doubt that those ex-indentured Indians have deserved well of the colony. It is to their labour that the present prosperity of Natal is largely due. So recently as July 1908, Sir Leige Hulett, ex-Prime Minister of Natal, bore the following testimony on this point :—"The condition of the colony, before the importation of Indian labour was one of gloom, it was one that then and there threatened to extinguish the vitality of the country and it was only by the Government assisting the importation of labour that the country began at once to revive. The coast had been turned into one of the most prosperous parts of South Africa. They could not find in the whole of the Cape and the Transvaal what could be found on the coast of Natal 10,000 acres of land in one plot and in one crop—and that was entirely due to the importation of Indians.....Durban was absolutely built up by the Indian population."

Two other testimonies may be quoted. Mr. J. R. Saunders, a member of the Natal Commission on Indian immigration of 1884, in the course of his remarks says :—

"If we look back to 1859, we shall find that the assured promise of Indian labour resulted in an immediate rise of revenue, which increased four-fold within a few years —mechanics, who could get away and were earning five shillings a day and less, found their wages more than doubled, and progress gave encouragement to everyone, from the berg to the sea. "The colony was in dire straits in those days. The revenue was only about £4 per head of the white population, whereas now it is nearer £40. . . . If we mean to take up the matter in real earnest, we must be prepared to do away with indentured labour altogether; . . . but whatever we do, we must act justly, and remember that a certain number of Indians have been born and brought up in the colony and that it is the only country they know and the only home they have."

Mr. Horne, author of the "Asiatic Danger in the Colonies," says :

"Indian coolies work the sugar and tea estates of the coast ; Indians develop the coal-mines ; Indians perform an increasing share of the work on the farms ; for the farmers, who at first viewed them with distrust, are now as anxious to retain them as the planters. Since the advent of coolie labour, the value of land has increased, the cost of living has gone down. It is the Indian coolie who gives Natal the cheap fruit and vegetable which are the envy of the Transvaal, who has brought under high cultivation large tracts which, but for his presence, would to-day be barren. The Umbilo Valley, near Durban (recently swept by the flood), and some of the land near Mauritiusburg, bear testimony to his industry."

And yet these Indians who have done so much for the Colony

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have for years past been making bitter complaints of the unjust and oppressive manner in which they are being treated. The early policy of inducing ex-indentured Indians to remain in the colony was gradually given up and during the last fifteen or twenty years one of the principal concerns of colonists in Natal has been how to get rid of the free Indian element there. A number of expedients have been tried to make their lot intolerable of which the most serious, so far as the ex-indentured community is concerned, is the imposition by an Act of 1896 of an annual license of £3 for every male above the age of 16 and every female above the age of 13. My Lord, it is difficult to speak in terms of due restraint of this outrageous impost. It is a matter of some satisfaction that a bill has now been introduced in the Natal Legislature to do away with this license so far as women are concerned. But the latest papers from Natal show that the measure has already been whittled down in Committee and that instead of exempting all women it is now proposed to vest a discretion in the Magistrate to grant exemptions in such cases only as he deems proper. This cruel impost which has to be paid by ex-indentured Indian in addition to the £1 poll-tax which everybody has to pay in Natal has already caused enormous suffering ; it has broken up families, it has driven men to crime and, grave as the statement is, it must be made, for I see it repeated in the Natal Legislature and practically corroborated by the Commission appointed by the Natal Government last year—it has driven women to a life of shame. My Lord, who are these people who are called upon by the Colony to pay this annual license of £3 for the right to remain in the colony ? They are probably persons whose experience of indenture has been none too kind and who are therefore unwilling to indenture themselves again ; who at the same time, not having been able to lay by anything during the period of indenture and having probably lost caste in India by reason of their going to Africa, dare not return to this country to face a life of poverty added to social disgrace ; and who therefore have no choice but to stay in South Africa for whose sake they have left their country and to whose service they have given five of their best years. I think the Natal Government ought to be urged to withdraw at once this iniquitous impost. It is not however only the presence of the ex-indentured Indians to which the colonists object, they also object to the Indian trading community whose number is about 15,000 to-day and who have been feeling the weight of harsh and unjust treatment for the last fifteen years. At one time this community possessed both the political and the municipal franchise. The political franchise was however withdrawn in 1896, and during the last two years attempts have been made to take away the municipal franchise also. Then during the last five years endless trouble and much suffering and loss have been occasioned by the absolutely arbitrary manner in which the licenses to trade have been withdrawn or refused ; the persons ruined not even being permitted to appeal to the Supreme Court. During the last two months a little improvement has taken place in connection with this question, for an Act has been passed probably under pressure from the Government of India allowing again appeals to the Supreme Court where renewals of licenses are refused. This however removes only a part of the grievance, because there is still no appeal to the Supreme Court where new licenses are refused or per-

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mission to transfer licenses is withheld. Again, since last year, the educational facilities enjoyed by the free Indian community have been greatly curtailed, there being now no provision for the education of Indian boys above the age of 14 or for Indian girls of any age. In 1908, two Laws were passed by the Colony which were subsequently disallowed by the Imperial Government proposing to extinguish altogether the Indian trading community in the Colony in ten years. My Lord, the whole policy of Natal to-day towards the Indian population is an utterly selfish and heartless policy and the only way in which any relief can be obtained is by the Government of India adopting a stern attitude towards the colony in return.

I have so far dealt with the position of Indians in Natal. Let us now glance briefly at the state of things in the Transvaal. The agitation of the last three years in that Colony has overshadowed the standing grievances of the Indian community there, which date from the time of the Boer Government. These grievances are three. In the first place, Indians cannot acquire any political or municipal franchise in the Transvaal. Secondly, they cannot hold any immovable property there, and, thirdly, they are liable to be confined to residence in locations. In addition to these three grievances, the doors of the Transvaal have since 1907 been absolutely shut in the face of all Indians, who were not there before the war, no matter what their status or qualifications may be. Alone among British Colonies, the Transvaal has placed statutory disabilities on His Majesty's Asiatic subjects in the matter of entering that Colony. Alone among British Colonies, the Transvaal has sought to inflict galling and degrading indignities and humiliations on His Majesty's Indian subjects. The protests which the Indian community of the Transvaal has made against these disabilities and indignities during the last three years has now attained historic importance. It is not necessary for me to go on this occasion into its details because the story has now been told from a hundred platforms in the country. The struggle has not yet ended—the end is not even in sight. But India has no reason to be ashamed of the part which her children have played in this struggle. The Indians in the Transvaal have suffered much for the sake of conscience and of country but they have done nothing unworthy. And they have throughout been most reasonable. They have not asked for unrestricted Asiatic immigration into the Transvaal. They have only insisted that there shall be no statutory disabilities imposed upon their race and that all legislation subjecting them to degrading indignities shall be repealed. So far no relief has been forthcoming. But perhaps the darkest hour is already passed and the dawn is not now far. Of the Indian position in Orangia, not much need to be said. The doors of the Colony are shut against all Asiatics except such as want to enter as domestic servants and there are about a hundred Indians to-day in that capacity. There were Indian traders at one time in Orangia, but they were forcibly turned out of the Colony by the old Boer Government about 1893, and since then no others have been allowed to get in.

Lastly I come to Cape Colony. Here on the whole a liberal policy is pursued towards Indians, and with the exceptions of East London the Colony treats them fairly well. The total number of Indians in this Colony is about 15,000. They are permitted to

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acquire both the political and the municipal franchise, and though they have difficulties in the matter of obtaining licenses to trade and at times considerable suffering and loss has been caused by arbitrary refusals to grant and renew licenses, on the whole the position is much more satisfactory than in other parts of South Africa. In East London things are no doubt bad, but it is only a small part of Cape Colony.

My Lord, I have described to the Council briefly and, I hope, accurately, the present position of the Indian community in different parts of South Africa. I will now turn for a moment to the terms of the resolution which I have laid before the Council. The resolution recommends that the Governor-General in Council should acquire statutory powers to prohibit altogether, if necessary, the supply of indentured labour to the colony of Natal. Under the law as it stands at present the Government does not possess these powers and that, I am sure, is a serious handicap to the Government in any negotiations into which it may have to enter with the Government of Natal on questions connected with the treatment of the Indians in that Colony. It is of course true that the mere taking of these powers does not mean that they will be necessarily exercised. Still this resolution, if accepted by the Council to-day, will be an indication to South Africa generally and to Natal in particular as to how strong and deep is the feeling which has been roused in this country by their anti-Asiatic policy.

The idea to stop the supply of Indian labour to Natal is not a new one. Immediately after the close of the Boer War, Lord George Hamilton, in addressing a deputation headed by Sir Lepel Griffin, made an emphatic declaration that unless Natal treated the Indian community more fairly the Government of India might be driven to this course. But obviously Natal has never taken such a threat seriously; for had it done so, it would not have endeavoured, as it has steadily done, to make the position of the free Indian community worse than before; also its representatives in its Legislative Assembly would not be talking to-day with easy assurance of getting the Government of India to agree to the proposal that the indenture of indentured immigrants should terminate in India or on the high seas.

My Lord, I sincerely trust that to-day's proceedings in the Council will open some eyes at least in South Africa. I think the power to stop recruitment of indentured labour for Natal should go a considerable way in securing from the Natal Government fair terms generally for the Indian community resident in the Colony. Natal needs our labour. It cannot do without it. A number of its industries largely, almost entirely, depend upon it, and they would be paralysed if this labour was withdrawn. On this point the testimony of the Commission appointed by the Government of Natal to consider the question of Indian immigrations is conclusive. The Commission says in its report:—"Absolutely conclusive evidence has been put before the Commission that several industries owe their existence and present condition entirely to indentured Indian labour and that if the imposition of such labour were abolished, under present conditions, these industries would decline and in some cases be abandoned entirely. These are:—Sugar, tea and wattle growing, farming, coal mining and certain other industries." This is so far as Natal is concerned. The

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actual effects of the suggested prohibition if carried out will however probably go beyond Natal and extend to the Transvaal. For, as the Natal Commission of last year points out, the withdrawal of indentured Indian labour from Natal will necessitate a corresponding withdrawal of the Kaffir labour of Natal from the Transvaal. My Lord, I think the present is especially opportune moment for the Government of India to acquire the power proposed in this resolution. Not only has public attention in this country and England been drawn to the condition of Indians in South Africa as it was never drawn before, but the control of the Asiatic legislation will shortly pass from the several Colonial Legislatures in South Africa to the Union Parliament which will meet in October. This Parliament will be largely dominated by Cape Colony views as nearly one half of its members will be from Cape Colony. Very probably Mr. Merriman will be the first Federal Prime Minister, and he declared himself only the other day in favour of a just and uniform policy towards Indians in South Africa, by which he no doubt means the Cape policy. It is possible, therefore, that strong representations made by the Indian and Imperial Governments on behalf of Indians backed by the power which this resolution suggests may prove more effective at this juncture than before in securing a redress of several of our grievances. My Lord, I urge this resolution on the acceptance of the Council because I believe it will prove of some use in remedying the evil from which we suffer. But I confess that even if there had been no chance of its proving in any degree effective I should still have proposed it because I think it is necessary for us now to mark in a formal and responsible manner our resentment at the treatment meted out to us by the South African Colonies and not to take the treatment entirely lying down. At the same time, I recognise that the problem by which we are confronted is one of enormous difficulty ; and that while threats of reprisals might go some way, our main, indeed our real reliance must continue to be upon a constant appeal to those immutable principles of justice and humanity which alone can form the enduring foundations of a great empire. My Lord, we find of all the grievances of which I have spoken today three questions of vital importance emerge to view. First, what is the status of us Indians in this Empire ? Secondly, what is the extent of the responsibility which lies on the Imperial Government to ensure to us just and humane and gradually even equal treatment in this Empire ? And thirdly, how far are the self-governing members of this empire bound by its cardinal principles ? Are they to participate in its privileges only and not to bear their share of its disadvantages ? My Lord, it is not for me to frame replies to these questions—it is for Imperial and Colonial statesmen to do that. But I must say this that they are bound to afford food for grave reflection throughout this country.

My Lord, only a fortnight ago this Council passed an important Bill imposing serious restrictions on what is known as the liberty of the Press. I was one of those who gave their support to that measure and I did this in spite of my strong disapproval of some of its provisions. I thus supported the Bill because I felt that something deeper and even more fundamental than the liberty of the Press was at stake in several parts of the country and was likely to be at stake sooner or later in other parts, unless preventive

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action was taken now—namely, the unquestioned continuance of British rule with which all our hopes of peaceful evolution are bound up. But, my Lord, what is the good of preventing an expression of ideas incompatible with the continued existence of British rule, if causes are allowed to be at work which forcibly suggest such ideas to men's mind. I think, I am stating the plain truth when I say no single question of our time has evoked more bitter feelings throughout India—feelings in the presence of which the best friends of British rule have had to remain helpless—than the continued ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa. My Lord, I am sincerely glad that your Lordship's Government has allowed this question to be brought up before the Council. Your Lordship has had a time of extraordinary difficulties in our midst. During this time while you have been driven from one repressive measure to another, you have also laboured incessantly for the permanent good of the people. I sincerely hope with your Lordship that the shadow which the measures of repression have cast on our path will be only a passing one. But whether that hope is realised or not, this I know that the good you have done will remain and it will grow from more to more. And of this good, I earnestly trust, that a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question in South Africa will before long form an important part.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

THE INDIAN RESPONSIBILITIES OF LIBERAL POLITICIANS

The above forms the subject of a rather violent diatribe by Sir B. Fuller in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. The whole article is a justification of the tyrannical administration of Lord Curzon and a veiled condemnation of the policy of conciliation adopted by Lords Morley and Minto as the only effective means of suppressing anarchism and sedition in India. The writer reminds us that the state of India during Lord Curzon's regime—particularly during the concluding months of his term of office—was perfectly tranquil. Of anti-British conspiracies, of assassinations in the name of politics, there was no thought, not to say no mention. But suddenly the situation changed. "For the first time since the Mutiny, sedition has openly paraded itself, armed with bomb and pistol and acclaimed by the admiration of native journalists and orators. There have been assassinations, attempted and successful. Open insult has been offered to the Viceroy ; his life has even been attempted. Energetic endeavours have been made to subvert the loyalty of the Native army. It has been necessary to strengthen the law against sedition and establish special tribunals for the trial of offenders. Indians of respectable position have been sentenced to imprisonment, some have been arrested and deported without trial. Most serious of all, thousands of youngmen have been swept into the net of revolutionary politics." Having thus outlined the situation in India for the last few years, Sir B. Fuller pertinently asks—How far is the Liberal Party responsible for all this? The only defence of the Liberal Party is that the dragon's teeth were sown by others, and that the Liberal Government was involuntarily confronted with a grievous harvesting. To speak plainly, the troubles are the consequences of Lord Curzon's administration of Indian affairs. This malicious statement, according to the writer, should not be permitted to pass unchallenged, for Lord Curzon's administration, unlike that of his successors, was characterised by the unwavering recognition of the maintenance of public tranquillity, the protection of the poor, and the education of the young as the paramount objects of government. Sir B. Fuller evidently does not believe that the boycott which was proclaimed as a protest against the Partition

of Bengal before Lord Curzon had left the country was the seed out of which the hideous tree of sedition and anarchy sprang up. Sir Bampfylde thinks that in its inception the boycott, as an attack upon British trade, was mere 'windy declamation, and would have collapsed at once before any determined opposition on the part of the State. But the State instead of realising its far-reaching consequences was determined to let things drift. The result was that the movement rapidly gained in strength. It became equipped with 'an active executive of student-scouts for picketing, of student-volunteers for terrorising shopkeepers, and of student-canvassers for house-to-house visitation. Its acceptance, at whatever inconvenience, could be forced upon people by persecution, and it spread very rapidly. Appetite comes in eating, and out of the anti-British boycott grew the sedition and anarchism which it has cost the Government so dear to combat.'

Sir B. Fuller deeply deplores the unwisdom of the Liberal Government in vetoing the policy of 'hammering' which he initiated during his rule in Eastern Bengal for the purpose of suppressing boycott. The temporary lull in the agitation following Sir B. Fuller's resignation was incorrectly interpreted by the Home Government as the disappearance of all discontent from the country. But three months later the State found itself confronted by a widespread conspiracy which attempted to involve the Native Army in its influence. Light-hearted contempt changed to serious apprehension ; and it was impossible to avoid the necessity of a complete change of policy.

The Government in a hurry began to apply the very measures in support of which Sir B. Fuller had resigned. But Sir Bampfylde thinks they have not succeeded, because (1) they came too late, (2) they have been accompanied by conduct which veiled them with an appearance of indecision and sometimes, indeed, exhibited the Government as repenting of its determination. Orders were issued, and laws were promulgated, which in some cases have been left unenforced, and which have been defended in England in semi-apologetic terms.

The writer then gives his half-hearted approval to Lord Morley's Reforms which though representing an honest attempt to increase the influence and self-respect of the Indian educated class, may excite rather than allay feelings of hostility towards the Britishers. But Lord Morley has done two things for which we may, says the writer, feel grateful to him, viz., the fulfilment of the undertaking that was given to the Mahomedans and the rules promulgated by him to limit the opportunities of the professional agitator.

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Conveniently forgetting how far the mischievous activities of rulers like our esteemed writer and his Chief, the worthy Lord Curzon of Kedleston, have been responsible for the growth of such widespread discontent in India, Sir Bampfylde evidently bases all his reasonings on the premise that the political condition of a country is the offspring of the immediate present and has hardly any relation to the past and levels serious charges against the Liberal Party. He says it has totally failed to meet the situation. Men of moderate and loyal views have drifted across to the extremist camp. As a consequence Indian loyalty is at a discount.

The concluding portion of the article is taken up with a repetition of the writer's defence of Lord Curzon's rule in India. Sir B. Fuller is of opinion that each of the three measures *viz.* (1) the improvement of the municipal Government of Calcutta, (2) the reform of the Calcutta University, and (3) the partition of Bengal, which were initiated by Lord Curzon, was very badly wanted for the interests of the public. With regard to (1) he says—"No one can question the benefit which this reform has conferred upon the inhabitants of Calcutta."

With regard to (2) he asserts :—

There is hardly a single European of educational experience in India, whether in the Government service or belonging to the important body of missionary educationists, who does not expect great things of them.

With regard to (3) he predicts with a number of hackneyed arguments in support of this "crowning folly" of Lord Curzon that some years hence it will be accepted as one of the most beneficial of Indian administrative measures.

The article concludes with these prophetic words :—

"Lord Curzon believed that the interests of human progress were worth the risk of causing irritation to Bengali feelings. The irritation would have subsided long ago had it not gained heart from his ultimate resignation, and from the shifting changes of English political life. But the fruits of his reform will bear witness for a vigorous discharge of the responsibilities of Empire long after the last echoes of detraction have passed away."

NATIONAL SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS IN INDIA

Dr. Ananda K. Coomarswamy contributes a reflective paper on the above subject to the January number of the *Hindu-shan Review* in which he discusses with much force and

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acumen the various factors that "make possible national self-consciousness and which constitute nationality." In analysing them the doctor remarks that, although unity of some sort is essential, it is not racial unity nor a common or distinctive language, but "a geographical unity, and a common historic evolution or culture that are the two essentials of nationality." The doctor justifies his contention by alluding to the following facts from the history of other countries :

" Racial unity, for example, does not constitute the Negroes of North America a nation. The British nation is perhaps more composed of diverse racial elements than any other, but it has none the less a strong national consciousness. Many of the most Irish of the Irish are of English origin : Keating and Emmet, for instance, were of Norman descent ; but neither they nor their labours were on that account less a part or an expression of Irish national feeling and self-consciousness. Switzerland is divided among three languages, and Ireland between two."

And the writer is gratified to note that these two essentials of nationality "India possesses super-abundantly, besides many lesser unities which strengthen the historic tradition." On the fact of India's geographical unity and the recognition of social unity Dr. Coomaraswamy makes the following observations :

" The idea has been grasped more than once by individual rulers,—Asoka, Vikramaditya and Akbar. It was recognized before the Mahabharata was written ; when Yudhishtira performed the Rajasuya sacrifice on the occasion of his inauguration as sovereign, a great assembly (*sabha*—simply the *gram-sabha* or village council on a larger scale) was held, and to this assembly came Bhishma, Dhritarashtra and his hundred sons, Subala (King of Gandhara), etc. and others from the extreme south and north (Dravida, Ceylon and Kashmir). In legends, too, we meet with references to councils or motes of the gods, held in the Himalayas, whither they repaired to further common ends. No one can say that any such idea as that of a Federated States of India is altogether foreign to the Indian mind or even new to it at all. But more than all this, there is evidence enough that the founders of Indian culture and civilization and religion (whether you call them *Rishis* or men) has this unity in view ; and the manner in which this idea pervades the whole of Indian culture is the explanation of the possibility of its rapid realisation now. It is not for nothing that India's sacred shrines are many and far apart ; that one who would visit more than one or two of these must pass over hundreds of miles of Indian soil.

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Benares is the sacred city of Buddhist and Hindu alike ; Samanala in Ceylon is a holy place for Buddhist, Hindu and Muhammedan. There is meaning in the sacred reverence for the Himalayas which every Indian feels. The *geis* is not altogether meaningless which forbids the orthodox Hindu to leave the Motherland and cross the seas. The passionate adoration of the Indian people for the Ganges cannot be thrown away. Much is involved in such phrases as 'The Seven Great Rivers' (of India)! The Hindu in the north repeats the *mantram*. " *Om gange cha yamune chaiva godavari sarasvati narmade sindhu kaveri jale'smin sanndhim kuru*, when performing ceremonial ablutions ; the Buddhist in Ceylon uses the same prayer on a similar occasion. The epics, the foundation of Indian education and culture or a poem like the *Megha Duta*, the best known and most read work of Kalidasa are expressive of love for, and knowledge of the Motherland. The holy land of the Indian is not a far-off Palestine, but the Indian land itself."

"The whole of Indian culture," observes the writer, "is pervaded with the idea of India as the land. Every province within the vast boundaries fulfils some necessary part in the completion of a nationality. No one place repeats the specialised functions of another." This the doctor illustrates by citing the case of Ceylon .

"Ceylon is unique as the home of Pali literature and Southern Buddhism, and in its possession of a continuous chronicle, invaluable as a check upon some of the more uncertain dates of Indian chronology. Sinhalese art, Sinhalese religion, and the structure of Sinhalese society, bring most vividly before us certain aspects of early Hindu culture, which it would be hard to find so perfectly reflected in any other part of modern India. The noblest of Indian epics, the love-story of Rama and Sita, unites Ceylon and India in the mind of every Indian, nor is this more so in the south than in the north. In later times, the histories of northern India and Ceylon were linked by Vijaya's emigration, then by Asoka's missions, (contemporaneous with the wave of Hindu influence which passed beyond the Himalayas to impress its ideals on the Mongolian east.) . . . And just in such wise are all the different parts of India bound together by a common historical tradition and ties of spiritual kinship ; none can be spared, nor can any live independent of the others."

"The diverse peoples of India," goes on the writer, "are like the parts of some magic puzzle, seemingly impossible to fit together, but falling easily into place when once the key is known ; and that key is the realization of the fact that the parts do fit together, which

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we call national self-consciousness. Just an instrument is India, composed of many parts seemingly irreconcilable, but in reality, each one cunningly designed towards a common end ; so, too, when these parts are set together and attuned, will India tell of the earth from which she sprang, the waters that gave her drink and the shapers that have shaped her being ; nor will she be then the idle singer of an empty day, but the giver of hope to all, when hope will most avail and most be needed."

Dwelling upon the importance of the various communities composing the Indian population, the writer observes : "It would hardly be possible to think of an India in which no Great Moghal had ruled, no Taj had been built, or to which Persian art and literature were wholly foreign. Few great Indian rulers have displayed the genius for statesmanship which Akbar had, a greater religious toleration than he. On the very morrow of conquest he was able to dispose of what is now called the Hindu-Muhammedan difficulty, very much more successfully than it is now met in India: for he knew that there could be no real diversity of interest between Hindu and Muhammedan, and treated them with an impartiality which we suspect to be greater than that experienced in the India of to-day. It was not his interest to divide and rule. Like most eastern rulers (who can never be foreigners in the same way that a Western ruler necessarily must be) he identified himself with his kingdom, and had no interests that clashed with its interests. This has, until modern times, been always a characteristic of an invader's or usurper's rule in India, that the ruler has not attempted to remain in his own distant country and rule the conquered country from afar, farming it like an absentee landlord, but has identified himself with it."

"We possess, then," concludes Dr. Coomaraswamy, "a real unity and national self-consciousness, and feel it our duty to realise this consciousness in concrete form, as much for the advantage of others as of ourselves ; and this without any feeling of bitterness or exclusiveness towards other races, though perhaps for a time such feelings may be inevitable."

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The *Nation* of London, the weekly organ of the Liberal Party, has a remarkable article on the Indian Press Act. In the course of its comments, it observes :—

"If the Indian Press is forbidden to comment on the economic drain of Indian wealth to England, in pensions, salaries, and

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dividends, if it may not express an honest conservative prejudice against secular education, if it may not echo the complaints of Lord Curzon himself about the persecution of Indians in the Transvaal, there is an end of any liberty of printing. The newspaper which prefers to exist above ground and in the open will be driven to servility, to silence, or to such hints and periphrases as French journalism was forced to employ in the worst days of the Second Empire. The resolute man will do what the Socialists do in Russia ; he will print underground or take to smuggling. The consequence in either case must be an increase of the existing resentment which will be no less formidable because it can find no public vent. The legal liberty to oppose a Government or to subject it to any fundamental criticism has come with this Act to an end. What remains of it in practice will depend on the individual good sense of the Judges of the High Court. The worst consequence of such a suppression of opinion is not that it fosters discontent. It is rather that it makes loyalty inoperative because it renders it perfunctory. If no publication may adopt a tone that is not loyal, the sincerest loyalty is discredited because it is no longer free.

The *Nation* is not satisfied with condemning the Press Act but goes into an examination of the whole policy of repression and makes some very pertinent observations :—

It will be urged that the release of the "deported," or more properly "imprisoned," suspects, which the Viceroy announced on the passage of this Act, is in some degree a counterpoise to the harm which it may do. That is, we fear, an optimistic calculation. To Indians, as to the leader-writer of the *Times*, this "alternation of cane and jam" must be very puzzling. A quasi-representative Council is called together amid high hopes of a new era. It is then given the task of forging a snaffle-bit for Indian opinion. The suspects are, indeed, released but for a reason which seems to condemn the whole policy of repression. Since their arrest, it is said, the movement of which they were leaders has degenerated from the sort of sedition which is frank and moral into a murderous anarchism. If this is a fair rendering of recent events, there could be no harsher verdict on the policy of the Indian Government than that it has itself pronounced. For the implication is that the men who were imprisoned as the source of all the mischief were, in reality, the forces which restrained its more reckless tendencies. And, clearly, a measure of repression which was outside all the regular forms of law, instead of intimidating, has only

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exasperated the extremists. The Reforms, which seemed to be very promising when Lord Morley first drafted them, are in some danger of being converted, by the detailed regulations of Simla, into a scheme which no longer moves the Hindoo element to any real measure of hopefulness. The repression which accompanied them stands confessed of failure. There is, in all this, evidence of mediocre statesmanship, on the Indian side, which is of ill augury for the future. An Indian Secretary reforms in vain, if the men who administer are themselves incapable of realising the true character of the task that confronts them. They will not understand that, on the intellectual side at least, the educated India which faces them is their equal in the field of criticism and dialects. They see stirring about them a proud and assertive national spirit, to which they offer no career and no constructive work worthy of its ambitions. Their intelligence, when they face an audience or pen an official document, does for a moment emancipate itself in theory from the cruder forms of the doctrine of race-subjection. But in all the friction of race with race, and in all the restricted social intercourse of the natives and the invaders, the old tradition survives. It may be a decade, it may be a generation, that will pass before some event occurs which at last makes this uncertain policy finally untenable. The preparation for that inevitable event is too grudging, the process of readjustment is much too slow."

THE DOMICILED COMMUNITY IN INDIA : EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN

Mr. R. Carstairs contributes an article on the above subject to the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. He begins by describing the place which the domiciled community occupy in the Indian Empire. "Britain, on one side of the globe," observes the writer, "cannot rule India on the other by correspondence only. There is need of a human agency, and that agency, in this case, is the resident British. . . . No matter what form of influence may be mentioned, it can only be exerted through that community. All the various forms of influence which Britain exerts in India may be summed up in one word—*Prestige*. Britain holds India by the power of her prestige; and the Hand with which she holds is the Resident British Community." After thus raising aloft the banner of British prestige in India, Mr. Carstairs proceeds with a description of the various elements composing the domiciled community in India:

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It is a mixture of races—two-thirds European and one-third Eurasian. Of the Europeans, nine-tenths are British—from the British Isles, the Colonies, and India ; one-tenth foreigners from nearly every country of Europe and America.”

The writer then traces the origin and growth of the Eurasian community :

“ The Eurasians are of mixed European and Asiatic descent. For two centuries before 1757, many powers—European and Indian—grasped at their falling sceptre. Portugal, France, Holland all made bids for the place in which we now sit. In those days European women did not go to India. Many men went, few returned. They took mates of the women of India, and their children were Eurasians. Within the last half century, besides an increase in the fighting and governing elements, there has been an expansion of the commercial, industrial, and professional classes of the community.

“ The two distinguishing marks of the Eurasian are : First, that he has in his veins both European and Indian blood ; second, that in religion, dress, customs, and feelings he clings to the European connection.”

Mr. Carstairs differs from those who want to substitute the name Anglo-Indian for Eurasians as, the writer thinks, it excludes those of Portuguese, French, and Dutch ancestry, who have as good a title to be called Europeans as the descendants of Englishmen. Nor the writer thinks it justified that the Englishmen should despise the Eurasians because of their mixed blood and dark skin ; for, he observes,

“Asia gave us our religion. It was an Asian, one Saul of Tarsus, who, speaking to a European audience in the city of Athens, first enunciated to Europe the truth, since accepted by all Europe, that God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth. This truth is rehearsed every Sunday in the Anglican churches of India, for it forms the subject of a special prayer composed by Bishop Cotton, and incorporated with the Indian version of the Prayer-Book. We. . . may further hold with some confidence that, while the European blood of the Eurasian is at least up to the home average, his Indian blood is not distinctly inferior.”

Referring to the domiciled community as a whole in India the writer observes :

“Domicile means citizenship. Every person has a domicile. It ‘has nothing to do with blood, being a legal status. A man cannot

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have more than one domicile at the same time, but he can change. Every Indian has a domicile. When we speak, however, of "the domiciled," we mean those of our blood in India who have an Indian domicile."

The dividing line between domiciled and non-domiciled is very small; it may be crossed at any time in either direction by any person. But by members of the resident British community it is crossed almost invariably in one direction. The domiciled Indian who would exchange for an English domicile must be a prosperous man, and such men are rare ; but to exchange his English domicile for an Indian one, a man has only to fail, for then he must settle in India, not being able to get away.

Between the domiciled and non-domiciled, then, though the boundary-line is so easy to pass, there is a clear distinction—the distinction between the poor quarter and the rich quarter of a great town. In the non-domiciled section are most of the able-bodied men in the prime of life ; in the domiciled, comparatively few of these, and more non-eficients—women, children, the aged, the infirm, the weak-minded, paupers, and loafers—its own inefficients ; and the failures, the wastrels, the waifs, and deserted children of the non-domiciled who drift into it.

During the last fifty years the domiciled section has been adversely affected by three circumstances. The first is the immense advance of education, which has fitted Indians to compete for all kinds of work once given to the domiciled, who either lose it or have to do it for less wages.

The second is the development of organized industries, which require highly trained skilled labour, combined with the cheapening of transport. Employers prefer to get their European workers from Europe, and the domiciled are rejected. The human machinery scrapped and thrown away is nearly all shot into the domiciled section of our resident community when done with.

The third circumstance is this : With their field of labour cut into on the one side by Indian labour, skilled and unskilled, and on the other by imported European skilled labour, an ever larger proportion of the domiciled are being squeezed out of remunerative employment. At a time when there is greater need than ever of a high training to enable them to hold their own, the means wherewith to obtain such a training is passing more and more out of their reach. The community is like a garden going out of cultivation for want of capital, and producing little but weeds.

Shall we drop this domiciled community, the writer asks,

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because they are, as Sir James Bourdillon described them, "in the great majority of cases, poor, reckless, and degraded?" Mr. Carstairs calls him a fool who, when some part of his body ails, neglects it, and lets it go from bad to worse; he further observes:

"An essential condition of the stability of our Indian Empire is that Britain should retain the friendship and esteem of India. If we lose these, the Empire cannot last.

"Now, one of the tests by which India tries our fitness for the place we hold is the manner in which we deal with our domiciled. This is a test of two things: First our natural disposition; and second, our determination to overcome difficulties—both qualities of great importance to India in the nation to whose guidance she entrusts her destinies.

"Out of the first test we have not, so far, come with credit.

"By the second test also we have hitherto failed. The domiciled community has been compared to a garden going out of cultivation, and we are trying to persuade ourselves and the world that this is all as it should be, since the soil is not worth cultivating. We have, however, no right to abuse the soil until we have done for it all that cultivation can do, and as yet we have done almost nothing.

If Britain would retrieve her character for right feeling, she will have to drop, not the domiciled, but her "aloofness" and her reputation for overcoming difficulties can only be retrieved by grappling with the problem of the "domiciled" and successfully solving it."

What should be done, Mr. Carstairs asks and replies:

"In examining the case with a view to action, we are at once met by two prominent facts: The first is that many Eurasians have gained for themselves individually a high reputation for efficiency and integrity. The second is that domiciled Europeans who have no Indian blood are thought little more of than Eurasians. These facts indicate that circumstances have something to say to a man's efficiency or inefficiency as well as blood. Then, searching for the circumstances that matter, we come upon a further fact, that residence in India has no adverse effect on Europeans who have grown up elsewhere, and entered India as adults. Another fact is that resident parents who can afford it, send their children to Europe or the hills for training, out of the climate of the plains and coast, and out of their vicious moral atmosphere. It is among those who have been thus sent away for training that we find most of the efficient among the domiciled. Efforts are being already made for the solution of the problem. The method which commands the

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most general assent to-day is that of the St. Andrew's Colonial Homes at Kalimpong in the Himalayas. Their object, concisely stated, is "to bring within reach of poor European and Eurasian children in India a sound training in a cool and healthy climate, under good and moral influences."

We have got the method but not the means. The resident community is manfully doing its best; but its best is only a little part of all that is needed. What will the nation do to back it?

The writer concludes his article with the following solemn appeal to the British Nation on behalf of the domiciled community in India :

"Oh, strong nation, whose hands have mighty tasks to do, behold, this thy hand aileth ! Neglect it not, lest it fail thee in thy work!"

NATIONAL UNITY : ITS EVOLUTION IN INDIA

Mr. E. A. Wodehouse opens *The Hindusthan Review* for February with an eminently erudite and illuminating article on the above subject. The writer begins by referring to the best means by which the Indians may grow into a United Nation :

"The true idea of unity springs from within. That which comes from opposition to common foe is merely artificial and contains no element of permanent life. With the removal of the antagonistic factor, it slips back again into disunion and mutual strife. The unity, on the other hand, which is to possess the genuine nation-building quality, is of an altogether different order. It is an intellectual necessity, and only comes into consciousness when men have reached a point where their very excess of individualisation begins to render the manifold problems of their common life insoluble except by a further advance, which can only be in the direction of a negation of differences."

The writer indeed points to the fact that "India—even the greater part of educated India—is still at some distance from this point," but gradually scaling up the ladder of evolution ; Mr. Wodehouse observes :

"The process of separation, of specialisation of the individual, is still to be gone through by ninety-nine hundredths of the people, before we can hope to have a genuinely unified Indian nation. What we see around us to-day—the division of caste from caste, of race from race, of creed from creed—is, for the present, the natural expression of the evolutionary process. It denotes the struggle for

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self-expression by the units of the race and has to be continued until at least a large proportion of the Indian people has passed through the process of separate and individual development. This, which alone can render them organic parts of a common and unified nation, is the work of education and of individual initiative and enterprise. Without these necessary preliminaries, the true and inner unity cannot be actualised."

Mr. Wodehouse considers the evolution of India as "the most complex and interesting problem before the student of history to-day," and observes :

"As regards the main problem of the unification of the many divergent and antagonistic elements of the country into an organic whole, it is doubtful whether the primary law which demands an antecedent specialisation is, even here, to be transcended. It is difficult to see how a unity can be established in fact, until it has become part of the consciousness of the people. Nor is it clear how this can be effected, until the latter has been educated, through individualism and separatism, up to the point where the next logical step will carry it in the direction of unity, as the only possible remedy for the problems which have grown up on the way." But the writer opines "that instead of blaming the dissensions and divergent interests (as many do) which separate educated India into various strongly marked factions, it would be wise to assume that the more enlightened classes are for the most part still in the stage where differentiation is a necessity of growth. This is largely so in the West, even to-day, and must not be taken as implying anything derogatory. Individualism is, after all, the foundation of all flourishing civilisations, in the sense that nations are made up of men, and the sum value of their units makes up, in its turn, the value of the nation. In this way an era of competition and division is far more healthy for an evolving people than a premature or artificial unity, which is apt to deaden effort and stifle progress by creating a false environment."

The writer points out to education as the only effective means to remove these differences :

"There is only one known means of hastening evolution ; and that is education. For out of education will emerge, after a time, the intellectual demand for unity, which is the only demand which has strength enough to mould the actual to its creed. Fifty years of vigorous and scientifically ordered educational effort in India—leaving out no class or element in the country, and directed to an enlightened and inspiring end—would do what nothing else can

ever do, in the way of producing that unity through specialisation, which seems to be the only kind of unity in accordance with cosmic law."

But the writer makes one reservation and that is "that India is a special case and we possess no data derivable from the history of other countries which can be of any use either in guiding, or in forecasting, the development of an Indian Nation." Mr. Wodehouse then concludes his eminently interesting article with the summing up of the law of evolution and its application in the case of India :

"An organism realises its fullness of life only in so far as each of its parts becomes organic. Therefore, it is only through the growth of the parts into active and self-subsistent life that any ideal of unity can, in my opinion, be achieved. The theory, which is common in India, that unity can be artificially produced, independently of the parts, is scientifically and, I think, practically unsound. It has, however, the attractiveness of all "short-cuts," which are intended to reach the goal without traversing the intermediate country. But a unity of this kind is not organic. It is artificial and liable to be broken up by the feeblest of disruptive forces. This does not mean that, all through the process of individual growth, the ideal of an ultimate unity should not be kept continually in mind, or the end to be achieved. It merely implies that any given end must be achieved by the laws implicit in the nature of that end. From which it follows—paradoxical though it may seem—that the shortest cut to the desired end is for each unit of the nation to develop itself to the utmost in the struggle for existence and in the capacity of standing by itself. Out of all this stress and antagonism will eventually develop a condition of things in which the necessity of co-operation and unification will be recognised as the sole method of solving the conflict of problems which will have arisen in the process.

"Such a condition should be realised in the West within the next fifty or hundred years. If so, it may or may not re-act upon India. In the latter case another anomaly would have entered into the history of this country—a contingency not, after all, surprising in a land which has seen so many anomalies and which has always been, more or less, off the main current of historical continuity. In any case, there is no doubt that India and her civilisation have a very special part to play in the world-process of the future : a patent fact which, as I have said, gives to the problem of this country an almost unique interest for the student of the philosophy of history, although

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it may do something towards upsetting his most treasured and jealously guarded *a priori* theories. It will, at any rate, be interesting, if India succeeds in evolving a unity of her own by other methods than those dictated by natural law and exemplified by a long succession of nations in the history of the world."

HOW INDIA STRIKES A SUFFRAGETTE

Mrs. Jessie Duncan Westbrook narrates the impressions she gathered during her recent tours in India in the March number of the *Modern Review*. She begins by speaking very highly about the picturesqueness of Indian scenery and the various monuments of art in India. 'The Ganges, to her, is as broad and the Himalayas as high as her vision of them. On Indian art, she observes : "The art of India has been a great revelation to me—a wonderful history from the two thousand years old sculpture of Karli and the early paintings of Ajanta, through the mediaeval wonders of the Chalukyan art of Mysore and the later piled-up splendour of the great temples of Madura and the south, down to the art of the present day, when the modern stone-cutters of Gwalior and Muttra are doing as fine work as their ancestors, and the gold-smiths of Mysore are making as beautiful ornaments as adorned the gods of the mediæval sculptors' dreams."

Referring to the social life of India, Mrs. Westbrook is happy to find the lot of the poorer folk in India better than those of England, but expresses astonishment that India is essentially "a man's world". She observes : " I looked with interest to all the busy bazaars and thought how much jollier the lives of the poorer folk were than in England. There the shop-keeper each is shut up in his own shop behind closed windows ; our artisans work in solitude at home or in big inhuman factories. Here in the picturesque bazaars everything is done in the open air. The shop-keeper sits in his open booth, chats with his neighbours, and gets the news from the passers-by. The gold-smith, the embroiderer, the sweetmeat-maker, the tailor, each plies his trade in public with his friends around him." She, however, deeply regrets that " women are tucked away behind among the cooking pots." Referring to the status of women in India, Mrs. Westbrook observes : "Some of the cities are far advanced in education, I hear. I see their government colleges, their private colleges, their schools, their training colleges for teachers. Very good, of course, but their founders seem to have

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ignored the fact that there are any girls in India. They are all for boys. Indian girls evidently have no minds to be cultivated. I walk in the gardens. Under the trees are boys busy with their books—examination time is near. There is not one girl—the one or two women are ayahs with English babies. Indian babies, like their mothers, do not seem to need fresh air or the healthy environment of gardens to grow in. I see the big playing fields for hockey, cricket, tennis—all for boys. Indian girls do not apparently need physical development and the youthful joy in games even there is no woman in India above the coolie class who has the independence of earning her own living, however idle and unnecessary she be at home. . . . All the brains and social enthusiasm that in other countries are supplied by the women of the middle classes are here absolutely wasted. I couldn't understand it at first. Then gradually I came to know that the women belonged to a different level of culture, to a different mental stage, to absolutely a different civilisation from the men. There was no connection between their lives, and the women did not understand in the least what the men were doing, while the men never dreamt for a moment of treating their own mothers and wives and sisters as their comrades and equals."

Mrs. Westbrook, however, lays special stress on the fact that she does not mean "anything disparaging to Indian women." On the contrary, she holds that the women who have had the chance of a human life and education have made use of the opportunities granted them in the most surprising way. I wish to speak with the greatest honour and respect of the noble women who to-day in India are the pioneers of woman's education, and who themselves have won their culture in the face of almost unbelievable difficulties."

Mrs. Westbrook further wonders that, although educated Indians generally favour the elevation of the status of women and talk glibly of the culture of Lilavati and the Brahman's wife who conquered Sankaracharya in argument, there are still very few Indians who have the courage of their convictions. "I hear," goes on the writer, "the Indians protest a great deal against the way they are governed; I hear them speak of liberty, of self-government, of following out their national ideal, and I came to India with the strongest sympathy. But how dare any man talk of freedom with his women-folk enslaved in the double prison of purdah and ignorance? How can he hope to build a healthy, intelligent, modern nation from people whose mothers are in a mediæval stage of darkness?"

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The article closes with the following note of disappointment. "I felt very depressed over it all here in Lahore and I went on a pilgrimage to the grave of Zeb-un-nisa, who at least in her day stood for woman's culture and independence. But her garden-gate is broken and her tomb at Nawakot desecrated. I wonder what she would think if she knew that, after the lapse of so many years, India is still no place for any woman of independent opinions. It is still as it was even in the day of Razia Begum of whom her biographer said, 'She had all kingly qualities except sex, and this exception made her virtues of no effect in the eyes of men. May God have mercy on her !'"

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF BRAHMOISM

[*By Sitannath Tintwabhusan expounded with reference to its History.*
Messrs HIGGINBOTHAM & Co., Madras.]

From the title of the book, it would appear that it is an attempt at analysis or criticism and as such should not be taken to start any new philosophical theory. It clearly professes only to examine the philosophy underlying the creed known as Brahmoism and incidentally raises some of the deep and interesting questions that philosophical criticism implies. Without a doubt, therefore, it could be called a philosophical treatise and should be judged entirely on its philosophical merit.

If, however, there is one thing in this book more than another which has stimulated a rather unfavourable criticism of it, it is its philosophical character. One at least of its many learned critics thinks that it is fighting with what is called the man of straw. Because Brahmoism is a religion and not a philosophy, Professor Hiralal Haldar, for he is the critic to whom we are referring, does not see how the philosopher would find in it anything to whet his appetite on. Between Philosophy and Religion, he further explains, there is no causal connection, philosophy only interpreting the phenomena known as religious ; and when we come to consider the difference in their methods, there is absolutely no reason why the Philosopher should find it necessary to quarrel with the Theologian. The Brahmo Theologians, Mr. Haldar tells us, never profess to be philosophers, nor do they go beyond merely giving expression to their religious experiences and beliefs. No doubt occasionally there are found arguments in their writings looking like philosophical, but such detached evidences by no means constitute a proof. It cannot therefore be either fair or logical to condemn the writings of Maharsi Dehendra Nath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Pratap Chandra Majumdar and others as mistaken, simply because they do not conform to the strict requirements of philosophical dialectics. "Would it be fair on the part of a Gifford Lecturer," Mr. Haldar asks, "to treat Stopford Brooke's Sermons as philosophical works and judge them accordingly ? "

Surely there is something in this criticism with which every body will be in complete agreement. A theologian should never be confused with a philosopher, nor should the function of philosophy

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be supposed to be anything but *interpretative*. Indeed, nothing could be a worse mistake than to suppose that philosophy can either produce or anticipate experience. The formative forces of experience, in a sense that will be readily understood, do not lie in them nor do we know with anything like adequacy where else they do. Our knowledge being limited, we can only take stock of the area that appears within the circle of our consciousness. But Philosophy has at least taught us that Reality is as much one personal whole as it is absolutely existent and rational. Naturally, philosophy being an aspect of this whole must be supposed to have some share at least, however small, in the formation of the ever-growing experiences of humanity. But that share being rather small in quantity, we do not go to philosophy for an appreciation of the formative forces. In fact, we are more or less helpless in this particular form of our philosophical enquiry. It seems we have got to watch the waves as they rise on the sea-beach regulating our frail bark as the wisdom of the conscious past and the dim light of the Absolute within us suggests.

But to deny that philosophy and religion are causally connected is not to hold that there is no necessary connection between them. Rather the very fact that philosophy interprets experiences means nothing more or less than that it is essentially related to it as its sole and sufficient critic. There may be a religious reformer or a theological preacher standing on a merely non-philosophical platform, but that does not imply that they are not liable to be criticised by the philosopher. Indeed, nothing is more absurd than to hold that philosophy will only interpret experiences but not criticise them. On the contrary to say that religious experience and beliefs have no philosophical aspect is to miss the vocation of philosophy altogether. Philosophy is nothing if it is not a systematic statement of the universals of Reality and, as such, the bed-rock of truth. Could it then be supposed for a moment that an experience can be real without holding the universal Reason in its very bosom? Is it again too much for philosophy to demand that whatever the experiences, religious, moral, social or political, they must all submit to a rigorous examination at the bar of philosophy? Yet, between the philosopher and the religious man the relation is not one of conflict; the latter might well find in the former his mentor who is there only to finish his metal by purging it of all its dross. Indeed the main question with our author never was whether Keshab Chandra Sen and Maharsi Tagore were philosophers or

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theologians, but whether the philosophy underlying their theological sermons and teachings contained any dross or verbiage. So long as criticism remains, philosophy as the supreme critic of experience will remain also. Nobody suggests that it will be the only form of criticism extant. There will remain the formal and scientific as well as the philosophical. But religious experiences for the best of all reasons will submit to the scrutiny only of philosophy and not that of the other types. If now there is any question that requires to be solved in this connection, it is not whether philosophy should criticise experiences, but whether a particular school of philosophy is the best of all critics. That religion like every thing else demands criticism goes without saying, but it is not equally clear if philosophy in a particular form is best calculated to supply that criticism. What Mr. Haldar, however, seems to hold is that because a religious preacher does not profess to be a philosopher he must not be criticised by the philosopher. How, then, is he to be criticised, or is he not to be criticised at all? When Keshab Chandra Sen, for instance, plainly states certain "undeniable" facts, how are we to believe that they are undeniable? How, again, are we to harmonise them with other *undeniables*, seemingly moving counter to them, though coming from as deep a prophet? Don't we in this way, as a matter of necessity, fall back upon philosophy? What does it signify whether a certain man professes to be a philosopher or a reformer? Do we take the man at his word or judge him by his systematic ideas and views? Between the isolated hours of a man's life and his uniform ways and ideas there is all the difference in the world. Nothing, however, is more clear than that every system of experience and belief is an embodiment of some truth or other. How could it then escape the ordeal at the bar of philosophy?

Mr. Haldar's defence of faith and inspiration, again, as opposed to philosophical disquisition, seems to be of a piece with his argument against philosophy as opposed to religion. He boldly asserts that religion would not be possible without unreflective faith and inspiration and proceeds to add that all creative forces are unreflective. To us it looks like a serious reflection upon the absolute spirit, but to look at the matter merely from our point of view we do not see how reflection could be denied all share in the creation of experiences. Rather it is true that with the growth of experience, progress is becoming more and more self-conscious. But this does not mean that faith and inspiration can not be formative forces too. Rather it is they who form by far the most prominent of

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the sources of our experiences. Our ideas on faith and inspiration, however, are hardly ever clear nor are they the same with every one. There is such a thing as popular faith which is only another name for credulity. There is again that philosophical faith which wants to commit a logical fallacy with the aid of logic. Thirdly, there is the faith which is based upon Universal Reason. It is this faith that saves us from absolute scepticism ; it is this faith, again, that keeps the flood-gates of our mind and heart open throughout the live-long day for the steady pouring in of experiences. Indeed, so long as this heavenly stream runs through the soil of our heart, inspiration finds a basis to work upon, and, if perchance the soil is rich enough, a sudden flash of the heavenly light appears and that is called revelation. So that to keep up faith is to keep up your most fundamental philosophical conviction. Such a faith implies that you have an absolute conviction as well of Reality as of its organic character. You know that the Real is rational and forms one complete organic whole. If now it is suggested that it is on faith that our experiences, especially religious, are based, does it not seem to mean either too little or too much ? It is too little if by faith we mean the mere psychical disposition ; too much if faith is taken on its objective ground plan, the absolute, the universal scheme of things and the whole. But in no case is it true that philosophy and faith are like the poles asunder. Mr. Haldar, however, does not seem to hold this idea of faith at all. His is the idea which rejects all philosophical thought, so that philosophy can only do harm to religion if it is allowed to meddle with it. Mr. Haldar would pardon me, but he seems to me to believe that the hours of inspiration form a reality by themselves ; so that when they are on, everything else must keep outside the temple. Does the philosophical method, then, appear to be essentially contradictory to the method of experiences ? How does it, then, come to help it afterwards ?—yet, Mr. Haldar does not hesitate to say that while philosophy is *reflective reason*, faith is only *unreflective reason*.

The mistake assumes a somewhat serious form when Prof. Haldar comes to examine the question whether religious congregations should be converted into philosophical academies. Pandit Tatwabhusan holds that the dogmatic way of preaching should be changed into a reference to the Universal Reason or the scientific faculty. As if such a procedure would be eminently subversive of the much vaunted Renascence of the Brahmo Samaj, Mr. Haldar in reply asks, “ Must every religious teacher then be a technical

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philosopher," and immediately hastens to add that this would be tantamount to converting every religious congregation into a philosophical academy than which a greater calamity it would be difficult to conceive. For ourselves, we are very much surprised to learn at this late hour that philosophical academies are such bad things and that ever since Thales wrote, the world has received no very kind treatment at the hands of its philosophers. To look at the position soberly, is it really a truth that philosophy can only do harm to the interests of Religion? Is there even the slightest foundation to the idea that thought is harmful to life and that a religious assembly distinctly suffers in its essential interest if its preacher somehow takes it into his head to clear up all the vague and obscure ideas involved in his sermons? Is the ideal of life, especially the religious, after all merely to grope through as obscure and thick a vapour of mysticism as possible? Mr. Haldar will not probably cross the threshold of a church wherein Hegel is allowed to tamper with a purely devotional sermon, where Sankaracharya is not regarded as a handicap to the propagation of truth, and where semi-cultured mediocrities, again disciplined in a certain unnatural form of worship, are not given the upper hand. "In what sense is philosophy the final authority on religious as well as other matters?"—he asks. Does it not imply an eternal quarrel between the subject that interprets and the object that is interpreted? And when to the religious audience, the preacher explains the ideas and principles involved in the religious belief, is he doing something alien to interpreting? But Mr. Haldar lends himself to the worst practical mistake when he goes so far as to hint that a religious atmosphere should be scrupulously kept clear of all philosophic thought, for nothing else can so surely lead to the revival of the old dogmatic and scholastic superstitions of the mediæval age.

But what passes altogether our limited comprehension is how, as a Hegelian, Mr. Haldar could come to doubt even the *locus standi* of Philosophy. For a Hegelian to believe implicitly in the demonstrations of Euclid and then to hang the barest philosophical truth on to the rack of suspense is curious indeed. Yet, Mr. Haldar does not scruple to ask the Pandit if he could show even one philosophical argument which produces universal conviction like the demonstrations of Euclid. Could there be a more ideal piece of Johnsonianism in philosophy? What if the Pandit fails to show such an argument? Would Philosophy then go to the wall? Yet, how Mr. Haldar could himself so rigidly pin his faith to the

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demonstrations of Euclid, when he is casting about for the barest piece of philosophical argument of a convincing character is more than we can see. Indeed, for one who professes to be a Hegelian it is as impossible to deny the philosophical position as it is for a running lunatic to leave his own shadow. Philosophy, however, might well be supposed to have acquitted itself satisfactorily if it has only proved beyond doubt even the barest category of Being. Would Mr. Haldar assert that such a proof is yet to come even while space with its properties is admitted to be absolute? Is Mr. Haldar then prepared to give Mathematics a prior place to Philosophy? The Cartesian and Spinozistic days are long over, and every Hegelian knows that if there is to be borrowing among the sciences, Philosophy certainly can only serve as the central *bau office*. But Mr. Haldar thrashes the question further and pointedly asks—"Can the Pandit say that to understand an argument is to accept it?" Certainly not. The Pandit must be an ignoramus indeed in all matters of historic evolution if he is so bold as to assert that understanding and realisation proceed *pari passu*. But philosophy does not undertake to overload the mind and leaves all prejudices and superstitions to the charge of the moralist and educationist. Could it, however, be said that even the necessity of thought can be transcended? Hegel's Logic might not be understood by all; but could one dispute its necessary character if one can once put oneself in Hegel's position? It looks like giving a dog a bad name and then hanging it. Where does the Pandit suggest that philosophy would be responsible as much for conviction as for understanding? But Prof. Haldar's last argument tops the list in a sense. Because philosophy does not appeal to the profound thinkers who, however, understand it, it must not be taken as valid. Do we then go by profound thinkers or profound thinking in our investigation of truth? What, again, is the test of profound thinking? And how did Mr. Haldar come to know that his profound thinkers really understood what they complained was not very convincing to them? I do not certainly mean by all this that Bradley was not a profound thinker or that James did not understand the scope and function of philosophy. Neither do I forget for a moment that even such deep philosophers as Aristotle and Plato missed many a truth which to a twentieth century young graduate, with very modest abilities, would appear to be as clear as the day. In questions of philosophy it is difficult to say who will follow the light and who will not.

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Without a doubt the question of temperament rules here as much as anywhere else. But to say that is not to deny the absolute character of philosophical truth. Let a man's temperament be what you like, if he can only rise to the philosophical stage of consciousness, the absolute character of philosophical truth will necessarily appeal to him. Nothing shows more convincingly the undeniable nature of philosophical truth than that you cannot even reject these truths without employing language and thought which presuppose their truth.

In concluding, we must say that, though Pandit Tatwabhusan has spun his text to an unconscionable extent and has confounded many vital philosophical issues, the book under notice is a most interesting treatise and a valuable handbook to the subject of Brahmic philosophy and theology.

Basanta Kumar Mallik

ARTICLES

THE PROBLEM OF THE DEPRESSED CLASSES

During the last few years the problem of the Depressed Classes has attracted considerable attention in all parts of India ; but this is not even distantly commensurate with the magnitude of the problem. His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda in a recent speech in Bombay on the subject said that the elevation of the condition of the depressed classes was not a question for a prince or a sect or even for a community to tackle, but it was a national problem. Indeed, if ever there was a national problem, it certainly is the problem of the depressed classes. Nay, we may say it is more than a national problem. It is a problem which concerns the whole humanity. The condition of the depressed classes of India is one of those black spots on the civilisation of our race, which, like the accursed institutions of slavery or serfdom, though geographically confined to one country, calls for redress from the entire civilised world. Just as the moral pressure of the civilised nations were brought to bear upon the slave trade in the Southern States of America or in the matter of the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, the disgraceful and inhuman tyranny exercised by the higher castes of Hindus upon their backward classes should be treated similarly by the public opinion of the entire civilised world. For in some respects the slave and the serf were better off than the pariah of India in as much as the slave was never an untouchable being whereas the very touch or even the shadow of a Panchama is considered as pollution by a large section of the Indian people and he has not even the right of free access into the public thoroughfares.

Such gigantic wrongs buttressed by the vested interests of the dominant classes of a nation can seldom be uprooted without pressure from outside. Of course, if those classes were wise in their day, they would themselves see that it was not the down-trodden classes alone who were depressed but the whole society had gone down with them ; the whole nation was paying the penalty of an intentional injustice done to a section.

In the wise economy of the Providence, no individual or class can perpetrate a wrong against another, without itself being the greater sufferer in the long run. The evil recoils with tenfold power on the head of the evil-doer, and so it has been in India. The wrongs of the ill-used down-trodden multitudes have been avenged terribly indeed in the degradation and ruin of the whole nation.

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And now at least, it may be hoped that the higher classes will have their eyes opened to see that their destiny is indissolubly united with that of the lower classes, the despised Pariah and the neglected Mubar. From whatever standpoint one may look,—of religion, humanity, social efficiency, national strength, industrial utility, or mere self-interest—the redress of the wrongs of the depressed classes will appear to be an urgent and imperative social necessity.

Even if we were sunk so low as not to be able to look higher, mere self-interest would teach us to treat the lower classes better. The vast masses of the depressed classes in this country are sources of manifold danger and weakness to the nation. It is not possible to isolate them entirely. However much we may disown them, they are of us, with us. If we disown them in life they claim and establish their fellowship with us in death, when the dying pariah victim of cholera, small-pox or plague, communicates the fatal germs of his illness to the clean and proud Brahmin. Nature does not recognise your distinctions of the clean and the unclean. There is no barrier powerful enough to sunder nature's kinship. You may drive the pariah into the unhealthy outskirts of the town or village ; but you cannot isolate yourself from the air which the Pariah breathes. The only effective remedy against the filth and dirt and contagion of the pariah is to share your purity with him. Otherwise you will have no other alternative but to share his impurity.

What a vast neglected national asset we have in the millions of men and women whom we call the depressed classes. The nations of the world are vying with each other in utilising the natural resources of this land. We also have begun to speak of the natural resources of our country. But are coal and steel the only resources worth exploiting for ? Are not the healthy, well-built, intelligent millions a far more valuable asset than the richest gold mines of the world ? As things stand at present, they hang as a millstone on the neck of the nation ; and as they are sinking lower and lower the nation also is going down with them. What a vast wastage of national resources !

We demand equal rights and privileges with Europeans, and that justly too. But a nation that has for centuries denied the most elementary justice to the large majority of its own people cannot speak of equality, fraternity and liberty consistently with reason or logic. We claim equal privileges today in Indian legislature and administration, but for centuries past the higher castes of India have systematically denied to the lower the right to draw water from the tanks, walk freely in the streets, put on decent

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clothing to protect themselves from cold and rain and even to build houses to live in healthy quarters. And today the net effect of it is that these depressed classes have been alienated from their hereditary oppressors and have ranged themselves with the hostile rank in the newly organised political struggle of the nation. For national regeneration the first condition necessary is national unity ; and no unity can be dreamt of so long as the lower classes are not given complete social equality and freedom.

The cruel wrongs and contempt of the past generations have not only alienated the hearts of the lower classes but they are actually inspiring them to desert the ranks of Hindu Society. Until recently they put up with the oppression and contempt of the higher classes because they had no other alternative. But now with the advent of the Christian missions a broad high way to honour, wealth, and education has been opened to them and every year thousands of Hindus are leaving the sinister old home of degradation for the kind and hospitable shelter of Christianity and Islam. And those very men, who were once shunned and despised, are treated with consideration and respect as soon as they take shelter under the Cross or the Crescent. So long as the Hindu Society will persist in this foolish and suicidal policy this war of proselytism will continue and, within a few decades, the Hindus may run the risk of being in minority in Hindusthan. This consideration alone should be enough to bring about a change in the attitude of the higher classes of Hindus towards their fellow countrymen of the so-called lower castes.

It is supposed that the religion of the Hindus stands in the way of giving relief to the grievances of the depressed classes. But that seems to me to be a great mistake and one of the unkindest injustice done to Hinduism. Nowhere in the world we find a higher conception of man. Hinduism looks upon every human soul as divine. Whatever else the well-known Vedantic conception may mean, and we know there are differences as to its interpretation it at least means that there is God in Man. It has become a fashion to swear by our Vedanta. If the Vedanta has any message it is this that behind human form there is an immortal soul—a spark from the Infinite. The Pariah is no less divine than the Brahmin. Hindu saints have again and again said that it is not birth but good deeds that make a man high or low, that the reverend and pious *chandal* is higher than the impure Brahmin, and the Brahmin if devoid of piety is lower than the *chandal*. It is curious, indeed, how, in the face of such explicit teachings, this inhuman treatment

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can be justified by an appeal to the cardinal tenets of Hinduism. Not only self-interest, considerations of industrial, social and political well-being, but religion itself demands the granting of full and complete freedom and equality to the down-trodden millions of our countrymen. Our national regeneration is indissolubly intertwined with the solution of the problem of the depressed classes. I cannot conclude this paper without quoting in full below the very just observations made on this subject by the editor of this Review in his undelivered address prepared for the suppressed Faridpore District Conference :—

“ You all know, my friends, that we have to put our society to order before we can come out as a puissant and a progressive people. Most unhappily, from the early morning of our history, from the days of Manu downwards, Indian mankind has been split into atoms by thousand differences of religion, language, caste, sect and rituals. Insuperable and impenetrable walls have been raised between man and man to prevent their coalescence, union and solidarity. These divisions and walls have for centuries together successfully prevented the moral, social and political advance of our motherland. With the light that has dawned upon us from the West, we now see how backward we have been, how hopelessly divided for united action, and how imperfectly equipped for the struggle for life. While Europe is making rapid advances towards a higher standard of life, we in India are living in a stage of decomposition just as Europe was in the dark or the mediæval ages.

“ Buckle has very thoughtfully generalised in the following passages the conditions of Indian social life :—

It is not, therefore, surprising that from the earliest period to which our knowledge of India extends, an immense majority of the people, pinched by the most galling poverty, and just living from hand to mouth, should always have remained in a state of stupid debasement, broken by incessant misfortune, crouching before their superiors in abject submission, and only fit either to be slaves themselves or to be led to battle to make slaves of others.” Elsewhere he observes :—“ In India slavery, abject, eternal slavery, was a natural state of the great body of the people ; it was the state to which they were doomed by physical laws utterly impossible to resist. The people have counted for nothing : they have had no voice in the management of the state, no control over the wealth their own industry created. Their only business has been to labour ; their only duty to obey. Thus there has been generated among them those habits of tame and servile submission by which, as we know from history, they have always been characterised.”

“ This is so far as the general operation of political and economic conditions are responsible for the inequality and difference between one class of man and another in India. Besides these causes of difference, there has been another potent cause of the inequality of which we have been speaking. Dr. Oppert in his valuable work on the primitive peoples of India has clearly demonstrated the fact that, before India was conquered and colonized by the Aryan

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people, there was living in every part of this land one or other of the non-aryan peoples. These peoples were treated by the Aryan conquerors with the same amount of racial arrogance and ~~hauteur~~ which unhappily mark the dealings and the relation of the white rulers of India of today with the people of the soil. It is only a case of history repeating itself. The racial spirit was carried in ancient India to a point of bitterness which no lapse of time has ever succeeded in removing. Evidently the spirit of racial superiority, coupled with the political and economic conditions referred to by Buckle, made the white Aryan population of India hate and treat the primitive peoples as social outcasts and human slaves. India, being a self-contained country, did not, however, feel the pressure of this racial problem prior to the advent of the English. Today, placed into the vortex of world's politics and being required to make the most unequal struggle in the history of the human race, we find that the whole order must be changed to save Indian society from a state of deadly fermentation. We cannot, therefore, any longer afford to treat our depressed classes, who form nearly a fifth portion of the total population of India, in any spirit of contempt or superciliousness. We must take these people by our hand, incorporate them into our body-politic, treat them no more as untouchables or pariahs but as our equals and comrades and march shoulder to shoulder with them in all the battles of life. And until we do so and mete to them even-handed social justice, millions of them will as a matter of expediency forsake Hinduism and seek the amelioration of their condition under the Cross and the Crescent. Legal justice they have already secured under *pax Britannica*, and when they should come to secure social justice in spite of us, would anybody seriously contend that they would be very unreasonable if they should fail to see eye to eye with us in most of the difficult and complicated problems of our national life? No, we must not allow them to drift away from Hinduism, under a sense of wrong and injustice, and should leave no stone unturned to take them within the pale of our social life. But it appears to me that the idea of elevating our depressed classes must remain a moonshine so long as we are not prepared to throw the light of knowledge on every cottage in this country. Education is the only leaven that can leaven the mass. There is no other short road to progress and advancement. I, therefore, appeal to my fellow-brethren here and in every other part of the country to take up the cause of popular education in right earnest and to make arrangements to see that there may be left no village or hamlet in all India without its schools for

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boys and girls. The cause of primary education needs thousands of advocates and champions, and I hope and trust that every young man in this land who can afford time for it should do something at least to push primary education as wide as possible. When knowledge will begin to shine upon every village and upon every human face, when inequalities and differences between man and man will disappear, we shall be in a position to put our society to order and close up our ranks. As the Gaekwar of Baroda very pertinently observes : "by the sincerity of our efforts to uplift the depressed classes we shall be judged fit to achieve the object of our national desire." When we shall begin to attack this problem sincerely, we shall acquire the right to ask our rulers also to wipe away the differences that exist at the present moment between them and us and treat us not as savages or 'natives' but as brothers and comrades in the same struggle for progress and advance. England then, we trust, will find it no easy task to turn a deaf ear to the protests and demands of a people inspired by common hopes and impelled by common aspirations.

"Fellow brethren, do not please consider this task as either beyond our power or beyond practical politics. The question of diffusing primary education may not appear to you to-day as very practical or too important, but the solution of the problem of our national life entirely depends upon what push we are prepared to give to this cause. I trust and hope that you will not treat this matter lightly ; and if all of you will do your level best to put your shoulders to the wheel, it is bound to be an accomplished fact in no time. 'Educate, educate and educate' was the battle cry of the English reformers of an earlier date and should be also our battle cry in the present crisis of our national life."

Hem Chandra Sarkar

LEGISLATURE AND LEGISLATION IN BRITISH INDIA

The provincial Legislative Councils have under the Act of 1861 the power to make laws applying to the Provinces. But under that Act, even in this respect, their power was considerably restricted. They could not affect any Act of Parliament and could not without the previous sanction of the Governor-General make or take into consideration any laws affecting the public debt, customs duties, or taxes imposed by or under the authority of the Governor-General.

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Commissioners resigned. After their resignation the Indian Contract Act was passed in 1872 with certain amendments by Sir James Fitz-James Stephen. Sir James was also responsible for the Evidence Act and the recasting of the Limitation Act, the Criminal Procedure Code and the Marriage Act. Lord Hobhouse during his term as Law Member passed the Specific Relief Act in 1877 and in the same year the law of Limitation was again recast.

In 1879 a fresh Commission was appointed in India for the consideration of drafts of the law of Trusts, Easements, Alluvion &c. as well as the Transfer of Property Act and Negotiable Instruments Act originally drawn up by the last Commission and considerably amended by the Legislative Department under Mr. Whitley Stokes. The result of the labours of this Commission was that in 1881 and 1882 the Negotiable Instruments Act, the Transfer of Property Act and the revised Indian Companies Act, and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, were passed. Since then the Criminal Procedure Code has been recast in 1898 and the Civil Procedure Code and the Limitation Act in 1908. The amendment of the Civil Procedure Code is perhaps the most important measure of comprehensive legislation that has been undertaken since 1882. Since 1882 have also been passed important measures like Municipal Acts and the Local Self-Government Act as well as the several Provincial Tenancy Acts, which have gone far towards consolidating and ascertaining the relations of landlord and tenant in different parts of the country.

But the year 1882 may be regarded as the end of the period during which the Legislature was inspired with an intense zeal for a comprehensive codification of the substantive and adjective laws of the land. Since then there has been a greater tendency towards new legislations according to special requirements, and by far the greatest amount of attention has been claimed by the work of amending and consolidating older Acts.

It is but natural that it should be so, for the great body of laws of the land have already been codified. The only important sections of law that yet remain to be codified are the law of actionable wrongs and the personal laws of Hindus, Mahomedans and the other communities in India. There has been no want of theorists who urged the codification of these branches of law but the Indian Government has advisedly abstained from legislation on these matters. A code of civil wrongs was drafted for the Government of India by Sir Frederick Pollock but it was soon found that with the very complex social organism of India, with rights

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and privileges not always in line with those of Europe, the codification of the law of actionable wrongs was at any rate very premature. The law on that subject was therefore left to develop by means of judicial decisions guided by the English law on the subject. When a sufficiently comprehensive and definite body of judicial decisions has been developed, the time may come when the law may be codified with advantage to the people.

With regard to the Hindu and Mahomedan laws the arguments against their codification must be very overwhelming. These laws are more or less of a religious origin and are definitely laid down in text books which are binding on the people who follow them by reason of a religious sanction independent of the sovereign authority. The administration of these laws may be a matter of great difficulty for some Judges, who have not the capacity for studying the authoritative law books, and there are really infinite intricacies of law which are sometimes so very puzzling that the impatient foreign lawyer is tempted to wish that the whole lot of them were replaced by a simple intelligible code. But, in the first place, any attempt at codification of the communal laws is bound to produce great discontent and alarm amongst the people which the Government would gain little by rousing. But apart from the sentimental objection there is the more serious one that codification of Hindu law by legislatures as at present constituted may be reasonably apprehended to interfere with some of the ancient rights of the people and strike deep at the roots of cherished institutions whose principles can very rarely be properly understood except by looking at them from the inside and in the light of the religious texts. These apprehensions are quite reasonable and, if only for these, any attempt to codify Hindu or Mahomedan law with the aid of legislatures as at present constituted should not be made.

One of the most remarkable features of Indian legislation is the vast preponderance of land laws. This is only to be expected in a land which is overwhelmingly agricultural and in which the principal source of public revenue is land. In the history of our land laws it is possible to discern three distinct stages. The earliest laws in the days of the East India Company were inspired by a desire to make the best settlement of the land for the purposes of land revenue. The Permanent Settlement of Bengal and the different systems of settlement prevailing in the different provinces were all inaugurated in pursuance to this principle; and the principles of these settlements formed the subject matter of the earliest legislative attempts of the Government of India.

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The next stage is marked by a desire to protect the ryot from the oppressions and exactions of the land-lord. This prompted measures for the protection of ryots, the earliest of which was introduced so far back as 1858, and which have culminated in the several tenancy laws for the different provinces, which were consolidated by the end of the last century.

The next movement in legislation about land is marked by an attempt to save the ryot from the grip of the money-lender. This movement is of quite recent growth and, while laws restricting the powers of alienation of the ryot have been passed, a programme for the organisation of co-operative credit societies has been started.

It has been noted that modern legislation tends to the curtailment of liberty of contract and this fact has been borne out by a survey of the legislations of the British Empire during the past ten years. In an introduction to the invaluable ten years' digest of the "Legislation of the Empire," published by the Society of Comparative Legislation, Lord Rosebery, in distinguishing the present era from the one that immediately preceded it, observes that we have passed into an era of construction "too often involving the restriction of freedom." Sir John Macdonnell also affirms that there have been many statutes passed during the past ten years curtailing both individual and social liberty.

"The age of contract seems to be ending; that of status returns." Indian legislation is no exception to the general tendency and notably in respect of land laws. The liberty of contract is here restricted to the narrowest limits and, like the new land law of South Australia, the Indian law tends to give the tenant no "separate interest or property other than the right of possession and user of the part allotted to him." Even in Bengal, where before this liberty of contract was allowed to the ryot to a larger extent than elsewhere, the power has been cut down very largely by the recent amendments to the Bengal Tenancy Act.

There is the same tendency towards the restriction of liberty in respect of other relations. Factory legislation of a more comprehensive nature has recently been undertaken which will also have the effect of curtailing the liberty of contract. The Municipal regulations relating to various towns also considerably curtail the liberty of people to live just as they choose and there seems to be an all round desire to make the people live better and conduct themselves better than, left to themselves, they would care to do. It is questionable how far this all round restriction of liberty would tend to a proper development of the people and one may be allowed to doubt

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with Lord Rosebery, the efficacy of legislature in promoting direct reform in the mode of living in the social organisation.

Perhaps the largest number of Acts passed by the various Councils are what may be called administrative laws, settling details of constitution and administration. In these the student of Indian law may notice the development almost out of nothing of the elaborate machinery of government which has grown up to a marvellously high degree of efficiency and which, apart from the enormous cost of its upkeep and the large exclusion of the children of the soil in it might well be looked upon almost as a perfection of administrative efficiency. John Stuart Mill was a devoted admirer of the administrative genius of the East India Company which had succeeded in building up the system of Indian administration, and, so far as the executive administration went, furnished to Mill the ideal of executive efficiency. The rapid development of Indian administration from out of the nebulous system of government which the E. I. Co inherited from the Moghuls is one of the most marvellous stories that the historian of British India has yet to tell.

The development of the system of administration as well as of the statute law of the country has to a large extent been facilitated by the irresponsible character of the Government. The facility of passing any measure into law in India has often been adverted to in the literature on the progress of codification in India. The only check that was really exercised upon the Government in this matter was by English public opinion. In the days of the East India Company, English opinion was kept very much alive, alike by jealousy of the East India Company and by the powerful advocacy of noble Englishmen like Burke and Bright. The result was a continuous progress in the administration, a great enlargement of the liberties of the people, and the establishment of the reign of law and order in India. When the Government passed to the Crown, there was a feverish excitement in England and people were more or less inspired with the notion that Indians were hopelessly misgoverned. A vigorous programme of reform was thus started. But latterly the progress of that new-born zeal for reform had waned and India was thrown into the back waters of English political life. The result was stagnation in Indian progress. Matters were made slightly more lively when Lord Ripon appeared on the scene but the dominance in England of a retrogressive spirit which kept the modern narrow-minded Tory in power for a pretty long time brought in dark times for India in its wake. It is true that in the past India owed a great

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deal more to Tory politicians than to Liberals, but the Tory of the present day, so far as Indian policy is concerned, is an unworthy successor of Lord Derby, Lord Stanley or Lord Ellenborough or even Lord Hartingdon or Lord Salisbury. The rule of the imperialistic Tories of today has been marked by reaction and the revival of Liberalism in England has to a certain extent advanced Indian progress.

It could not but be that Indian administration and Indian law should thus be wholly dependant on the political temperament of England for the time being. For legislation in India is subject to no restrictions except what might be imposed by the Secretary of State who would to a large extent reflect and mould English public opinion. There are differences of opinion in the Councils here, but they are very rarely of such a character as to thwart the will of the dominant class in the bureaucracy which is generally very solid in its opinions.

We may just hope that the new regime will bring in other checks on legislation. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has assured us that a new mode of government by persuasion is now to be tried. We are not sure how far this will be carried into effect. On the other hand there is already abundant evidence that the opinions of the people expressed through their representatives in the Councils do not have an effective power in moulding the administration. Till that is obtained, it cannot be said that legislation by the bureaucracy will have any effective check upon the will of the people. But we look forward to other days when the present administration will be manned by other men, who will come into it with other ideas and with whom deference to the will of the people will become a habit which will gradually lead to the ultimate recognition of the people's will as a determining factor in administration and legislation. That day is no doubt not yet in sight but it is bound to come. Till it comes, however, the non-official opinion in the Councils can only help in checking the bureaucracy by reinforcing whatever other influences may be operating on them in the shape of public opinion in England or dissentient opinion in the officialdom itself and by educating public opinion here so that the executive may not find it convenient to override it according to its own sweet will.

Nares Ch. Sen-Gupta

THE STUDY OF ECONOMICS IN OUR COLLEGES

It is a most regrettable feature of our educational system that the course of studies in our Colleges doet not fit us to become practical men or equip us for the struggle for existence. We have not in this respect changed the method adopted by the teachers of Vedic learning and by the students of the various Sastras. We almost live in the same plane of unreality as our brethren versed in Sanskrit and dialectics do, and this is still more to be regretted after our having come into long and rather intimate contact with one of the most practical races in the world. We have now come to recognise this fault in our educational system and are trying to acquire the knowledge of the more practical arts—the industrial and mechanical arts as they are called. Yet we are not advancing as fast as we ought, and even as fast as we can ; there is still lingering in us certain conservative instincts directing us to look back with reverence at our customs of the past simply because of their hoary antiquity. I have here tried to show briefly the defects of our study of one of the main branches of our learning to-day—how theoretical it is in character and how unwilling our students and our professors are in bringing about a necessary change in the true direction. It is the study of economics in our colleges.

Our study of political economy commences with a defence of some classical doctrines started by Adam Smith and Ricardo and trying to read into their texts interpretations which they never thought of but which are consistent with our present-day experience. We are wedded to the idea that economics is a science whose doctrines are absolutely true and that its laws are applicable universally to whatever stages of economic development and to whatever conditions of society; We take for granted—for all our authorities who are mainly English take it for granted—that economic doctrines do not change so long as human nature remains the same ; we have come to regard, except in a few cases, that though differences may exist with regard to the applications of economic truths, the truths themselves are indisputable.

Economics which is studied in our Colleges at the present day deals only with the conditions of a certain stage of civilisation. It takes into consideration a society in which competition is the ruling element, where division of labour is complete, where people can be classified into labourers, capitalists, and employers, and where exchange is a predominating element. In fact the last qualification is so important that to many writers economics is nothing more than a science of exchange. In such a society arise

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the complex problems of labour and capital, their conflicts and harmonies, the question of trade unionism and socialism, of concentration of capitals in trusts and syndicates and of factory legislation. Now, every text-book studied in our Colleges deals only with these problems and arrives at certain conclusions favourable either to capital or to labour, to the socialist or the individualist.

It is not our business here to examine the truth of the conclusions arrived at by the great English economists. We are rather concerned with the application of such truths to our own condition. Our answer to this depends upon two considerations, first whether there are not certain truths found out by these economists which are of great use to us in solving our own problems, and secondly whether any science of economics can be built with regard to societies where the above characteristics are absent. There is also a third point to be considered. The industrial organisation of the west is sooner or later destined to overthrow our methods of production and distribution ; we are sooner or later bound to work our industry on the lines laid down by the western people, for in our competition with them we are falling behind simply because their organisation is more efficient ; and it is therefore our duty even from the point of view of utility to study the economic basis of industry which we are sure to make our own in future.

Now those truths in the science of economics which are universally applicable are very few and even those few are physical and psychological. The analysis of man's wants, the problems of final utility and marginal utility are many of them the results of psychological investigation rather than of purely economic investigation. The law of diminishing returns with regard to which so much has been written is more or less a physical law, but which deserves to find a place in economics simply because English economists have spent so much labour in discovering it. When we take these problems of division of labour, concentration of industry, and other problems, though they are purely of an economic character, it appears to be nothing but mad waste of time, intellect and energy. It is to be primarily understood that the universal truths of political economy are very few in number and that many of them are to be taken as axioms, or conclusions arrived at by other sciences to be utilised by political economy.

That the classical economists were wrong in postulating certain truths about human nature, that their experience was confined mainly to England of latter part of the eighteenth and the greater portion of the nineteenth centuries, that the English type

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of economic man is not found outside the United Kingdom, and that true economics is to be based only on an inductive and historical conception of human society,—all these have been so well pointed by the continental economists, notably the German, that to revive the controversy seems nothing more than want of originality ; and we shall therefore dispose of this question by repeating that a study of the western economic conditions is but futile when we have to solve Indian economic problems.

One other point in this connection. We confine our study to the English economical works, more properly the economics of English industry. England as we all know is essentially a manufacturing country and agriculture ranks only as a secondary occupation. We study how labourers are confined in unhealthy rooms, how they are over-worked, and so much more about factory production and its evils. But in doing so we are, most of us, transported to an imaginary land not of happy angels but of depraved human nature and all is shadowy to us ; it is all a deep tragedy of suffering. Then questions of socialism are discussed. Every Englishman, every American, why every western, takes the keenest interest in them ; they are questions of life and death to him ; his industrial existence, his freedom and happiness depend upon their correct solution. What will a human being think when any of the above mentioned people take things as they go and try to solve questions with regard to Zemindari tenure in India, or the totems of Australia ? But to us questions which of right and of necessity should interest the westerns, such questions have by a peculiar force of circumstances become matters of study. The result is an anomaly. Our knowledge of such questions is derived only from books ; and all contemporary questions, especially when they have a political nature, are treated from a party point of view ; we have no personal experience of those conditions ; and any solution of those questions which we may attempt will be far from truth.

And then what sacrifices have we been making towards such an attempt ? Sacrifices which eccentric people may even call unselfish and philanthropic ! We have left our agricultural problem to take care of itself : we are not yet ready with a solution of our tariff problem. When one sees the growth of foreign trade, when speculation increases and peasant proprietorships are dissolved, when poverty increases and the unemployed problems become more difficult and famine threatens us one cannot but be surprised at the failure of Indian intellect to tackle successfully with these intricate problems.

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The second point to be considered is whether a science of economics cannot be built where conditions now predominant in the western economic world are absent. Economics deals with the material well being of man in society. So far as it is a science, it does not enquire into the best methods of organisation of industry where the maximum amount of material welfare can be secured to the individual ; but it concerns itself with society as it is, how wealth is produced in that society, and how it is consumed. And every society has its own methods of production and distribution. It is the business of the economist to confine himself to a particular society, to analyse the peculiarities of its economic organisation, to see how it manages to secure its material welfare and lastly to suggest if possible any improvements by which the society can better itself. Upon this plan a science of economics can be built but it may not be universally applicable. However, it is no longer a dismal science and truth should not be sacrificed for the sake of making economics universal. It is a wonder why Englishmen so eager to refute the doctrine of Austin in the field of jurisprudence—a doctrine which gives an analysis of law in the abstract—are reluctant to push forward their doctrine in the field of economics also.

Lastly, there is the question of introducing western methods of production into our country. Here two points are to be considered; first, the probability of such an introduction, secondly, even if it is introduced whether we should not analyse our present economic structure and see wherein the drawbacks are and how far the new methods fit in with the old. With regard to the first question there seems to be a doubt whether after all we are going to introduce the western methods. Now those methods are of great consequence to a manufacturing country, machine production is its prominent character, and machinery brings in with it the concentration of labour in factories and of capital in trusts. We cannot at this stage of our development prophesy whether India is likely to be a great manufacturing country after all. Coal an important item in the present day manufacturing processes is not found in very large quantities ; iron manufactures cannot be carried on until both coal and iron are found side by side. Jute has bright prospects before it. But on the whole we cannot say with any definiteness that India will ever become a manufacturing country in the sense in which England or America is. Machinery is mostly employed in manufactures. Even in England when machinery is used in almost every industry agriculture employs the smallest proportion.

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If, therefore, manufacturing industries have not a bright prospect before them, and if therefore agriculture has to be the mainstay of our people we need not fear that we will have in the near future to solve those questions which have arisen in the western economic world.

But supposing that we become a manufacturing nation, that western methods of production are introduced into our country, is it not incumbent upon us that we should study the present conditions of our country? The history of England in the early part of the nineteenth century reveals to us what evils follow the sudden introduction of machinery into a country. The evils follow because the existing conditions do not quite fit in with the new, and gradual introduction of the new is what is wanted. In so doing we must see that the old fits in with the new and in this connection we have to do nothing but study the present day industrial organisation of our country.

Since our industrial conditions are different from those of the west, since the economics which we study at the present day are conclusions based upon the latter, and since the agricultural industry promises to be our main occupation, it is of more usefulness to us that we should pay more attention to our Indian economics than to the English. It would have been much better if the latest American writers on agricultural industries, the historical economists of Germany were studied, but controlled as we are by Britishers in our Universities and Colleges, and ignorant as many of us are of any continental language, it is necessary that we should commence independently of American and German learning the study of our industries. Happy are the students of the Western Universities where professors think independently, and write books based upon direct observation and vast study. Our professors are content with studying what their brethren in the west write, but whether because they do not possess originality or do not realise their responsibility as the intellectual leaders of the people, they have not till now produced a single book on political economy.

We should not leave to politicians and to the newspapers the study of these questions. Freedom from partisanship, independence of judgment, and vast knowledge of economics are required when we have to solve the main problems of our economic policy. In treating economic questions political success should not be the result aimed at, we should not be carried away by political enthusiasm when we advocate protection for India. Economic policy must be determined upon economic truths; and never has in the whole

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world a politician or a newspaper been free from political bias in discussing economic questions. It is better if we arrive at economic truths after a careful economic consideration ; and no one is more capable of doing this than unbiased professors and students of economics.

M. Venkataramaiya

A SCHEME FOR FREE PRIMARY EDUCATION

There can be no question that free education of the masses is a matter of the greatest importance alike for the people and the Government. So if any workable scheme can be hit upon there is no reason why it should not be adopted. On the scheme that I in the following pages suggest, the people will very largely find the funds and the Government, besides providing small grants-in-aid, will have to take up the work of supplying trained teachers and of supervising the schools. But these things will have to be done on somewhat different plans than at present. The present system of training *Gurus* does not seem to be quite satisfactory. With the intending gurus it is very largely a question of passing a test rather than of a firm grasp of principles and practice of education. The kindergarten system does not yet seem to have been thoroughly grasped by our teachers and what goes by that name in our primary schools is possibly a very much worse system of profitless cramming than the one that it has replaced. To make education satisfactory our teachers should be more permeated with principles which Pestalozzi and Foebel taught. To do this the present system of Guru training must be very largely reformed and every step in that training ought to be more largely associated with practical work. It is of the essence of this training that the would-be teacher should take an interest in and devote himself to the study of child-nature and learn by practical experience to apply the principles of education which he has imbibed from his books. As it is, it is to be feared that the passed Gurus take a great deal on trust from the books without the intelligent appreciation which is absolutely essential to a proper application of the principles.

The supervising arrangements now prevailing must also be replaced by a more up-to-date machinery in order to be effective. The educational department must cease to be a close preserve for Government officers, ruled by an official director who may be a man of great abilities but all the same quite incapable of guiding the education of children of a foreign race. Besides, the Director and Inspectors have such a great deal of administrative work to do that

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they have precious little time to share for the essential part of education.

These officers should be replaced by an educational Board with an official President. The work of educational administration and educational finance should be entrusted to lesser officials and the Board should direct its attention entirely to the work of education proper : to prescribing a syllabus of studies, to looking over the way in which this syllabus is taught in actual practice, and to the training of teachers. If these things are properly attended to, that would be work enough for any Board. It would leave time but that would be very much required to enable the Board to keep themselves in full touch with the student world to grasp their true wants to mould their actions accordingly. As it is, our educational theories we generally borrow from Europe. It would be more profitable if educational theory and practice were more largely moulded by a direct and intimate study of child-nature in the peculiar environments of this country and its educational system.

This is more than can be safely trusted to a single individual and if it is so trusted there is a great risk of hasty experiments and ruthless waste of money and energy on a new fad with each new incumbent. Besides a board consisting of well-tied Indian educationists will inspire confidence in the people which is essential in any scheme of education and most remarkably in a scheme of semi-voluntary education such as I am about to suggest.

As I consider a reform in these respects to be absolutely essential to the success of the scheme which I propose to put forward I have taken the liberty to dilate upon these matters at some length. I shall now proceed to discuss how funds may be available.

Taxation for educational purposes must necessarily be out of the question. The people would perhaps willingly agree to the imposition of taxes for the purpose of free education if they could be sure that the money thus raised would not be diverted by Government to other uses in times of stress and that the greater portion of the money raised will not be spent in reckless extravagance on inspection and administrative efficiency rather than on the principal work of education. But if this sort of taxation is not possible some scheme of local taxation need not be equally out of the question. If village councils of education be organised and they be given powers to make allotments of taxation according to the capacities of the villagers, if no interference with the funds thus raised be made by Government, I think a large sum of money may easily be raised with which free education in that locality

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could be had with the slightest assistance from the Government. It is along this line that we must work if we want to have free education gradually introduced into the country.

At the outset the forming of such village councils must be voluntary. The villagers must agree to have a free school in the village and for that purpose they should elect a committee from amongst themselves. This committee will make allotments of the amounts that should be paid by each individual in order to raise the sum required for the purpose of maintaining a free school. When the villagers have agreed to raise the money, they will apply to the Government for recognition. If the Government is satisfied that the allotment is not in any case oppressive and that the funds are sufficient or nearly sufficient it will recognise the village educational committee subject to such arrangements with reference to the management of the school as the government may deem fit, and in cases where necessary it may make a grant-in-aid suitable to the requirements of the village. If a short enabling Act is passed authorising the local government to recognise such councils upon their own application and authorising the council upon such recognition to raise the allotted subscriptions in the same way as a local Municipal or Chowkidari tax, the financial problem with reference to free primary education would be solved.

The village councils thus formed should be perfectly autonomous and, if necessary, their powers should be limited to the administrative and the financial side and have generally speaking very little to do with the education and discipline of the school. These sides should be under the supervision and guidance of the Education Board.

It may be objected that if the work is left to such voluntary organisation, it will never be accomplished. I am sure this would be far from the fact and that there would be plenty of village councils applying for recognition. At the same time it will not lead to a too rapid development for which the Government may not be well prepared. This is sure that if people are allowed to make such voluntary organisations, in the course of the next twenty years the whole country will be gradually covered by a network of free educational institutions.

It seems that this scheme is free from all possible objections that may be raised against an educational tax and confers all the benefits that such a tax may be deemed to secure. Once the Government takes the power on the lines suggested it would be entirely with the people if they do not come forward to co-operate with the Government in the promotion of free primary education.

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The greatest obstacle to the formation of educational institutions in the villages is the uncertainty with reference to funds. People may promise adequate subscriptions but their payments are often hopelessly uncertain. To my personal knowledge there has been more than one institution started which has had to wind up mainly on account of this uncertainty in funds. If the funds are realisable as a tax, while they are allotted on a voluntary basis, this difficulty would be removed and no one would suffer much inconvenience on that account.

The scheme I have suggested seems to be a very convenient mode by which free education may be expected to be introduced into the country without any considerable call on the public funds. It is likely to be productive of immense good. At any rate I venture to think it deserves to be given a fair trial.

A Teacher

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

BENGAL

When Lord Curzon left India, he left us two legacies,—the University and long speeches. The Hon'ble Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya is the leader of the one and a votary of the other. Judged by length alone, the Vice-Chancellor's speech may hold its own against Lord Curzon's longest pronouncement—his Byculla Club speech. We wish Lord Curzon had taken this last legacy away with him. Considering the vast number of valuable things which the Vice-Chancellor is apt to utter at the slightest provocation, we hope he will henceforth know better than throw them pell-mell in a mile-long speech uttered before a yawning audience. For, though under the wholesome rules of the University Convocation every blessed soul who manages to get in must needs stay on till a whole volume of oration has been listened, the public outside very rarely find time or patience to read the whole of it, far less digest the platitudinous verbiage which form the staple of such orations.

The Vice-Chancellor,—I beg his pardon, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University—considers it necessary "to ensure that acquisition of real knowledge is not sacrificed in favour of unintelligent memory-work to which there is a constant temptation to resort when *the maximum of information has to be acquired in the minimum of time.*" It is quite clear that the framers of the University regulations never had this in mind, *vide* the University Syllabus in Philosophy and Political Philosophy for the B. A. degree. The shade of Hegel, the authors of the *Encyclopaedia* and the most enigmatical and unintelligible of philosophers might confess defeat before the framers of the syllabus; but the University does not want that boys should cram all the wonderful things they are expected to know. But such is the innate vileness of student nature in Bengal that they do not understand what the University wants, they would not understand what I am told the Regulations Committee passed because they did not understand. I think, however, that the poor students will be much comforted to know that the Calcutta V.-C. at any rate does not want cram. That will greatly assist them in understanding the Idea of the Species and the dialec-

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tical subtleties of the Finite and the Infinite and Spirit-Nature-Absolute.

Some wag has suggested that there was nobody who understood philosophy in the Regulations Committee, and they therefore gulped down the whole bolus served out to them by a great encyclopaedic scholar. I don't see much harm in this sort of procedure. As the Vice-Chancellor tells us, boys follow the example of their teachers. I think this method of settling the syllabus will set a good example to students of philosophy—they will gulp down what their teachers or note-makers give them.

The Vice-Chancellor,—again I beg Dr. Mukhapadhy'a's pardon, the Calcutta Vice-Chancellor—triumphantly points to the leniency of the examinations as proof positive of the fact that the New Regulations have not narrowed the door to high education. He has forgotten to tell us however whether in his opinion the examinations under the new Regulations were honestly up to the mark. Judged by the standard set by the syllabus, the examinations were in most subjects ridiculously easy—and occasionally very convenient to those who crammed notes. I do not know whether the Vice-Chancellor is aware of this. If he is, then the question arises how far it is fair to set up an impossible standard in the syllabus and to have a test which one with a very elementary knowledge of the subjects can answer. I am puzzled to find out what is the standard that the University wants—and so I am sure are the students and their professors.

The Vice-Chancellor—my readers must understand that there is only one permanent Vice-Chancellor in all India—talks glibly about discipline and moral education. Last year he talked about discipline. Somebody pointed out in the press that Dr. or Mr. Justice Mookerji understood by discipline abstinence from political agitation, while true discipline meant a great deal more and the University never cared a brass farthing about true discipline amongst students. Evidently the Vice-Chancellor bore that criticism in his mind and this year he has added a rider to his platitudes about students and politics to the effect that the University must undertake the moral instruction of its boys. Good. I hope that before making this pronouncement Dr. Mookerjee had carefully considered whether moral education of the sort was likely to lead to any good results. But anyhow I do not like to interrupt him in the indulgence in what is at worst a pious wish. Hurrah, social reform and purity movements!

I will not enter into any controversy as to whether students should join in active politics. But I cannot get myself to believe

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that the student by mixing in politics *ipso facto* commits an act of indiscipline. While engaged in political work a student may do acts which may amount to indiscipline ; such acts should certainly be prevented by all means. But far graver acts may be committed by boys who never stepped beyond the four walls of the college, acts which the University never cares to provide against. So then there is nothing in taking part in politics itself that calls for the anxious solicitude of the University. The Government may have excellent reasons to wish that some young men should not take part in politics. That does not imply that taking part in politics in itself is anything that deteriorates the student educationally or morally. I might find any number of illustrations in men, the ornaments of the University and highly respected leaders in every walk of life, who have been guilty of participating in politics as students. Against this I challenge the Vice-Chancellor to point out a single case in which mere participation in politics during college days has blighted the prospects of a young man or led to his moral degradation. To join in politics is one thing and to lead to political crime is quite another. To confound the one with the other does not show much power of discrimination or of criticism either. The Vice-Chancellor might also profitably recollect the researches of Ceswe Lombroso which tend to show that a criminal would be a criminal, no matter how. If politics is barred to him, he may not become an anarchist but his genius will doubtless find other ways of manifesting itself.

So long as it is not made out that joining in politics is *ipso facto* an act of indiscipline or that it leads in a large number of cases to indiscipline or to the deterioration of the student, morally or educationally, we shall refuse to believe that the University has any right to interfere with the political leanings of young men. And we venture to assert with confidence that this has not yet been made out. The remarks of the Vice-Chancellor are therefore wholly beside the mark.

It is not enough that the Government desires to stop students joining in politics—it must be made out that politics is bad for the student educationally. It is quite another thing if the University wants to lend assistance to the Government to put down a class of agitators. But if this is the real object, the University must stop the game of white-washing ; it must go straight to the business and have no shams and take to no subterfuge. A straight honest blow is what good sportsmen understand and respect, but covert attacks have been condemned since human warfare began.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN EMPIRE (BENGAL.)

Even from this point of view, there is one thing to be said. It is said that our young men are being lured to anarchism. Admitting the facts, the remedy lies in the spread of true political knowledge and good political life and not in the attempt to suppress political instincts. Darkness raises up more bogeys than light, and men ill-equipped with political knowledge tumble on anarchism sooner than those whose political instincts have had proper guidance. For an application of these principles see the action of certain authorities in refusing to teach History in certain colleges.

The Vice-Chancellor's remarks about the participation of professors in politics is as unconvincing as the argument of an able counsel on a rotten case can be. The evil expected to flow from this is summed up by the Vice-Chancellor in the following words : " Their the (pupils') minds will inevitably be attracted towards political affairs and political agitation," and further on that they should be led " to indulge in speculations as to how the political condition of the country may be improved." Not very dreadful consequences it would seem !

The impression that the Hon'ble Vice-Chancellor's speech leaves in one's mind is that he would have been better advised if he had maintained absolute silence on these matters and not bidden controversy revive. But Dr. Mookerjee has been a clever advocate too long to resist the temptation to make this special pleading to white-wash a dark spot in the career of the University in the past year. Everybody is sorry that he did not resist the temptation.

Then again, the Vice-Chancellor has started some very curious theories on the question of the influence of teachers. He seems to think that the more a professor is influential and respected the worse it is for the boys. It is so silly a proposition that even an attempt to refute it would be unwise and unwarranted. Why cannot the Vice-Chancellor reserve such *ipse dixit*s for another place ?

I have been pretty long myself. But it is somewhat difficult to refuse to follow precedents laid down by a Judge of Dr. Mookerjee's calibre.

THE REVIEW OF INDIAN REVIEWS

The Hindusthan Review

Mr. E. A. Wodehouse opens the February number of *The Hindusthan Review* with a brief, but lucid, exposition of the main ideas of *The True Vedanta: The Philosophy of Nature*. In course of this article he urges the necessity of the re-interpretation of the Vedanta on a scientific basis and observes : "for it will make of what is now a dry and dusty tradition something young and living, replete with reference to our daily life. And it will, if ever it be undertaken, supply for India what she sadly needs to-day—namely, a philosophy of the present, in touch with the awakening life of the country and with all her new-born hopes and aspirations, instead of merely a far-off echo of a half-forgotten past . . . All this Vedanta still can do. For it has in it the essence of a life eternal, since it is the philosophy not of the library and the lecture room, but of Nature herself." Professor V. G. Kale of Poona follows with an article on *The Charm of the Moghul Empire* in which he gives an outline of the history of India towards the decline of the Mahomedan rule and refers in appreciative terms to the "memories of the Moghul Empire perpetuated by the splendid buildings in Delhi and the most magnificent monument of all at Agra." Mr V. M. Dubhash contributes an excellent paper on the *Government and Press in India* in which he succinctly traces the growth of the present abnormal situation in India. The writer thinks that the present crisis has been hastened by the autocratic ways of Lord Curzon and warns the Government : "By resorting to harsh legislation, the utmost that they can do is to check the outward expression of discontent ; but inasmuch as no measure can impose on us the duty of showing affection to them, unrest and discontent must advance so long as our political aspirations are not satisfied." Mr. Dhirenranath Mukherjee's academic discussion of *Our Present Duties* urging his readers to purge our society of its many evils is followed by Mr. J. M Kennedy's article on *Fifty Years after Macaulay* which treats only with the position of Macaulay in the literature of England. Availing of the occasion of the discovery of the Buddhist relics at Peshawar, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao takes up 8 pages of this Review to acquaint his readers with the methods adopted in olden days in India and Ceylon.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

in the building and dedication of stupas. Mr. Krishnalal M. Jhavere writes on *Swindling in Exclusis* in which he attributes the financial failure of Dwarkadas Dharmsey to his habit of swindling. Saint Nihal Singh contributes to this number the XIth instalment of his article on *As an Indian sees America*. Mr. R. P. Karkaria attempts a historical sketch of the *Indian Press Legislation* which reads only like a summary of the admirable paper written by Mr. S. M. Mitra in the August number of the *Nineteenth Century* and which was reproduced in extenso in these pages. The writer betrays sad ignorance of the verdict of the Indian section of the Press in India on the recent press legislation when he observes that the measure has "all India on its side, barring of course a handful of extremists." Extremists forsooth ! The remaining portion of this number is, as usual, taken up with its literary supplement and other topics of various interest.

The Ceylon National Review

Mr. F. Otto Schrader opens the January—March quarter number of the above review with an article on *Ahimsa and Vegetarianism* as practised by the Buddhists. *Some Sinhalese Traditions* are described in a number of scrappy articles by different writers. Mr. I. R. Molligode writes on *Caste and Class in Ceylon* and observes : "caste first arose in India and was the peculiar product of Hinduism. But in Ceylon it has undergone a remarkable transformation. Planted on alien soil and deprived of the religious influences which fostered it, it has lost much of the rigid and exclusive character which it still retains in its original home. Though caste existed and flourished for many centuries in Ceylon, recognition of its essentially arbitrary character did not fail to impress itself on the most sagacious minds" In course of an article on *The Music of the Sinhalese and Tamil*, Mr. W. Satha Sivam remarks : "one of the many subjects which the West learned from the East is music, which was derived from the Hindus of ancient India..... In every division of our music there is science and a system observed, and those who say that we have no science and system, say it through sheer ignorance."

Mr. A. Dissanaike condemns *The Land Settlement Policy* of the Ceylon Government in the following words : "the working as well as the policy of the Waste Lands Ordinance has in many instances brought great hardship on the villagers. In fact the procedure adopted under the Ordinance is so singular that we doubt whether there is the like of it in any other Colony or in any of the civilized

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nations of the world. Many of the lands possessed by the people in this manner have already been taken from them, notwithstanding their possession of them for many generations by periodical cultivation and their upkeep by annual rotation. 'The Settlement Officer gets the land surveyed, often cut up into small lots, and, taking steps under the rules and violations laid down, declares every lot so cut up on which there happened to be no old plantation at the time, to be crown property. Even portion of waste or unplanted land lying within private property are often surveyed and taken for the Crown,—a proceeding highly objectionable.' Mr. A. B. Cooray condemns the *Classical Education in Ceylon* in the following terms : "A commencement is made with English. Before the student makes fair progress in it he is confronted with Latin and is made to learn it through the medium of English, of which he knows next to nothing. Then comes French, and then Greek, till at length he is bewildered by a babel of languages which produce an utter lack of intellectual enjoyment." And to reform this defective system the writer suggests and warns : "It has, therefore, to be seriously considered whether Greek should not be entirely eliminated from our course of studies ; as to Latin, whether its introduction into the educational curriculum should not be postponed to a later stage. These are matters for the reflection for more competent minds among us. The issues involved are so wide and far reaching. They are not merely of parochial interest, but of imperial importance. Their right determination affects the future of the subject nations in the East." Mr. W. A. De Silva's account of *Some Political Works of the Sinhalese* is followed by Mr. Jno. M. Senaviratne's history of *The Portuguese in India* in course of which he makes the following observations : "Bigots of a fanatical type.....they made the broad seas of the East uninhabitable to native craft, they insulted the religions of the Asiatics, they sought to make proselytes by the convincing thumb-screw and the argumentative lack.....and in less than fifty years after Da Gama had wrestled his way round the Cape they had made the name of the white man to stink in the nostrils of the Asiatics and had dragged the reputation of the "higher" race through seas of blood and dirt and crime." *The Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council* is a reproduction of the two despatches by Sir James Peiris and the Governor of Ceylon respectively to the Under Secretary of State and Secretary of State for the Colonies, embodying various suggestions on the subject. The number under notice concludes with some very useful notes on current affairs.

The Modern Review

In the 6th instalment of his eminently interesting article on *A Review of the Modern World*, Mr. C. F. Andrews of Delhi deals in the pages of the *Modern Review* with India—her possibilities inspite of enormous difficulties to be united into a nation, her industrial and commercial development, her education and many other phases bearing on the progress of India. Mr. Andrews observes : "India needs to feel thrilling through and through her the impulse of the modern world, but that impulse, as it thrills her, must drive her thoughts inwards on herself, not outwards towards base and feeble imitation. There lie dreaming, sleeping, brooding, in her own sub-conscious self all that mystic spiritual train that makes the poetry and music of the world. Let only the shock come, however roughly, that will drive her to re-create her own spiritual vision, and give it forth to mankind, and this will be a gift and blessing more magnificent than all the fabled splendour of the east." In an article on *Leather Industry*, Mr. Nagendra Chandra Nag of Agra makes a few suggestions for the Indian tanners and explains the use of certain chemical agents in tanning operations. The redoubtable Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in a very interesting article on *Mediaeval Indian Painting* most fervently appeals to the Indians to turn their attention to Indian art from foreign imitations. In course of a very learned discourse on *The Aim of Science*, Mr. Satish Chandra Mukherjee ably argues that Hinduism rests upon science and observes that the great principle of Hinduism viz. ज्ञानेष्वर or ज्ञानसत्त्व has not been unfavourably considered by Huxley, though he had no opportunity to study Hindu Philosophy. In an article of much historical interest, Mr. Abinash Chandra Das attempts to refute the arguments of Dr. Adolf Erman in the *Historians' History of the World* that there subsisted no connection between *The Ancient Hindus and the Ancient Egyptians*. Mr. Das proves by citations from several authorities of European fame that "branches of the Indo-Aryan race settled down in such a distant country as Egypt, which is protected by the natural barriers of deserts and mountains and has seas on the north and the East and through which the Nile flows fertilizing the valley. Such a country would naturally be called *a-gupta*, or "well-guarded" by the Aryan Settlers who proceeded to develop a civilization for the benefit of Europe and that part of Asia bordering upon this continent, and the continent of Africa, over which the darkness of ages brooded." Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar's dry-as-dust account of *The*

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History of Aurangzib is followed by the Sister Nivedita's insipid article on the worship of *The Indian Ash or Tree of Healing*. Gour, *The first Moslem Capital of Bengal* is the only other article bearing on Indian affairs in which Mr. A. K. Maitra of Rajshye describes some places, scenes, and temples of historical interest in Gour.

The Indian Review

The March number of *the Indian Review* opens with an article from Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter who urges the acceptance of *Devanagri* as the *Uniform Script for India*. Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rau follows with a scathing condemnation of the management of many Hindu temples and charities and advocates the amendment of the Hindu Religious Endowment Act of 1863, especially by abolishing the provision of life-membership of trustees. Mr. B. Dey, i. c. s., urges the elevation of the *Depressed Classes* in India as an essential factor to the progress of India. Swami Brahmananda gives an account of the aim, scope, and method of work of the *Sri Ramkrishna Mission* in India. An interesting sketch of the life of our renowned fellow-countryman, Mr. M. K. Gandhi, is followed by Mr. G. Nagarajan's paper on *Halley's Comet* in which he narrates the history connected with the comet and the course traversed by it. Mr. H. S. L. Polak enumerates the grievances of the *Indians in the Transvaal* once again in this number of our contemporary.

The Muslim Review

Since the beginning of the new year, there has been appearing from Allahabad a periodical by the name of *The Muslim Review* to which we are glad to accord a very hearty welcome. *The Muslim Review* has begun very well and, if it can be maintained at this level, it will certainly remove the want of a respectable organ of Mahomedan opinion in upper India. We hope to be able to notice one of its articles in the next number of the *Indian World*.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS

BY THE EDITOR

The first session of the first Indian Parliament,—we beg Lord Morley's pardon, the first session of the expanded Imperial Legislative Council—is just over, and one might naturally enquire at this stage of the results attained by it and the principal features and incidents which have characterised it.

IMPERIAL STOCK-TAKING
The first session of the re-constituted Imperial Council considered and passed several Bills of various importance. The public however did not take much interest in the Dourine Bill, the Glanders and Farcy Bill, the Indian Electricity Bill, the Indian Museum Bill, the Paper Currency Bill, the Indian Companies Bill, the Census Bill and one or two minor Bills in connection with the Central Provinces and Berar. The Bills about which the public mind of India has been greatly exercised related to the taxes recently imposed by the Government of India and to what has been most euphemistically put in official language as 'the better control of the press.'

Some other Bills have been introduced into the Council, such as the Copyrights Bill, the Amendment of the Emigration Act of 1908, etc., but their consideration has been postponed till the next session of the Council.

This is the legislative output of the whole session. Of the measures passed in the last session of the Council, there has unfortunately been none which has widened popular rights or conferred any boon or blessing or privilege of any kind whatever upon the people of this country. And instead of any beneficent measures being placed upon the Indian statute-book, we had perhaps the most reactionary piece of legislation introduced and passed with a view to curtail the liberty of the Press. A more drastic piece of legislation does not appear to have come out of the legislative anvil since the Government of India passed to the Crown from the hands of the East India Company. Indeed it is a strange irony of fate that this new gag upon the Press of India has been put in the first reformed Parliament of India, with Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India and, it breaks our heart to mention, with the support and sanction of men like Messrs Gokhale, Mudholkar and the only pressman in the Council, the Editor of *The Hindusthan Review*. The Press Act was certainly a risky business to handle, and

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If representatives of the people could not muster up sufficient courage to condemn the measure it is because public opinion was not sufficiently strong to condemn their pusillanimity.

Besides the legislative measures referred to, the new Council have had the opportunity of considering many resolutions on a number of very important questions, such as the question of Indian emigration into Natal, free education, the foundation of a central poly-technic college, the reduction of railway expenditure and several resolutions in connection with Sir Fleetwood Wilson's Financial Statement. Of these, only one, bearing not on domestic politics but on our relation with a South African State, was accepted by the Council; and of the remaining the bulk were withdrawn and the rest lost. It is worth pointing out in this connection that not one single resolution touching on any question of Indian administrative policy was ever moved or passed in this session of the Council. The resolution on free education, on sanitation and on reduced railway expenditure touched on questions of administrative details. But, considering the lack of backbone in the new Council, it is not to be wondered at that no member dared touch any question of policy.

The first session of the Council has provided another disappointment to the public. The educated community of India have for nearly 20 years agitated for the separation of the judicial and executive functions in district officers in this country and since some years were promised a substantial reform on this question. It will be remembered that this matter was brought to the front by the late Mr. Manomohan Ghose by the publication of a couple of pamphlets on this subject so early as 1896 and by a distinguished body of retired Anglo-Indian statesmen, including the late Sir Richard Garth, for a long time the Chief Justice of Bengal, who sent in a strong representation to the Secretary of State for India supporting Mr. Ghose's views. Sir Charles Elliott, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, opposed this reform in a virulent article contributed to the pages of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* more than a dozen years ago, but he received very scant support in England and India. In the meantime the proposed reform won many valuable advocates and came within the range of practical politics. Lord Curzon did, of course, his level best to put off the consideration of the subject but since his departure several promises were held out by highly placed officials to the effect that it would be immediately attended to. But instead of giving effect to the reform, Sir Harvey Adamson knocked it on the head at the last meeting of the Council. As for the reasons adduced by him for this

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

action, they are the old stereotyped arguments with which the Indian bureaucracy has hitherto so successfully resisted all practical reforms in India.

More repression and a general disillusionment of popular hopes are then the outstanding facts of the first reformed Council of India. Excepting in one case only, a solid wall of opposition has been uniformly presented against all Resolutions brought in the interests of the public and the general tax-payer at large. As regards the level of debate, we regret to note a general falling off in the merits of the speeches. We miss in any of the debates of the last Council the standard of excellence reached by Dr. Rash Behary Ghose and Mr. Gokhale on the occasion of the passage of the Seditious Meetings Act in Simla in 1907 or even the oratorical fireworks which characterised Sir Pherozeshah Mehta's reply to Mr. Westland several years ago. As regards depth and insight, the performances of members of the last Council were very poor. Even Mr. Gokhale, who is evidently suffering from a swelled head, failed to reach his own previous level. Among official members, Messrs Sinha, Weston and Fenton of the Punjab have won considerable distinctions as lucid and eloquent speakers. Mr. P. C. Lyon's speech in defence of Eastern Bengal and Assam Government also made some impression upon the House. But Mr. Advocate-General Kenrick's speeches in Council placed side by side with those of Sir Griffith Evans—what a sad contrast! The most unfortunate speech from the official benches was, however, the one which Sir Herbert Risley delivered in introducing the Press Bill. It not only lacked reason and wisdom, but, what is most disappointing, it even lacked the knowledge of Indian life. What can be said of the man who, after having lived more than thirty years in India and having dived deep into the ethnologic and historic lore of her people, say at the close of his official life that Sakuntala was the prototype of Indian womankind and that the Geeta was to modern Hindus what Thomas à Kempis' *Imitations of Christ* was to emotional Christians? We also regret to note that Lord Minto's recent utterances have not risen to the level of the dignity which have characterised all his pronouncements in previous sessions of the Council. His unfortunate reference to the agitation with which the released Bengalee deportees were associated and his commendation of all repressive measures together with the words spoken by him in support of his ruling, calling Mr. Bhupendranath Basu to order at the last meeting of the Council, surely have not enhanced public estimation in his favour.

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There have been a large number of members in the reformed Legislative Council who have not materially contributed to the debates nor have added much to their personal reputation. Most notable of these are Messrs Abdul Majid and Sachchidananda Sinha. Nawab Syed Mahmud of Madras has distinctly lost in public estimation by the manner in which he went back upon the principle of his life-time in supporting the Bengal Partition. Sir Vithaldas Thackersay made a good fight on behalf of Silver and also against the Partition in the closing debate of the season. Messrs Subba Rao Pantulu and G. M. Chitnavis have done very useful work by bringing many matters of public interest before the attention of the Council. But principal among this class of members is certainly Mr. Dadabhoy who, by interpellations and speeches, made himself one of the most conspicuous champions of public interests in the new House.

The change of front exhibited by Mr. Gokhale is perhaps the most disappointing feature about the new Council. The valiant Mahratta leader supporting an Act intended to put restrictions on the liberty of the Indian Press—who could think of it twelve months back? Then again, when Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson introduced his last Financial Statement into the Council, Mr. Gokhale referred to the Partition of Bengal as having *materially* affected the interests of all India. But when the debate on the Budget came, his silence was eloquent. Alas! for a swelled head.

Amongst representatives of the Zemindary and land-lord interests, none has distinguished himself for independent thinking or by courageous expressions of opinion. The Raja of Dighapatia has no doubt proved himself to be the best of the lot and has never uttered a foolish word or done a foolish thing in the Council. How we wish that the example set by this Rajah could be emulated by such “natural leaders” as Burdwan, Maler Kotla, Pertapgurh,—we do not know if there be any difference between Pertap Singh and Pertapgurh—Kurupam, Tiwana, *et hoc genus omne*. Of the representatives of the Mahomedan interest, Mr. Shyamsul Huda has maintained good ground. Mr. Jinnah of Bombay has also given promise of a very useful career. The rest are nowhere.

The members who, however, have contributed most to the gaiety and fun of the House are of course the Dhiraj of Dhiraj of Burdwan and Mr. Muzral Haque of Behar. Both, as might be expected, are representatives of special electorates. It will be a long time before the vulgar reference of the one to Mr. Keir Hardie and the silly observations of the other regarding Mr. Bhupendra

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

Nath Basu's speech on the Partition of Bengal can be forgotten by the public mind of India. Fortunately, however, both Bhupendranath and Keir Hardie are strong enough to survive the coarse gibes of a molly-coddled Maharajah and a dashing senator.

As regards the knowledge of members about matters discussed by the Council, the range has been remarkably wide. From a firm grasp of complicated political and economic principles we had the colossal ignorance of a Maharajah who 'supported' the Budget, not knowing that there could be no division or vote taken on it, down to an absolute innocence of all knowledge of the language in which the proceedings of the Imperial Council is conducted. This should compel reflection in all quarters,—official and non-official.

Of course the member who has come out as the hero of the session is Mr. Bhupendranath Basu. By his courageous defence of the liberty of the Indian Press and by his unsparing condemnation of the administrative measure which has been beautifully described by Max in *Capitol* as "Curzon's Folly," Mr. Basu has amply made up for the general lack of backbone and independence in the Imperial Legislative Council. The wrath of the official did not succeed in luring him away from the path of duty, and, like a valiant knight, he has failed not, faltered not. True indeed, as the poet sings, 'they only live who dare.' How we wish that there were half-a-dozen of men of his ability and independence among the so-called leaders of public opinion who crowd the Council Chamber at Government House.

By the bye, could anybody tell us why not a single member from the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was taken into the Select Committee of any of the Bills passed in the last Council? In one or other of the Select Committees every province of the Empire had been represented; only representatives of the new province were carefully kept out from all of them and were given a wide berth. Does the Government really consider that there is no wisdom in the new province or there is none there whose advice or help is worth seeking in the matter of imperial legislations? What a confession! Does not that fact condemn the Partition of Bengal in more eloquent terms than all the arguments put forward against the measure by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and his friends in the Council? Indeed it is difficult to conceive of a more effective condemnation of the crowning folly of the "second great Indian pro-consul" than this attitude of the Government towards the representatives of the new province and Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's

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exposure of the financial difficulty of the Empire brought on by this measure in question.

Now remains a very important constitutional question to discuss. Several members of the Viceroy's Council, notably Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, have in the last session been called to order for having raised questions of policy in the closing Budget Debate. Whether the policy underlying the Partition of Bengal was relevant to Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's pointed reference to this subject in more place than one in his last Financial Statement is a question which it is no good discussing in face of the Viceroy's ruling, but it is a serious matter if members of Council are to be considered precluded from attacking important administrative or executive measures in the Budget Debate. Under the Councils Act of 1892 and the regulations in connection with it, members of all the Indian Councils were allowed to discuss on this occasion all manner of questions of general and public interest. That used to let in much 'fresh air' in the Council Chambers, and if members are now to be debarred from that privilege,—and we consider it a much greater privilege than that of following interpellations in Councils with supplementary questions—one can only regret the change and rue the day. The argument that, by moving Resolutions, members can bring before the Councils all public questions and discuss them at length does not hold water in view of the fact that the government is empowered to disallow any Resolutions they please. And who can doubt that a close and unsympathetic bureaucracy will exercise all its power and influence against Resolutions condemning their action and policy being placed before the Councils? Under the circumstances, Lord Morley should come forward to explain the reasons for placing this new restriction on debate, if it at all has been done with his sanction and knowledge. It is a great constitutional question and the public should not let the matter stand where it rests at present.

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XI]

APRIL—1910

[No. 61

DIARY FOR MARCH, 1910

Date

1 Zia-ul-Huq, editor of the *Peshwa*, is sentenced to 5 years' transportation under a charge of sedition.

3 In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey denies that the relations between India and Tibet would be affected by a change in the Tibetan Government and states that the British policy would be confined merely to observe the treaty obligations and to require similar observance from the parties concerned.

4 A number of English cigarette manufacturers submit a representation to Lord Moiley, urging him to substitute a sugar duty for the increased duty on tobacco.

In the course of a debate on the Tariff Bill Mr. Gokhale, Sir David Sassoon, Mr Armstrong and others oppose the imposition of new taxes, specially on Silver. In connection with the Court-fees Amendment Bill, the Hon the Rajah of Dighapatia enters a strong protest against the increase of all fees for succession and probate as militating against the disposal of property by wills.

8 Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim gives away the sum of 4½ lakhs of rupees to the Government of Bombay to be constituted a special fund for the improvement of scientific training and the encouragement of scientific research for all students in general and for Mussalman boys in particular.

9 Haj Ismail Haj Allana Menon, merchant of Bombay, dies today, leaving his whole fortune amounting to several lakhs to public charities.

11. The Lord Bishop of Madras and Sir Arnold White, the Chief Justice, appeal to Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians to take education of their boys into their own hands and each in their schools to impart a sound religious education.

A proclamation issued by the Government of the United States admitting the Indian Empire to the benefit of the minimum tariff under the new Customs Tariff of the States is published by the Government of India.

13. The re-organization scheme of Imperial establishment of the Survey of India Department takes effect from today.

15. The anti-sedition Central Association of Calcutta issues a circular letter suggesting a constructive programme of political, social, moral and intellectual work to cope with the growth of anarchism in this land.

16. The village of Bagh Banan in the N.-W. Frontier is raided in the night.

The Government of Madras has passed an order sanctioning a grant to the Glassworks Company of half the wood used in its furnaces during the first two years of its working.

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16. Another raid in the frontier is reported in village Takawara in the Kuluchi Tehsil of Dera Ismail Khan

The districts of Mymensingh, Faridpur, and Backergunge are proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act.

The accused in the Nangla Dacoity case are acquitted by the Special Tribunal of the Calcutta High Court on the approver having retracted all his statements made before the Police and several Magistrates.

At the annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce the Hon'ble Mr. Armstrong, presiding, suggests the improvement of the Indian currency system by bringing gold into circulation to be drawn away for export, condemns the duty on silver as likely to affect Indian trade with China and also, being the medium of exchange, as unsuited for taxation.

Bhootnath Palit, printer of the Nabva Bharat Press, is arrested on a charge of publishing a seditious pamphlet more than a year ago written by a Mahometan preacher of Swadeshi fame.

17. It is announced that the majority of the Executive Committee of the Lahore Arya Samaj has passed a vote of censure upon the action of Lala Durga Prashad, its president, for writing letters to Sir Louis Dane and several Indian Chiefs of the Punjab to elicit their opinions with regard to the Arya Samaj as a body and Lala Durga Prashad has ultimately been compelled to resign his office.

Mr. Montagu, replying to a question in the House of Commons, states that action has been taken to stop the system of indentured immigration from India into the Malaya States.

18. On the motion of Mr. Gokhale, a debate is held in the Imperial Legislative Council on the introduction of free and compulsory primary education into India. The resolution, however, is withdrawn by the mover on the Government promising a careful consideration of the question.

The second reading of the East Indian Loans Bill, authorising the raising of £25,000,000 to be used solely in connection with commercial development, particularly on railways, passes the House of Commons today.

A circular issued by Mr. Montagu says that the increasing stock of gold in the Indian Treasury, combined with the enormous demand for currency, tend to show that the Indian Government may be expected to appeal shortly as a purchaser of silver for coinage purposes.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama leaves Calcutta today for Darjeeling on his way to Tibet.

19. Lord Morley appoints a departmental Committee to formulate an organised scheme for a School of Oriental Languages in London on the lines of the report of Lord Reay's Committee, with Lord Cromer as President and Lord Curzon, Sir Charles Lyall and others as members.

The ceremony of presenting the relics of the Lord Buddha, found at Peshawar, to the Buddhist deputation from Burma takes place today with much ceremony at the Government House, Calcutta.

The Administration Report of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1908-09 published today points to the scarcity of agricultural labour which has developed into a serious problem and the decline of the plague to less than one-third of the figures of the last two years.

21. A severe riot extending over three days takes place at Peshawar between Mahomedans and Hindus resulting in the loss of several life and in considerable damage of property of both parties.

22. In the annual report of the Punjab Colonies for 1908-09, the I.C.C. indicates "the great prosperity of the Indian cultivator" by alluding to the high prices of land and the general desire of the cultivators for "comfortable surroundings." -

DIARY

25. The 4th U. P. Provincial Conference is held at Benares under the presidency of Mr. Hafiz Abdul Rahim Sahib.

A largely attended meeting is held at the Calcutta Town Hall under the auspices of Mrs. Besant and Maharaja Prodyot Tagore and many other noblemen to organize a society for the protection of animals in India.

A notification is issued in London limiting, from 1911 and afterwards, the I. C. S. examination to such a number of appointments as the Secretary of State on each occasion determines, raising the number of marks in Arabic and Sanskrit from 600 to 800 and proposing to eliminate the *viva voce* examination.

Benode K. Chakravarty is cut to death by two Hindu ladies near Dacca while attempting to outrage their modesty.

26. A boy named Amulya Dutt is arrested at Naramgunge Railway Station with two rifles wrapped up in a quilt.

The 3rd sessions of the Mahomedan Educational Conference of South India and of Eastern Bengal and Assam are held at Trichinopoly and Bogra respectively under the presidency of the Prince of Arcot and the Hon'ble Moulavi Taslimuddin Ahmed.

The Punjab Hindu Sabha wires to the Chief-Commissioner of the Frontier Province to institute an open enquiry into the cause of the riots at Peshawar.

The U. P. Provincial Industrial Conference is held at Benares under the presidency of the Hon Mr. Gangaprasad Varma.

Extradition arrangements have been concluded between the Nizam's and the Gaekwar's Governments as the outcome of a certain case on the lines of the Extradition Treaty between the Government of India and the Nizam's Govt,

A report of the select committee on the Bill to further amend the Calcutta Police Act, 1866, and the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866, is submitted in the Bengal Council today with notes of dissent from the Hon'ble Messrs Apcar, B. N. Basu and Devaprasada Saibadhicary.

The Sikh Educational Conference commences its session at Amritsar.

A monstrous meeting of the depressed classes conference is held at Hardwar on the occasion of the Gurukul anniversary under the presidency of Pundit Rambhuj Dutt Choudhury.

The Maithil Conference is held at Madhubani under the presidency of the Maharajah of Durbhangha and attended by about 10 thousand people, including Maithil Brahmins, Karan Kyasths and delegates from Bengal, Behar, United and the Central Provinces.

The 13th annual meeting of the Nadwatal Ulema commences at Delhi under the presidency of Hazikul Mulk Hakeem Mahomed Ajmal Khan of Delhi.

The Visnagar Nagar Conference is held at Ajmere, in which resolutions urging social reforms particularly on the evils of early marriage are passed.

27. An Anglo-Indian Conference is held at Allahabad in which proposals regarding the constitution of an Anglo-Indian Association and various topics of Anglo-Indian interest are discussed.

28. A meeting of the Madras Presidency Moslem League is held at Trichinopoly under the presidency of the Prince of Arcot.

The 4th U. P. Social Conference is held at Benares, Mr. Jyoti Sarup presiding.

The anniversary of the Punjab Hindu Sabha is held at Lahore.

The Maharajah of Durbhangha issues a circular letter suggesting the establishment of a Hindu Political League to work on the lines of the Muslim League.

29. The Special Tribunal of the Bombay High Court presided over by the Chief Justice pass judgment in the Nasik Murder Trial. Kanare, Karve and Deshpande are sentenced to be hanged. Soman, Joshi, and

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Vaidya are sentenced to transportation for life. The 7th accused Dattatraya Joshi is sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment for failing to inform the Police.

The 1st session of the Punjab Muslim Educational Conference meets at Indore in which resolutions on free primary education, status of Urdu and Parsi in schools, and introduction of ethical instruction in public schools are passed.

The 6th Session of the Provincial Brahmin Conference is held at Rawalpindi in which resolutions urging the necessity, of the spread of Sanskrit language, of the introduction of Hindu and Gurumukhi into primary schools, of the protection of landed interests of the Brahmins under the Land Alienation Act, and of the enrolment of Brahmins freely in the army are discussed.

The inaugural meeting of the Burma Research Society, organised to increase and promote questions relating to Burma, its history, its ethnology, its philology and other cognate studies is held at Rangoon, the L. G. presiding.

Mr. Nandgopal, editor of the *Swarajya*, is sentenced to 10 years' transportation under sec. 124A. by Mr. Kustomji, the Sessions Judge of Allahabad.

The discussion of the Indian Budget under the new rules commences today at the Imperial Legislative Council. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu strongly condemns the partition of Bengal, both as a financial and a political measure, and is supported by Sir D. Thackersay and Messrs Dadabhai, Chitnavis and Mudholkar. Hon. Mr. Gokhale fights shy of the partition and inveighs against the enormous increase of Indian civil and military expenditure of recent years.

30. In order to minimize the chances of train outrages and the singeing out of first and second class carriages for outrages, all railways in India have decided to paint the exterior of all carriages of passenger and mail-trains in one manner so as to give uniform appearance from outside.

A memorial is submitted to the Viceroy by the South Indian Missionary Association praying that provisions of the Indian Divorce Act of 1869 be declared applicable to marriages of Christian converts, though solemnized in accordance with non-Christian rites before conversion.

The Imperial Budget Debate closes today with some congratulatory platitudes from the Viceroy.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

The Gold Standard Reserve

The balance of the Gold Standard Reserve on the 31st January, 1910, in India and in England amounted to £18,681,778, and was held in the following form :—As a book credit in India £344 ; Rupees in India equivalent to (at £1 = 15) £4,786,734 ; Cash placed by the Secretary of State for India in Council at short notice £1,613,542 ; British and Colonial Government Securities £10,931,151 ; Temporary Loan to the Government of India £1,350,000.

A Good Excuse

Mr. J. D. Rees, M. P., referring to the early Roman domination in India, said that the Romans allowed the same rights of citizenship to the peoples they conquered as obtained in their home in Italy. It is now claimed, in like manner, especially on behalf of the Indians in South Africa, that any British subject of any British possession should be allowed the rights of British citizenship in any other British possession. But such a principle, if allowed, would bring about the break-up of an Empire like the British, consisting as it did of so many different nationalities, and many parts of which also had self-government, a state of things that did not exist in the case of the colonies held by the Romans.

Material Development of India

The following table shows at a glance the material development of India during the last 50 years :

	1857.		1909.
Miles of Railway open ...	300	...	30,983
Passengers carried ...	2,000,000	...	330,000,000
Tons of goods conveyed ...	253,000	...	64,000,000
Number of Post Offices ...	750	...	70,000
Letters and packets carried	33,000,000	...	800,000,000
Telegraph wires (miles) ...	3,000	...	270,000
Savings Banks ...	—	...	8,000
Depositors (number of) ...	—	...	1,200,000
Total deposits ...	—		£10,000,000

The Bengal Legislative Council

I hear, writes the Calcutta correspondent of a Bombay paper, that doubts have been raised as to the constitution of the Bengal Legislative Council. The Councils Act of 1861 provides that the Governor of Bombay or Madras shall nominate as Additional Members the Advocate-General and others. The clause extending the Council system to Bengal applies to this province, the provisions relating to Bombay and Madras, and, therefore, presumably pres-

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cribes the Advocate-General as an essential member of the Bengal Legislative Council. The Advocate-General always has been a member until the new and enlarged Council was instituted, but for some reason he was left out of the new Council. The question accordingly arises whether the Council as now composed has legal authority. The point is not altogether technical or pedantic, for it is obviously desirable that the chief Law Officer of the Government should assist in framing legislation.

The Population of Calcutta

The coming Census, which will reckon the population as it will be distributed at midnight on the last day of March, 1911, will be rather misleading as regards Calcutta, which has about twenty times as many inhabitants by day as by night. To correct this inevitable misrepresentation, the Corporation are proposing to hold a "day census" shortly after the taking of the general one. The cost will be about £1,500; and the result will probably be brought before Parliament in support of the claims of the City to special consideration in the matter of taxation and assessment. Previous censuses of this kind show that in 1861 the residential population was 112,063, which by 1891 had fallen to 37,694. Now it is about 18,000, the decline being due to the demolition of much of the small property, and to the erection in its stead of commercial buildings. In 1861, the day population of the city was 170,133; in 1891 it was 301,384; and it is to-day probably 100,000 more. Of the total number of day residents in 1891, 29,520 represented principals, while of the employees, 202,213 were males, 50,416 females, and 19,235 children. Inquiry goes to show that, whereas the number of males remains today practically stationary, there has been a very striking increase in the number of females. The report of 1891 showed that in the sixteen hours comprising the working day and the hours preceding and following it, the number of persons entering the City was 1,100,636, of whom 132,835 entered between eight and nine, and 124,942 between nine and ten.

The Powers of Reaction

The *Daily News*, (of course of London), commenting on the fact that the Calcutta Police Bill was passed with practical unanimity after very slight resistance by the Council, suggests that the independent representative element in the new bodies is almost, or quite, as restricted as it was on the unreformed councils. The "passing of this Bill," the *Daily News* adds, "marks a late stage in a system of repression, the completeness of which could hardly be exaggerated. The Government of India has now secured the full powers after which it has been striving for the past three years. It can, and does, rule the newspaper press with an iron hand. It can, and does, prohibit public meetings, celebrations and processions. It has entrusted the police with the power of breaking up political and other associations, of searching private houses, of opening letters in the post. It has for the moment succeeded in silencing the voice of criticism alike in the press, on the platform, and in the debating room. There is no instructed observer of Indian movements who does not recognise that the task of the Indian Government at the present time is a task of extraordinary difficulty, but after admitting all that

this may imply, is it possible to uphold the view that India can permanently be governed under a system which, while closing every outlet of popular expression, places the whole country under the dominion of a police force that is universally hated and feared? There can be but one answer to such questions as these. Lord Morley has done fine work for India, but in some matters the powers of reaction have been too strong for the children of light."

The Partition of Bengal and the ensuing Census

One thing is clear and that is that caste is inextricably bound up with what we must call religion, with theories, that is, that try to account for the facts of life by supernatural means. Now it is plain that the religion of the Hindus is not in fact one, but many. That, indeed, is only another way of re-stating the common assertion that Hinduism is the most tolerant of religions. The various local aspects of Hinduism should, we imagine, be conspicuous in the coming census. In this respect, the partition of Bengal may result in interesting consequences. Mr. Gait's admirable history of Assam shows that what is now the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam covers approximately the same area as the vanished Koch kingdom of which Koch Bihar is sadly a diminished survival. The Koch kingdom, again, was a curious revival of the ancient kingdom of Kamarupa, whose name survives in the modern British district of Kamrup. It is well-known that this area had—and to some extent still has—a Hinduism of its own, compounded of the pantheistic ideas common to all Hindus and the Tantric developments which, it has been conjectured, had a pre-Hindu origin. Tantrism, among other characteristics, was essentially a religion of bloody sacrifices and the beheading of victims—in the older days, of human victims. Caste, under such a system, may easily possess different qualities and, in some points, a different origin to the castes of the devotees of Ram Chandra and Sita whose institutions Mr. Nesfield studied. It may be that the famous "stereotyping" of thought and civilisation which has been attributed to Hinduism is not inherent in its constitution, but was due to contact with the instinctive revolution from the alien genius of Islam. Here, again, Eastern Bengal may throw more light on a vexed question since in Eastern Bengal Islam made more converts among the lower semi-aboriginal castes than in other part of India. From this point of view the study of Eastern Mussalman ideas may be very interesting and suggestive. —(*The Pioneer.*)

The Admission of Bar Students

The revised Consolidated Regulations of the Four Inns of Court, outlined in *The Times* of 25th February last, have attracted much attention, more particularly in respect to the abolition of the preliminary examination and the variation in the academic qualifications for the admission of students. Hitherto the passing of "a public examination at any University within the British dominions" has entitled persons not otherwise disqualified to admission without preliminary examination; but when the new rules come into force a very important distinction will be drawn between the Universities of the United Kingdom and those of the overseas dominions of the King. The new schedule of recognised tests includes the matriculation, entrance, and preliminary examinations of the English, Scotch,

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and Irish Universities, as well as the Senior Local and School Certificate Examinations of Oxford and Cambridge. The only item in the schedule relating to education in the oversea dominions of the King provides for the recognition of "any examination held by any University in the British dominions approved by the Council of Legal Education, which entitles those who pass it to a degree of that University." The addition of the words last quoted excludes recognition hitherto given of matriculation and intermediate tests. In most of the Indian Universities a youth may not matriculate before he has attained the age of 16. After that, two years are required to pass the intermediate examination, whether in arts or the science course, and ordinarily a youth cannot hope to receive the B.A. or any other degree until he has completed his 20th year. The net effect of the new regulations, therefore, is that, while it will be possible as hitherto for youths educated in this country to be called to the Bar when they have attained the minimum age of 21, the Indian, South African, or Ceylon student will then only be in the early stages of keeping terms. Recent events, including the disbarment of, and refusal to call, certain Indians, have drawn attention to the large number of Indians studying at Gray's and Lincoln's Inns, and the benchers are known to have been considering the question of exercising a close disciplinary control over young men keeping terms. The changes made in the Consolidated Regulations would seem to be inspired by a desire to discourage youths coming from abroad at too early an age, and to ensure adequacy of general education. Already the discussion of the revised regulations has led to modification in one particular. The rules were to come into force on October 1 next, but it has now been decided to continue the preliminary examination of the Inns until January 1. It should be added that the rules reserve to the Council of Legal Education full authority to recognize such other examinations in lieu of the present schedule as they may from time to time decide. It follows that the general rule as to a degree being necessary in the case of students from abroad may be mitigated by the inclusion of specified examinations of a less advanced kind. Moreover, the benchers of any of the Inns may relax or dispense with the rule in any individual case "in which they think special circumstances justify such a course."

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Muslim Encouragement of Scientific Training

Sir Carrimbhoy Ebrahim has given to the Bombay Government a sum of £30,000 for the improvement of scientific training and the encouragement of research, in connexion with Indian industrial progress, to be awarded in the shape of scholarships to science students of the Mussulman faith.

Cotton Crop in the Punjab

The fourth forecast of the cotton crop in the Punjab for 1909 gives the area under the crop as 1,284,600 acres, or 12 per cent., below that of last year. The yield works out to 350,881 bales, or

5 per cent. above the quinquennial average. The gross outturn in 1908 was 295,787 bales. In Native States the estimates of area and yield now stand at 151,000 acres and 47,781 bales.

Russian Surtax on Indian Tea

The Russian surtax was imposed on September 5, 1903, on Indian and Ceylon teas entering Russia by way of Europe, the Russian Government holding that the action of his Majesty's Government in prohibiting the importation of Russian sugar, on the ground of its being bounty-fed, was a violation of the most-favoured-nation treatment guaranteed by the Anglo-Russian Commercial Treaty. The surtax was repealed on August 18, 1908, in anticipation of the removal of the prohibition of the importation of Russian sugar into the United Kingdom.

British Trade with India

Addressing the annual meeting of Muntz's Metal Company (Limited) at Birmingham, Mr. H. Graham Harris (chairman) said the firm used to do a very large and satisfactory trade with India. Gradually other English makers secured a proportion of business, and now the Germans were competing. The result was that last year, out of a total import into India of 11,600 tons of sheeting and squares more than half was supplied by one German firm. The output of that particular concern exceeded the whole amount supplied by British makers.

A Good Record of Sugarcane

The total area under sugarcane in the Punjab in 1909 amounted to 411,700 acres, compared with 365,700 acres in 1908, an advance of 12 per cent. The first forecast of 387,300 acres indicated a material extension of cultivation, but was an under-estimate. The present crop is the largest on record. The causes of expansion are high prices and a good harvest in 1908, coupled with favourable seasonal conditions at sowing time. The gross outturn is placed at 333,992 tons, or 25 per cent. more than last year. Outturns were generally above the average and there were no failures.

High Price of Opium

High prices for Indian opium during the current financial year have been the rule, and there is no sign of any falling away. In fact at the third sale of 1910 of the Behar drug the high figure of Rs. 2,400 was touched in the time bargains against Rs. 2,214 to Rs. 2,318 at the second sale. At Hongkong, prices rose from Rs. 1,740 to Rs. 1,840 between the 31st January and 3rd February. In the Bombay market Malwa opium has also advanced in price in a remarkable way. A large gain upon the estimate of the current year is now assured, for there is no chance of any set-back in the near future.

A Regrettable Set-back in Sind

It had been confidently expected that the cultivation of Egyptian cotton in Sind would have been a great success, as the earlier experiments gave most satisfactory results both as to yield and quality. Exceptionally high prices were realised four years ago, and

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up to 1907 the area under this exotic variety was increasing. From an official report which has just been issued it appears that a set-back has occurred, and that the present outlook is not a favourable one. In the cold weather of 1908-9 there were no bidders for such Egyptian cotton as was put up at the three auctions, the quality being very inferior. Last year there were no sowings at all, on account of difficulties of water-supply. It is explained that the deterioration in quantity and quality has been due to bad cultivation on the part of the ryots : and that the outturn has consequently been much less than that of the hardier indigenous variety. The conclusion drawn is that "unless cultivation is improved and sufficient irrigation is obtained as early as March-April, there is no likelihood of Egyptian cotton being established as a general field crop in Sind."

The Future of Cotton in India

The report submitted by Mr. Arno Schmidt, the Secretary of the International Cotton Federation, regarding the possibilities of India as a cotton-growing country, is of an encouraging character and will doubtless stimulate the various Agricultural Departments engaged in improving Indian cotton to redouble their efforts. The British Cotton-Growing Association which is to spend lavishly in Nigeria is invited by Mr. Schmidt to recognise the advantages of paying more attention to an established cotton-growing country such as India. The Indian crop, says the report, is already a considerable factor in the world's supply, the outturn ranging from 11 to 17 million cwts, or from 3 million bales to nearly 5 million. Experts assured Mr. Schmidt that India could, after four or five years, yield 10 million bales, as against 17 million bales produced in the United States. If this estimate were realized, India would be a valuable safe guard against any American shortage.

Coal Mining in India

Statistics which have been published by the Board of Trade relating to coal mining in India show that the quantity produced has steadily risen since 1886. In 1878 the total amounted to 1,015,210 tons, whereas in 1908 it had increased to 12,769,635 tons. Up to 1905 the Raniganj field held the premier position as regards quantity, but it is now second, its output in 1908 being 4,221,781 tons, or 33 per cent. of the year's total. The Jherria field had the largest production in 1907, and in 1908 it increased its lead by yielding nearly 6½ million tons, or about half the total production. About 90 per cent. of the coal mined in India during 1908 was produced in Bengal. The remainder was raised principally in the Nizam's Territory, Assam, and the Central Provinces. During the years 1904-5 to 1908-9 the exports, excluding bunker coal, amounted to 7.28 per cent. of the production.

Exports and Imports of India

In reply to recent enquiries in Parliament, Mr. Montagu gave the following account of the exports and imports for the five years, 1904-9, from India to the United Kingdom, to British posse-

NOTES & NEWS

sions (Hongkong excluded) and to foreign countries (Hongkong included). The following are the export figures:—

	1904-5.	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.	1908-9.
	£	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	... 28,287,046	26,665,055	31,289,511	39,936,473	34,048,132
British Possessions	... 11,900,980	12,871,391	13,799,794	13,858,265	13,210,645
Foreign Countries	... 62,573,822	65,923,036	70,298,704	71,857,414	63,623,856
TOTAL	... 102,760,848	105,459,482	115,388,009	115,652,151	99,882,933

Note.—Treasure, Government stores, and re-exports are excluded.

The value of the goods imported into India from the United Kingdom from British possessions (Hongkong excluded) and from foreign countries (Hongkong included) in the five years 1904-09 is as follows:—

	1904-5.	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.	1908-9.
	£	£	£	£	£
United Kingdom	... 42,021,951	45,825,871	48,198,645	57,757,883	50,617,819
British Possessions	... 4,689,195	4,561,070	4,996,454	5,614,703	5,959,989
Foreign Countries	... 17,741,046	18,335,772	19,009,956	23,224,143	24,266,010
TOTAL	... 64,452,192	68,722,713	72,205,055	86,596,729	80,843,818

Note.—Treasure and Government stores are excluded.

SELECTIONS

MR. BHUPENDRANATH BASU ON THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

At the closing meeting of the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Babu Bhupendranath Basu delivered the following excellent speech :—My Lord, a noticeable feature of this year's budget is the imposition of new taxes on the whole of India owing to the partition of Bengal and the shrinkage of the opium revenue. This latter was anticipated some years ago when China promulgated her present policy of restricting the use of opium. The increased expenditure necessitated by the partition of Bengal should also have been anticipated, but unfortunately it was not. I may remind Hon'ble members that when Lord Curzon was demolishing to his own complete satisfaction the arguments adduced in the Town Hall Memorial of 1904, he came to the conclusion that 8 lakhs would be the extra expenditure caused by the partition of the province. "A petty sum of Rs. 8 lakhs a year," said his Lordship, "was a light price to pay for the inestimable benefits which the people of both provinces would derive from the change contemplated." Light price indeed! These 'inestimable benefits' have cost us the lives of innocent men and women, they have cost us the imposition of repressive legislations, one after another, they have cost us the arrest and detention of men without trial, they have forced our ministers to appeal to Austria and Russia for precedents in the administration of British territory and what is more, they have cost us the relationship of trust and mutual good-will which ought to subsist between the Government and the people.

FINANCIAL ASPECT

For the moment, my Lord, I lay aside these considerations; they raise issues which the brief space of time at my disposal will not permit me to deal with. I am more concerned now with the purely financial aspect of these inestimable benefits. The Hon'ble the Finance Member, referring to the necessity of additional taxation, said : "For this state of things, there are two plain and adequate reasons. In the first place the reduction in opium Revenue. In the second place, we are obliged to abandon to Eastern Bengal and Assam a much larger share of its land revenue than it has hitherto retained." He went on : "the result is that our fixed subsidy to balance the standard figures of revenue and expenditure has had to be raised by £2,55,000 a year. We have also cancelled the province's overdraft and raised its balance to the prescribed minimum of Rs. 12 lakhs: this has cost us £2,46,000, which of course is non-recurring." Mr. Kershaw, the Financial Secretary of the Eastern Bengal Government, in the lucid speech that he made in the local Council, while introducing his budget, said that the abandonment referred to in the speech of the

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Hon'ble Finance Member meant a subsidy of Rs. 52,27,000 a year. This, as Mr. Kershaw was pleased to observe, was disproportionately large. Besides the annual subsidy of Rs. 52,27,000 and the gift of Rs. 37 lakhs, the Government of India has undertaken, as was pointed out by Mr. Kershaw, the payment of the subsidies payable to the port of Chittagong for rivetment as a charge upon Imperial Revenue and has further agreed to pay the annually recurring expenditure for carrying out and maintaining 5 large schemes in connection with the administration of the province, which the province is itself unable to bear : what this expenditure will be, neither the Supreme nor the Local Government has indicated : it will surely be a very considerable sum of money which the province itself is unable to find.

THE OUTLAY

My Lord, how is the additional outlay to be met by the Government of India with its shrinking revenue from opium ? The Supreme Government has had to tax one of the prime necessities of life to the Indian peasant to find sustenance for the discarded bantling of Lord Curzon. The price of petroleum has already risen in all grades including Burmah oil, and though I am sure the poor cultivator of India will follow the sagacious advice of the Hon'ble Finance Member and practise the good old maxim of "early to bed and early to rise" to save his oil, he will no doubt be a sadder if a wiser man. The cost of general administration has risen in the province from Rs. 3,12,000 in 1904-5 to Rs. 13,12,000 in the year 1910-11—much of it being due to the reduplicated administrative machinery. Lord Curzon was in a state of breathless haste to inaugurate the partition. He knew that once started it would be difficult, if not impossible, to revoke it. Lord Curzon said in his despatch to the Secretary of State : "It is in our judgment most desirable that the scheme of reconstruction should be brought into force with the least possible delay, since, to defer it, would be to afford opportunities for the renewal of agitation on the part of those opposed to the measure," and while there was not a single public building in Dacca, a new province was inaugurated with its Government under canvas and its offices in borrowed building. It has cost more than a crore of rupees to raise the buildings which to-day are intended to adorn Dacca and Shillong, but much more is required.

The cost of general administration has risen from Rs. 3,12,000 before the partition to Rs. 13,12,000, in the year 1910, while in Bengal there has been no diminution. All this and more were pointed out in a respectful representation submitted by the leading residents of Bengal of all communities, including my honourable colleagues, the Raj Bahadur of Dighapatia and Moulavi Syed Shams-ul-Huda, but the Government of India behaved like the adder that "stoppeth her ear, which will not hearken to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely." It may not probably be known to hon'ble members that East Bengal does not contribute a single rupee to the maintenance of the High Court. I believe the Government of East Bengal does not consider the High Court to be an institution which ought to be maintained. West Bengal pays for all the judges and the whole ministerial and clerical staff. I have neither the skill nor the materials to discover how much of other expenditure properly debitable to East Bengal lurks under

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the heads of expenditure in the old province. We know how the wasteful extravagance of the pageant at Delhi was absorbed in innocent-looking items of expenditure on diverse useful purposes.

EDUCATION

My Lord, it will be said that all this expenditure has been usefully incurred. Large sums have been spent on education and the police, the one to expand, and the other to fetter, the minds of the youths of East Bengal. In the domain of education a disproportionate sum is being spent on inspection, the cost of which has risen from Ra. 50,000 in 1906 to 5 lakhs in 1910. The Government of Eastern Bengal is steadily pursuing the policy of stifling private enterprise in education and taking over the private colleges and secondary schools, thus greatly adding to its burdens. My Lord, the grant that your Lordship's Government has made will not suffice for the five schemes mentioned by Mr. Kershaw, four of which are imperative. It does not appear that there is much room for expansion of revenue in East Bengal. More than half the area of the province is covered by Assam, and more than half of Assam will at least for many years to come remain irreclaimable jungle. East Bengal will not become, within a reasonable length of time, a self-contained province. The Imperial Government has ceased to have surpluses, which have been the cause of so much misery to us, and all India will have to be taxed to support the Eastern Province.

POLITICAL ASPECT

My Lord, I have dealt with the financial aspect of the partition of Bengal. With your Lordship's leave, I shall say a few words about its political aspect. I believe it is no longer necessary for me to demonstrate the unwisdom of the measure; men more competent to judge than the people concerned have recorded their opinions against it. Lord Macdonnell, than whom a higher authority on Indian affairs, so thoroughly conversant with Bengal, does not exist, pronounced it to be the greatest blunder of British Government in India since the battle of Plassey. In the famous debate in the House of Lords, no one was willing, not even Lord Curzon, to acknowledge its paternity. My Lord, it was openly asserted that the measure was intended to divide and weaken the Bengali community; it was a serious charge to make against the Government of the country. It was repeated in the House of Commons. It has never been denied. I shall quote from the speech that Lord Morley, then Mr. Morley, made in the House. He said: "so far as my information goes, I cannot assent to the views of those gentlemen who have said that the movement for the partition of Bengal arose from political motives and from the desire to repress the expression of its political opinion. Whether the original motives may not have taken in some colour of that kind, I am not in a position to affirm or deny." This shows, my Lord, the real force of the opposition; this shows that the Bengalees feel that the partition is aimed at their civil and political rights: that it is intended to break them up and I shall presently show that it has had the effect.

My Lord, let us take the ostensible grounds of partition. The charge was too heavy for a single administration, the area was too large, and the population too numerous. That area comprised 189,000 square miles including the feudatory states and the popu-

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lation numbered 78 millions. In the scheme of Sir Herbert Risley who, with a logic all his own, proceeded to bring over the Uriya-speaking people of Madras to Bengal on the ground of affinity of language and of race and to divide the Bengali-speaking community into two on the ground that affinity of language or of race was no consideration for keeping people together, the substituted area was 1,75,000 square miles and the population 62 millions, and this charge the Lieutenant-Governor of the day accepted with alacrity as capable of being easily administered. What was the extent of the relief? 14,000 square miles in area and 16 millions people in number less than the area and population of a single Division in Bengal. The grounds put forward were so insufficient and inconsistent that there was some room for the allegation that there were other motives behind the change. The Bengali-speaking Hindu community are to be found mainly in two Divisions (Presidency and Burdwan) out of seven in West Bengal. These two Divisions, with 61 Municipalities and 160 votes with a current annual municipal income of 26 lakhs, have 2 seats while Behar, with 35 Municipalities, 89 votes and an annual income of 16 lakhs, has 3 seats in the local Council.

Again the District Boards in the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions, with a literate male population in English of 1 in 60, have got 2 seats, while Behar, with a literate male population in English of 1 in 300, has got 3; and Calcutta with its enormous population, its wealth and culture, paying 67 per cent of the total income tax of the province, has no representation at all except one through the Corporation, only half the members of which are elected. In East Bengal, the Hindu Bengalees are worse off. In the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi there are 8½ millions of Hindus against 17 millions of Mahomedans and the Mahomedan majorities are further protected by 4 special seats.

NATIONALITY

Apart from the disadvantages to which the Bengali Hindus have thus been subjected, there are others which could be easily mentioned but I have no time to go into them on this occasion. There is one argument, however, that I should like to meet. It has been said, my Lord, and specially by those who are never tired of repeating that there is no Indian Nation yet and never will be, they have said that if our aspiration is to weld the populations of the different provinces of India into a nation why should any of us complain because we are divided, or as it is put, because we are distributed under a reduplicated administrative machinery?

My Lord, the ideal of an Indian Nation is, no doubt, our objective; it seems scarcely attainable specially with the good offices of those who are for ever seeking to divide us. If the entrails of the present are to be read for the signs of the future, that ideal seems to be very far off indeed. But whatever may be in the distant future, we feel that this division, this distribution, under different Governments, with daily diverging standards, with its provincial bars and barriers are bound to disintegrate the Bengali people.

My Lord, I am not indulging in mere generalities. The services have been separated and men in one province cannot find employment in the other. Lord Curzon in his speech at Dacca made an eloquent appeal to the good people of Bikrampur that they would

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still have a scope of useful employment from the confines of Behar to Assam ; that assurance is as dead to-day as the Dead Sea apple. The ideals of Government are becoming different, and while in the unhappy province of East Bengal peaceful political meetings are being prohibited and even social gatherings for the amelioration of what are known as the depressed classes are being suppressed, we in the sister province, through the good offices of a ruler, who trusts us and whom we trust, are living under conditions of much greater freedom. My Lord, on an occasion like this, on a debate on the Budget, I dare not go into further details.

LORD MINTO'S WORK

My Lord, we Indians owe to your Lordship a debt of gratitude which we can never hope to repay. Your Lordship's quiet and dignified attitude amidst gathering clouds and brewing storm, betokening that rare virtue, the courage of the spirit, has reminded us—the Hindus of India—that the days of our "Rajarshis"—the Sage-Sovereigns—are not yet over. You have not suffered the misdeeds of a few perverted and fanatical youths to divert you by a hair's breadth from the course that Your Lordship set before yourself in the discharge of your high duties. You have allowed misrepresentation of your conduct and action to pass by you as the idle wind. My Lord, whatever may be our differences as to the way that the great reforms instigated by you have been put into execution we frankly acknowledge their generous and far-reaching character and in the fulness of time, when they will bear fruit, your Lordship's name will ever be remembered and cherished as the great ruler from whom emanated India's first charter of constitutional government. My Lord, you have liberated the deportees, amongst whom were men held by us in the highest esteem for the purity and piety of their life, from their silent prison. You will excuse my impertinence if, on behalf of the people of Bengal, and in their name I venture to offer your Lordship our humble thanks for your noble and kindly act in the face of the embarrassments confronting the Government.

APPEAL TO LORD MINTO

My Lord, will it be too much to appeal to you in the closing year of your Lordship's administration to mitigate if not to undo the great wrong done to Bengal ? As to the character of the measure and how it was carried out, I shall again take the liberty of quoting from Lord Morley. Referring to the partition of Bengal he said : " It was and remains undoubtedly an administrative operation which went wholly and decisively against the wishes of most of the people concerned. Whether the partition was a wise thing or not when it was begun, I am bound to say nothing was ever worse done so far as the disregard which was shown to the feeling and opinion of the people is concerned." My Lord, we do not desire that the privileges and advantages which the partition has conferred on our Mahomedan fellow-subjects in East Bengal or on the people of Behar should be curtailed by a single iota. It stands to reason that in East Bengal where the Mahomedans form 2-3rds of the population and Beharies in Behar should have the full benefit of their numerical strength. It also stands to reason that communities which through untoward cir-

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cumstances have come to be looked upon as backward now, should have special facilities afforded to them. Lord Curzon, while touring through East Bengal, drew a vivid and alluring picture of the greatness in store for the town of Dacca and the port of Chittagong, for the people of East Bengal in general and the Mahamedans in particular, if they were severed from West Bengal. May every line of that picture be realised ! But, my Lord, that is not the way of Government alluring individuals and communities from their common allegiance. History knows it by an ugly name. My Lord, I shall quote again from the writings of Lord Morley which to me have been a constant source of profit and inspiration. " Moral forces decide the strength and weakness of constitutional contrivances. The hunger for breakfast and dinner has not been the master impulse in the history of civilized communities. Selfish and interested individualism has been truly called non-historic. Sacrifice has been the law-sacrifice for creeds, for churches, for kings, for adored teachers, for native land."

However that may be, I can assure Your Lordship, that we Hindus of Bengal are prepared to enter into a solemn league and covenant to give up, if needs be, all our claims to the expanded councils, all our claims to Government emoluments. We are ready and willing to take a back seat, if that will reunite the severed Bengali population. We prefer to be door-keepers in our own house than to dwell in tents where we shall be looked upon as interlopers. I shall not, my Lord, suggest schemes of re-adjustment or re-distribution—schemes under which all conflicting interests may be adjusted and safe-guarded. My Lord, if the wrong is admitted, and even if it is not admitted, if it is conceded as has been done by the Secretary of State, that the people concerned feel it to be a wrong, is it too much to ask a great and puissant Government to remove the wrong or the sense of it, if it can be done without interfering with legitimate aspiration since created ? Will British statesmanship admit defeat ? I am sure it is not a problem which baffle Englishmen in India. If so, what is it that stands in the way ? It is a feeling that any such attempt would be interpreted as a sign of weakness. My Lord, we ourselves have never looked upon an act of grace on the part of those who have the power to bind and to unloose as a sign of weakness. An act of justice will not weaken but strengthen the prestige of an all-powerful Government. Righteousness exalteth a nation. The ancient proverb is as true to-day as in the days of old. Let us, my Lord, take thought for the morrow, and not like lotus-eaters recline on the threshold of the present. In giving to India a constitutional government, in releasing the deportees, in appointing our countrymen to high offices of State, your Lordship has disregarded the fears of the weak, and the misgivings of the timid. Have these acts been treated by the Indians as signs of weakness ? On the contrary, my Lord, you have rallied round yourself and the King of England all the forces of law and order in this vast continent. Do us this supreme act of justice and your name, my Lord, will live through passing centuries as one of the great benefactors of India, as one of the strongest pillars of British rule, proclaiming to unborn generations and distant times, like the monoliths of Asoka, a message of peace and good-will from England to India.

MR. GOKHALE ON THE GROWTH OF IMPERIAL EXPENDITURE

The following is the portion of the text of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's speech dealing with the growth of Imperial Expenditure delivered in the Council on the 29th March :—

My Lord, this year's budget has come upon us all as an unpleasant surprise. The feeling is like that of a person who is walking securely on the ground and all of a sudden discovers a yawning gulf before him. After a great number of years—after ten years of consecutive surpluses we first came to a year of a heavy deficit due, as we then understood, to famine. Then there was what appeared to be a normal year, and we have now another normal year in which, however, extra taxation has been imposed on the people. This circumstance, namely, the levying of extra taxation in a normal year, suggests that something is wrong with the financial position of the country and in any case it suggests an inquiry. I have given some attention to this question and I find that the results are such as to cause apprehension. My Lord, for a correct understanding of this question it is necessary to pass under brief review the finances of the ten years from 1898 to 1908, because our series of surpluses began with the year 1898. From that year we had ten consecutive surpluses ending with the year 1908. Let us see what were the special features of the financial position during that time and what use was made of the prosperous finances of those years by the Government. It will be found that there were four distinctive features of this period. The first was that there was a large saving in the cost of the home remittances of the Government owing to exchange having established itself at a steady rate of 1s. 4d. to the rupee in the year 1898. The second was an improvement in the opium revenue which before 1898 has been steadily falling for a number of years. The third was the expansion of the ordinary revenues of the country. And the fourth was an improvement in the railway revenues of the Government. These four causes combined to give the Government large surpluses, and the Government utilized the position in the first place to remit a certain amount of taxation and then to sanction a large amount of increased expenditure in various directions. I would respectfully invite the Council to consider this matter carefully. It has been said by some critics that the present difficulties of Government have arisen from the fact that during those fat years Government remitted taxation which should not have been remitted. Now, my Lord, I must protest strongly against this view. If the Council will look at the amount of taxation remitted during those ten years, it will find that the total of remission came to about 4 millions sterling or 6 crores of rupees. But owing to the artificial rise in the rupee, the savings of the Government on their home remittances also had come to about 5½ crores of rupees. What had happened was this. The Government had gone on adding tax after tax in the period preceding the year 1898 so as to secure a balance between revenue and expenditure and even a surplus, no matter what the level of exchange was; and thus even when exchange was at its lowest, as it was in the year 1894, namely, at 13d. to the rupee, the Government were able to show not only an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure but also a small margin as

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surplus. And as the exchange value of the rupee steadily went up—the level of taxation remaining the same,—it meant a steadily increasing surplus at the disposal of the Government. By the year 1898, exchange established itself firmly in the vicinity of 16d. to the rupee. Now a rise of 3d. in the value of rupee meant a saving of 5½ crores in the cost of home remittances. Therefore, when the Government of India remitted taxation to the amount of 6 crores, they practically give back to the taxpayers only what they had saved on their home remittances. The remissions were thus not taken out of their ordinary revenue; they merely represented the savings effected in the cost of the home remittances. We may, therefore, put aside these two items, namely, the savings on the home remittances and the amount of remissions granted to the people during the period we are considering. So much for remissions of taxation. Let us now consider the amount of increased expenditure sanctioned in different directions. My Lord, the first six years of this period were a period of efficiency, or as one of my friends has said, efficiency with a capital 'E'. The result was that expenditure was pushed up by leaps and bounds in various directions. A comparison of the latest figures that are available with those of the year 1898-99 will reveal certain startling results. It will be found, for instance, that the civil expenditure of the country grew during the period by about 16 crores, including in such expenditure the charges of collection, the salaries and expenses of civil departments, miscellaneous civil charges and civil works. I may mention that from the charge of collection I omit for obvious reasons opium and provincial rates as also refunds and drawbacks and compensations and assignments. The figures for 1908-09, however, include the expenditure for Berar, whereas those for 1898-99 do not. It is necessary, therefore, to exclude Berar figures for the year 1908-09. Even then we find that the increase in civil expenditure comes to about 15 crores, the expenditure having risen from about 29 crores to over 44 crores. My Lord, I venture to think that this is an amazing increase. If the Council will compare this increase with the growth of expenditure during the previous ten years as also with the five years from 1881-86, the contrast will appear most striking. The Council may remember that in 1886 Lord Dufferin's Government found itself in a position similar to that which the Government of India occupy to-day. From 1881-85, the country had enjoyed what may be called financial prosperity. There was remission of taxation in consequence and also increased expenditure, and the result was that when lean years came in 1886 and the frontier policy of the Government necessitated heavy additional military expenditure, Lord Dufferin found himself driven to appoint a committee to carefully enquire into the growth of expenditure and one of the reasons adduced for the appointment of that committee was that the increase in civil expenditure had been excessive during the five years which had preceded his Lordship's administration. Now the increase in civil expenditure during those five years had been only about 2½ crores, the expenditure rising from about 22 crores to about 24½ crores. And yet this increase was regarded by Lord Dufferin as excessive. Judging by that standard I wonder, my Lord, what we are to think of the increase of 15 crores in the ten years from 1898 to 1908. Again, taking the period from

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1888 to 1898, what do we find? I do not wish to take the Council through a mass of figures, but I will only state the results of my calculations, giving the assurance to the Council that I have taken every care I could to compare likes with likes only. Taking the period of the ten years immediately preceding 1898, we find that the increase in civil expenditure was from about $24\frac{1}{2}$ crores to about $29\frac{1}{4}$ crores, or about five crores in ten years, against 15 crores in the ten years following 1898. We thus have the following results:—If the increase during 1898-1908 had been at the same rate as during the five years 1881-1886, when in Lord Dufferin's opinion the civil expenditure had grown enormously, it should not have been more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Had the rate continued to be what it had been during the years preceding 1898, the increase would not have been more than 5 crores. But instead of those figures, we have an increase of no less than 15 crores. This shows what the era of surpluses has done to push up civil expenditure. Turning next to military charges during this period, we find the same kind of growth. From 1888 to 1898 the military charges grew by about 3 crores a year or from $22\frac{3}{4}$ crores to $25\frac{3}{4}$ crores, but from 1898 to 1908 they rose by about $5\frac{1}{4}$ crores a year, that is from $25\frac{3}{4}$ crores to about 31 crores. The whole position therefore is this: during the years 1898-1908, while 6 crores were remitted in taxation, the annual civil expenditure was allowed to grow by 15 crores, and about 5 crores of additional expenditure was incurred every year in connection with the army, thus giving an increase of about 20 crores in civil and military expenditure in the course of ten years or an average growth of about 2 crores a year. My Lord, every one must admit that this is a phenomenal increase considering that the normal growth of revenue ordinarily has been estimated by a previous Finance Minister at only about one crore and twenty lakhs. I think these figures suggest—to my mind they imperatively suggest—the necessity for an enquiry into the growth of civil and military expenditure during the last ten years. This need of enquiry is all the greater because there is a serious situation in front of us now in connection with the opium revenue. We all know that the opium revenue is doomed, that it will be extinguished altogether, if things go on at the present rate, in the year 1917, i.e. in about seven years from now. In this connection, I must express my dissent from my hon. friend, Mr. Chitnavis, who has urged that we should ask the Imperial Government to make a contribution to the Indian Exchequer in order to compensate us for the loss of opium revenue. My Lord, I do not think that it will be a dignified course on our part to ask for such a contribution. It is we who have financially benefited in the past by this opium revenue and it is we who must be prepared to bear this loss when the opium revenue is extinguished, seeing that the stain that will then be wiped away will be wiped away from us. We must face the situation ourselves, and I think if only the Government will be sufficiently careful it is to do and even to do well with a diminishing opium revenue. But one thing it is now absolutely necessary to do in connection with this opium revenue and that is that from next year Government should take into account only a steadily diminishing figure as opium revenue for recurring purposes. What I mean by this. The whole of this revenue, which for next year is taken

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at about 5½ crores net, has to be extinguished in seven years. The Finance Department should therefore take as ordinary revenue only a descending series of figures terminating in zero in seven years for each succeeding year and all excess over that figure should be treated as a windfall or extraordinary revenue to be devoted to extraordinary purposes such as non-recurring expenditure on education, sanitation and so forth. My Lord, I submit this course should have been adopted three years ago, so that the burden of a diminishing revenue should have been evenly distributed and the great need of retrenchment realised in time. I trust the Council will remember that when his Honour Sir Edward Baker enunciated the new opium policy of the Government of India three years ago, he assured the Council that the sacrifice could be made without a resort to extra taxation. That meant that the steadily widening gap made by a diminution in opium revenue would be met by economies, unless the growth of revenue under the other heads sufficed for the purpose. And yet we have here my hon. friend the Finance Minister coming to the Council in a normal year with proposals for additional taxation on the ground of a diminishing opium revenue. My Lord, recent discussions have made it abundantly clear that the course I am urging is necessary, if a policy of steady retrenchment is to be followed and a sudden financial crisis is to be averted. What is happening at present is this : owing to the reduction in the number of chests, the price per chest is rising. Probably this will go on for some time and we may even reach four thousand rupees per chest. So, for sometime, the rise in prices will make up and perhaps even more than make up for the reduction in the number of chests, with the result that during the next two or three years the Government may not necessarily get a smaller amount as their opium revenue than at present : but when the maximum price is reached, then there will be a sudden and precipitate drop in the course of three or four years following ; the Government will have to be prepared to face the extinction of the whole of this revenue of about 5½ crores. If all of a sudden, say, 2 crores were to be lost in any particular year, I am quite sure that the Finance Minister will again urge the same plea that he has urged this year, that it is not possible to arrange for economies sufficient to cover such a loss at once and then fresh taxation will again be imposed upon the people as was done this year. Unless, therefore, Government take credit only for a steadily diminishing opium revenue and arrange to keep all excess above that figure as a windfall or extra ordinary revenue to be devoted to non-recurring expenditure, I am quite sure they will not feel the same incentive to retrenchment, and their results will be deplorable. My Lord, I have urged an early, I would even say, an immediate enquiry into the growth of expenditure on two grounds : first, because there has been this vast growth in civil and military expenditure, and secondly, because the opium revenue is to disappear in seven years. I think the Government has no choice now but to pursue a policy of rigorous retrenchment, and for that it is necessary to have a preliminary enquiry such as I have suggested. But while the present high scale of charges on both civil and military administration require to be cut down, an increase and even a large increase of expenditure is necessary on objects ultimately connected with the real well-being

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of the people such as primary and technical education, sanitation and relief of agricultural indebtedness. And if retrenchment will not produce the money required for these objects, I for one shall not shrink from advocating additional taxation for the purpose. Only the resources of retrenchment must first be exhausted before those of additional taxation are drawn upon. My Lord, we feel strongly that the expenditure on the objects I have mentioned is most inadequate and unless the Government are prepared to spend far larger sums in these directions the discontent which we see on all sides at present will not in reality diminish. This question is to us a question of the most vital importance and it is only in the measure in which the Government deal with it that they will have to be identified with our best interests.

INDO-FRENCH COINS

The history of the rise and fall of the French Power in India, the heroic endeavours of more than one illustrious French General for the attainment of universal dominion in the East Indies, and the brilliant achievements of the Great Frenchman, who, though unsupported at home and badly served here, by his mighty genius and indomitable energy, caused the fame of the French nation to redound in the palaces of Delhi and the armies of the subordinate sovereignties in the Carnatic, are all familiar to the student of Indian history.

The French were the last of the great maritime powers to direct their attention to the benefits resulting from a trade with the East. But their great genius and restless ambition made them outstrip their rivals and conceive plans for the establishment of a European Empire in the East,—plans which on the very brink of success failed, and being followed out by another great European power, led to rise and progress of an Empire to which all of us do at present owe our allegiance.

I do not here propose to recount the interesting doings of the French in India during the momentous era preceding the total annihilation of their great hopes but have set myself a humbler task viz., that of giving a brief account of their coinage in Pondicherry and the other French settlements in the East. Following the example of the rival European powers who had established commercial communication and intercourse with India, on 24th June, 1642, the French also organised an India Company on the model of the earlier Dutch East India Company. This Company however went into abeyance after a brief period of very promising activity.

This was succeeded in 1664 by an Association, under the title and designation of "The East India Company," with a fifty years' monopoly to trade with all the Colonies of the Indian Ocean, from the east coast of Africa to the Sunda Islands.

It became amalgamated in 1750 with "The West India Company" under the title of "The Perpetual Company of the Indies."

The constitution was changed from time to time, till, in 1791, by a decree of the Constitutional Assembly, freedom of trade was proclaimed to all. The currency I shall treat of originally introduced for meeting the exigencies and local needs of the factories of

INDO-FRANC COINS

these trading corporations, gradually assumed importance of an emblem of regal power and the exercise of a sovereign privilege.

In all countries and especially in India, the coining of money was ever considered as the right and proof of sovereignty. The European companies who first established factories in India were impelled by the force of circumstances to gradually acquire territory and administer it. They soon realised that to be treated and respected as governors of the territory possessed by them, it was essential that they should exercise the privilege of maintaining their own currency. Thus the British East India Company, when obtaining the grant of Madras from the Rajah of Chandragiri, had an article inserted in their grant, conceding to them the right to coin their own money. But these trading corporations who set up as petty sovereigns were in an anomalous position ; while they continued to be subjects of their sovereign, they had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Potentate or Chief within whose jurisdiction lay their territory. Their coinage too thus came to occupy a similar anomalous position. Issued by a Christian power, the coins bore effigies of Hindu gods or the legends and devices peculiar to the Mahomedan rule and religion ; thus giving rise to a fruitful theme for controversy between those who were responsible for the material welfare of the territories acquired and those entrusted with the administration of their spiritual affairs. Moreover, the state of the Carnatic in the period immediately preceding the advent of European merchants to India was such as to necessitate the exercise of a privilege, deemed to be the peculiar right and the chief symbol of sovereign power. Owing to the fall of the last great Hindu Kingdom of Vijnagar the country was split up into many small principalities, each practically independent, though in some cases acknowledging the paramountcy of the Emperor of Delhi ; each warring against another and courting the assistance of marauding hordes of foreign merchants, who exercised sovereign power, in carrying out their devastating internecine wars. The French East India Company, therefore, early recognised the value of having their own mint, and the papers relating to the acquisition by them of this much coveted and valued privilege are very interesting reading. I shall quote here the translation of some of these, kindly made for me by the Rev. Father Newton of St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, from M. Zay's history of the French coinage in India.

To understand these papers it is first necessary to know exactly what the monetary system prevailing in India was in the troublous times under reference, which system the French India Company was pledged to adopt and follow. Money was coined in gold, silver, copper and lead ; the gold pagoda, the silver fanam and the kash in copper or lead. To these were added coins in Tutanag and rupees in silver. The fanam and kash are indigenous terms and the old Kahapana or Karsha is met with as the designations of coins even during the time preceding the Christian Era. But the origin of the word Pagoda is obscure and the name itself is unknown in the ancient monetary system of India. The indigenous "Swarna" or gold coin could alone have been familiar to the Mahomedan rulers or European merchants in their early commercial intercourse with India, as the unit of gold currency, which had taken a firm hold in the land. The ancient name of these gold

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coins was the Sanskrit "Swarna" or the Tamil "Pon" or the Hindustani "Mun." Owing to the adoption of the device of the "Varaha avatara" of Vishnu on these coins, in the period of Chalukya ascendancy in the South of India, in the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian Era, the Swarna came to be known as "varaha." On gold coins of the weight, fineness and shape of these Swarnas, the kings of the last great Hindu Empire imprinted in the 14th and 15th centuries various figures from the Hindu Pantheon, principally those of Vishnu and Siva, with or without their consorts. These huns probably then began to be known as "Bagavathis" and "Baghavatas," corrupted terms signifying the figures of the goddess or god which appeared on these coins. The temples in which these idols were worshipped were probably known as "Buth Goda" or temple of God. Thus the coins themselves came to be named "Baghavadas" or "Buthgodas" by the Portuguese merchants, who, but imperfectly understanding the significance of the terms by a natural mental confusion, applied to the coins themselves the generic names they gave to the figures found on them. Whatever the real origin of the nomenclature then current, the fact is that the "Pagoda" was in the 15th and 16th centuries the acknowledged unit of gold currency in South India and no commercial transaction could be carried on without the Pagoda.

So jealous were the native princes in preserving the uniformity and the characteristic feature of their currency that they seem to have insisted, when granting to anyone the privilege of coining money, on the effigy of a god or goddess appearing on the coins issued from the mint of the grantee. This was one of the conditions in the Chandragiri grant in favor of the English East India Company already referred to, so that their Pagodas invariably had the figure of Vishnu or of Vishnu and his two consorts on their coins.

The French East India Company likewise, when they issued their 'Pagodas', had to conform to the prevailing usage and submit to the necessities of the existing situation. I shall leave them to relate their position in their own language :—

PAGODAS

In the year 1705 the Chevalier Martin wishing to utilize the golden coins found in the cargo of the Phœnix d'or, a Dutch ship of 54 guns and 220 men captured in the fight of the 13th January 1705 by post-captain Baron de Pallie'res, resolved to turn them into Pagodas. That they might be received by the natives and so secure the currency denied to the French fauams, which, on account of their French type, were in circulation only in Pondichery and its territory, he adopted for these Pagodas the type of the Pagodas then current in the country and all along the Coromandel Coast, under the name of Varaha (boar) on Varaha moudra (stamp of the boar). About 100,000 of them were coined. But the clergy of Pondichery and their head, the Bishop of Mylapore, remonstrated against the new issue, as the work, though entrusted to Malabari workmen, had however been done for safety's sake within the walls of Fort Louis in which the mint was situated.

In the issue of the Pagoda with a Hindu device, they pretended to see an act of homage to the deity thereon represented called by the Hindu, Lakschmi, the goddess of riches and plenty, "and that

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is the reason why in all important contracts they make it touch their mouth, eyes and forehead as a token of gratitude for the bargain concluded through his help, and of the hope that by this means the bargain will be profitable to them."

In consequence of the clergy's opposition, the issue of Pagodas was stopped, and the Supreme Council of Pondichery referred the matter to the Directors-General in Paris. "The Company," so runs the reply, "do not doubt that it is extremely advantageous to coin at their mint Pagodas of the current standard; wherefore they order you to coin them wherever, and as often as, there will be an occasion and the service of the Company will require it."

They consider the objections which the Church has against the mintage of this type of coin on account of the impression thereon of an idol to be unfounded, the more so "as no worship is paid to the coin and in all religions it is enjoined to render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's. Wherefore do not hesitate in the least to execute the Company's orders and should any opposition be made by the clergy, continue all the same and refer them to the orders of the Company in Paris." To this injunction the Council replied: "We have set to work as regards the execution of your last orders, the contents of which we have shown to the persons hitherto opposed to it; they had nothing to say. And so the execution of the Company's orders will go on as usual."

In 1720, fresh protests with a fresh rejoinder from the Directors: "It is certain," so they write to the Council, "that if you could get permission from the Moghul to coin in Pondichery golden Pagodas of the same type and standard as his own, all difficulty would be at an end with the Rev. Fathers, Jesuits, Capucins and Missionaries, since the Moghul coins bear only Arab characters; but if, on the other hand, minting such coins is forbidden to Europeans and they are allowed to mint only such as bear the device of the Pagoda why should we not have the same advantages as the English who in Madras mint these latter,* thereby making an assured profit for themselves? Do the missionaries refuse to take these coins from individuals who owe them to them? Do they say that they do not want them because they bear the figure of an idol? No: they are wiser than that, they make good use of them. There is no more harm in coining such Pagodas than in using them; continue then to issue them since they are required not only for daily use, but also for commerce." While acknowledging receipt of this notification the Council observes that "the Moghul's permission is not needed for minting these coins which have currency only on this coast (Coromandel)."

CORRESPONDENCE

The following correspondence between the Supreme Council of Pondicherry and the Bishop of St. Thome on the subject of the coinage of Pagodas is interesting:

1. Copy of a letter written by the members of the Supreme Council to his Lordship, the Bishop of St. Thome:

20th May, 1705.

My Lord, the situation in which we find ourselves since the departure home of our ships, having obliged us to turn into coins of the country the gold we had in our stores in order that we might

* Pagoda with a star at the back.

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face the expenses we daily incur as well in promoting the Company's commerce and constructing our fort, as in paying and maintaining our garrison, the Rev. Jesuit and Capuchin Fathers of this town have reprehended us for having placed the ordinary stamps of the country, viz, a Pagoda, on the money we coined. As we have been forced to do as we did in our present state of affairs, and as, far from having any intention of promoting the worship of idols, as we are reproached with doing, we have only had in view to procure the good and profit of our Company by a means which seemed to us without consequence for religion, we take the liberty to address your Lordship as our Pastor and our Bishop in order to expose all the motives that have determined us in this affair and to receive at your hands the means of restoring calm to our consciences, which they (the fathers) are trying to make a prey to terrible scruples.

After the departure of our ships, the few Pagodas left us having been disposed of, we tried to acquire more by selling the gold we had in store. The merchants of this country who knew our great need, and who saw besides that we were about to begin our 4th bastion—which meant a considerable increase of expenses in the future—kept tight and made no offers or only at so unreasonable a price that we could not accept but at considerable loss to the Company. However, time was passing and our monthly expenses amounting to a large number of Pagodas we found ourselves for a whole fortnight without a single Pagoda in our office and on the point of being forced to stop the fortifications, and the Company's commerce and the soldiers' pay. This peril added to the sickness of the Chevalier Martin who was in danger of death made us fear, and with reason, for the honour of the Company, should we in the event of his death come to the extreme plight mentioned above. These reasons then decided us to coin the gold we had in hand. The next point was to decide what stamp the money should bear at least after consulting with the merchants, as our needs were increasing from day to day and it was indispensable to us to have a money with ready currency, and as everybody assured us that our coins would be useless unless they bore the stamp commonly used in this country, we have been compelled to stamp them with a Pagoda, conformably to the other coins current on this coast. Such are, my lord, the motives which have impelled us to have recourse to this measure; we repeat that we have the honour to address your Lordship in order that your charity may inspire you to instruct us should we have gone wrong.

2. Translation of the reply given to the above letter by the Lord Bishop of St. Thome, dated June 4, 1705 :

Gentlemen, I have read your letter and the motives you have had for minting Pagodas with the stamp which the Gentiles use according to their custom. I am convinced of your Christian probity as of that of all French gentlemen, and of your having taken this step not with the intention of showing any honour to the idol but only to supply the need you had of that money. I know, moreover, the zeal you have for the destruction of the temples of Gentiles and of their religion; however, since the Gentiles stamp their coins with the figure of their idol to do it honour, it might seem as if Catholics, by minting such coins, were willing to participate in the intention of the Gentiles, an

intention, however, which it would be too rash to impute to you ; but, for this very reason, I cannot approve that you should stamp Pagodas with the figure of the idol, the more so when I reflect that the most Christian King might be displeased that you should stamp money with the figure of the idol instead of with his arms. The quality and weight of the gold being the same as that of the current Pagodas, the latter will be generally received by all, just as the St. Thome with the figure of the St. Thomas and the arms of Portugal are received throughout India. You have stamped fanams with the royal arms of France ; you might similarly coin Pagodas with a flour-de-lys on one side and a chogron * or anything else on the other. This is what I believe should be my answer to your letter. I shall be ever ready to render you my humblest services.

3. Copy of a letter from the Chevalier Martin to the Lord Bishop of St. Thome, 15th June, 1705 :

My Lord, I have had the honour to address your Lordship through the Fieurs de Flacourt and de Hardancourt concerning the Pagodas which necessity obliged us to have coined in Pondichery. I have received the answer that your Lordship has been pleased to send us dated the 4th of this month. We have had inquiries made as to the possibility of using the expedient proposed by your Lordship, *viz.*, to give the Pagodas the same device as our fanams ; but notwithstanding the serious application given to the question, we have been informed from the best sources that our Pagodas would have no currency should they bear any other stamp than the ordinary one. True, our fanams have currency but only in Pondichery, while it is of the greatest importance to us that our Pagodas should have currency throughout the country. The embarrassing position we are in, as your Lordship in answering has not absolutely condemned the said Pagodas, has impelled us to apply to the Rev. Fr. Esprit, our parish-priest, and to the R. R. F. F. of the Society of Jesus to know their opinion on the subject ; but this they absolutely refused to give. Therefore, My Lord, as the motives detailed in the previous letter continue to be valid and as we can find no other expedient to avoid stamping the Pagodas according to the custom of the country, I beg your Lordship to be so good as to inform us whether we can in all safety of conscience continue to stamp the said Pagodas ; this affair is of the greatest consequence for the service of the Company.

4. Translation of the letter written by the Lord Bishop of St. Thome to the Chevalier Martin, 20 June, 1705, in answer to the above letter :

I had thought I had answered the letter of the members of the Council with such clearness that there could remain no doubt as to the unlawfulness of coining Pagodas with the figure of the idol. In fact, I said I could not approve of what the gentlemen had done ; for, since the Gentiles stamped their coins with the figure of the idol to honour and worship it, it would look like co-operating with them in the worship they paid it (rest of the sentence unintelligible ; perhaps the meaning is—† (I said) I could not approve of it—an expression I used as being the most polite

* In Sanskrit Tchakuram, a disc, one of the attributes of Vishna.

† The French word is "supposer"—which is unintelligible but the meaning is evidently as given above.

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and respectful. It is certain that I disapproved of it being incapable of giving my consent for a work of the kind to Roman Catholics and to such Catholics as Frenchmen, the evil being all the greater from these coins bearing the mark of Pondichery, a territory belonging to the French. It is certain too that His Most Christian Majesty will not approve of Pagodas with the figure of an idol instead of his arms.

As to the fact that the Pagodas stamped with the same device as the fanams would not have currency but in Pondichery, this does not prove that Pagodas stamped with any other than an Indian device would have no currency—as in fact, many of the Madras Pagodas which are without the figure of the idol and some specimens of which I have in my posession, yet circulate throughout the country; and the Royal Company would derive the same profit from them as from the ones stamped with the figure of the idol. This is all I can say ; wishing that you may improve in health so that I may rejoice when I receive your letters. God keep you etc, your very humble servant and friend. (Mr. Desikachari in the *Wednesday Review*.)

THE CHITPAVANS OF CHIPLUN

The legendary origin of the Chitpavans, a peculiar community of Maharatta Brahmans, is related in the religious work known as the Sahyadri Khand. According to this legend, the Brahman hero, Parashurama, son of Jamadagni, and the sixth avatar of the god Vishnu, fought successfully with the Kshatiriyas, or warrior caste, and 21 times rid the earth of them. But at the end of his labours he was so defiled with human blood that no other Brahman would eat with him or even perform for him purification ceremonies. In despair he went to the Western Ghats, which were in those days washed by the Arabian Sea, and near the shore he saw floating the bodies of 14 white barbarians. He dragged them out, burnt them on a pyre, and from their ashes created 14 new Brahmans, who first cleansed him and then prepared his food. Their labours ended, they asked him for a dwelling-place. Then Parashurama walked to the edge of the "ghats," and, shooting an arrow 40 miles into the sea, made the sea recede to that distance within its borders. This reclaimed strip, now known as the Konkan, he gave to the new Brahmans ; and he bestowed on them the name of Chitpavans, because they had been purified (pavan) by the chit, or funeral pyre, and they in turn called their new settlement Chitpolan, or the town of the burnt heart. Has this curious tale any substratum of truth ? It may indeed be so, for in early days Norwegian longships and Phoenician traders reached even more distant shores. Every member, too, of the caste still, claims descent from one or other of the 14 dead barbarians. Even yet Western daring as well as Eastern craft look out alike from the alert features and clear parchment skin and through the strange stone-grey eyes of the Chitpavan.

CONTROL OF THE DECCAN

For many centuries the community lived obscurely in Chiplun (the modern form of Chitpolan), on the banks of the Vaishti, and

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were, because of their fabled origin, despised by the other Brahman septs. But in 1708 a Chitpavan named Balaji Vishvanath Bhat, fleeing from the Abyssinian ruler of Jenjira, made his way to the Court of the Maratha King, Shahu. So remarkable were his talents and his good fortune that in six years he had become Peshwa, or Prime Minister; and when in 1720 he died he succeeded in leaving his post to his son Bajirao Balaji. To his father's talent for administration Bajirao united skill as a general, and under his able guidance the Maratha armies swept over Central India and camped beneath the walls of Delhi. On his death in 1740 the post of First Minister had definitely become hereditary in the Bhat family, and Balaji II., succeeded without opposition. The Maratha King Shahu still reigned, but was rapidly nearing dotage. Balaji II. slowly but surely gathered into his own hands the entire royal prerogative; and when in 1750 Shahu passed away, a daring *coup d'état* enabled the Minister to imprison the King's nephew and burn his widow. From this date the Peshwas were royal princes, and but for the disaster of Panipat and Balaji II.'s ensuing death they would certainly have become Emperors of India. That great defeat, however, was in a measure repaired by Madhavrao I.; but on his death of consumption at the age of 28, the Chitpavan empire was convulsed by civil strife. Madhavrao was at first succeeded by his brother Narainrao, who was almost immediately afterwards murdered by his uncle; and eventually the sceptre passed into the hands of Narainrao's posthumous child, Madhavrao II. This was the period of the great regent Nana Phadnavis, who, descended from a companion of Belaji Vishvanath, combined in himself the best qualities of the Chitpavan race. Under his rule the English and Marathas twice joined hands, first for the punishment and lastly for the extirpation of the mushroom Sultanate of Mysore. But this brilliant twilight of the Chitpavan empire ceased with the early death of Madhavrao II. His cousin, Bajirao II., then secured the Throne, and, undermined by his weakness, treachery, and misgovernment, the imperial structure founded by Balaji II., and reconstructed by Madhavrao I., passed away in the smoke of Kirkee, Koregaon, and Ashta.

THEIR PRESENT POSITION

Not less wonderful than the story of their former kingdom is the present predominance of the Chitpavans. For many years, and particularly at the Mutiny, the Bombay Government showed special favour to Prabhus to the exclusion of Brahmans. But with quieter times came the doctrine of "la carrière ouverte aux talents." With open competition the extraordinary quickness and administrative abilities of the Chitpavans gave them an immense advantage. The caste had also considerable resources. The troubled years of the Regency had forced Nana Phadnavis to rely almost entirely on his own connexions. Thus even to-day the greater number of the Deccan nobles and of the South Maratha Chiefs are members of the Chitpavan community. The career, too, of Mr. Justice Ranade inspired his fellow-caste men to emulation; and his brilliant book, "The Rise of the Maratha Power," recalled vividly to their minds the noble history of Maharashtra in which their forbears had played so great a part. After 1880 Mr. Tilak never ceased to keep alive the memory of the Peshwas of the Decean. In the course of his public speeches he loved to recall, not the deeds of the Maratha leaders, Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhav, but those of Bajirao, the con-

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quest of Malva, the march of Raghunathrao from Poona to Lahore, the charge of Madhavrao at Rakshasabhan. Lastly, a Mr. Rajvade discovered a still more original way. In a book entitled "Marathi Itihasachi Sadhane" (sources of Marathi history) he rewrote the history of his country, not as it happened, but as best suited his ingenious fancy. Everything likely to depreciate the Chitpavan race—Nana Phadnavis's intrigue with Narayanrao's widow, Madhavrao II's suicide, the defeat of the Marathas at Arass—was proved by him never to have taken place. On the other hand, every Poona victory over the English—the surrender at Vadgaon, and Goddard's retreat to Panvel—was extraordinarily magnified. Lastly, all the resources of learning and diction were employed to show that the state of the Deccan under Chitpavan rule far surpassed in wealth and prosperity its condition under the British Government. Urged by these stimulants and aided by their own natural ability, the Chitpavan community have reached a position out of all proportion to their numbers. They swarm in the Government offices of the Deccan and the Konkan. They may be found in the Kacherries of Berar and Tanjore, and in the highly-paid posts of Baroda. They can be counted by hundreds among the public servants of Dhar and Gwalior. They have provided executive officers for Mysore and a Chief Justice for the Holkar. Nor is their predominance confined to the public services of the British Government and the Native States. In every liberal profession may be found Chitpavan of eminence. They command the entire Marathi Press of the Deccan, the Konkan, and the Central Provinces. The largest fees are paid to Chitpavan lawyers. The New English School and the Ferguson College of Poona are staffed almost wholly by Chitpavan professors. (A Correspondent in *The Times*.)

INDIAN NATIONALISM

An English Missionary writing to the *Church Times* of London makes the following observations on "Indian Nationalism":—

It would be a proud achievement, at this moment of stress, to reveal Indian Nationalism as it really is, apart from the vicious and ill-judged manifestations of it which, from time to time, make their appearance. Where the movement of the spirit of a nation has so many phases, it is most easy to place them out of their proper proportion. That, in truth, is precisely what is happening. The Anglo-Indian mind sees that which it calls "Sedition," and sees nothing more. The extremist on the other side sees that which it calls English tyranny, and sees nothing more. The educated place-seeker of Bengal sees what he calls a Bureaucracy held by a foreign dominating caste, and sees nothing more. Meantime it is just the something more which is of consequence. We see before us the birth-pang of a nation. It does not involve the separation of that nation from the *Pax Britannica*: quite the contrary, in fact; for only under the *Pax Britannica* can India realize itself. All this is much more than the mere filling of Government places with natives instead of Englishmen. The Indian Civil Service, as a system, is approaching the end of its real usefulness. It was very useful in the early days. The educated Englishman undertook everything on the native's behalf. Now it needs to be modified, for the next

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lesson in the learning is a little homely self-reliance. There will be less nagging, less fault-finding with paternal government when the people themselves undertake some share of the responsibilities. True, as yet, they cannot be entrusted with full local government, but something must be done to give the people articulation. Long ago Lord Lawrence said that British rule in India must fail if the agricultural population becomes our foe. We have been a little beset by unrest in urban centres, forgetful that this unrest is often a reaction from the deep yearnings and patiently-borne sorrows of the rural districts. We have not realized quite clearly that the tremendous work we have done for India sooner or later must result in producing a nation which yearns to do something for itself. This is not sedition. It does not mean or involve any relaxation of England's hold on India. It does involve some re-consideration of our attitude, in case we may find it desirable to modify our paternalism. It does not involve any toleration of the wickedness of secret conspiracy, but it does involve scrupulous care lest we mistake a yearning towards articulation for revolt. Just let us put ourselves in the Indian's place. Let us think of the heavy burden of taxation which falls on the poor peasant. All sorts of estimates have been made, but none gives it at less than 50 per cent. of the net profit. You and I know what has been done by England for India, but our appreciative eyes are Western. The natives do not see the railway, for example, as we see it. True, they enjoy railway travelling, but even still, the railway to them is a Western monster, leaving along its shimmering lines a long streak of advancing malaria. They know of the plague and the poverty, but do not realize what efforts we are making, even if we are baffled, in trying to meet the plague, in trying to cope with the poverty. For there is no interchange of thought between us. That is the sadness of it. India, the true India, is dumb. It is in this sad silence that the real Nationalism is being born. It has its reflex influence on the industries of Bengal and the Upper Provinces. But it is not relieved by the much-louded election, of here one and there another to, an Imperial or a Legislative Council, nor would it be helped if at one stroke we handed over the whole Civil Service to Indians, for the villager views this educated class with much the same sullen distrust in which he views us. It is at the very roots where we must set to work. We must divert all this silent brooding into cleanly political activity, using the word "politics" correctly.

That was a sad scene on the Calcutta Maidan when Queen Victoria died. Thousands came down from the villages. The pathetic *mridang* was sounded and songs burst from all lips, songs of piteous sadness. To many it seemed that we had reached the very heart of the native. What has happened in the meantime? A vast movement is awakening Asia. It hardly realizes itself as yet, and there is a danger that when it is realized we shall deal with it in our usual stubborn and blind way. A great gulf has steadily widened since 1901. Racial differences are more emphasized; there is greater bitterness in the Anglo-Indian press; there is greater bitterness in the native press. Bit by bit we are ranging ourselves in two hostile camps, and the danger is that the Church of Christ is going to find herself one of the hostile forces.

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Curiously enough, our error seems to be the same both in the matter of Church and of State. It is not a paradox to say that the English are rather over-governing India. It is certainly true that in the rural districts our error lies in the direction of doing too much. We have overplayed the parental part. We have neglected somewhat the central duty of teaching the native life to bear some of the burden of responsibility. Accordingly we are in the curious position of seeming to give reluctantly what we might have fostered actively. It seems, too, that precisely the same phase is revealing itself in Mission work. We have done great work in India ; more great work remains to be done. But we have not encouraged native Christianity ; we are not using native Christianity. Until the appearance of certain movements of the last few years, which I shall venture to call the "New Missionary Spirit," we were rather scornful of native Christianity. We forgot the lesson of the Apostolic Church. We failed to understand that native Christianity would have greater life, if it is taught to be active and missionary, just as the national spirit in what Aristotle called Politics needs to be taught its responsibilities and its opportunities. Were it not so infinitely painful a theme, it would be almost ludicrous to see our English Churchism offered in the way it is offered to our Indian brethren, with its clumsy officialism, Elizabethan in its machinery, with its crude Letters Patent, with its Society atmosphere, and its English-modelled services, still English even when translated, until the Indian, not unnaturally, thinks of us as established with an army, a civil establishment ; a spiritual establishment—all muddled together in some strange way as one whole.

All these questions will arise for discussion, but first we must consider the race question. It is strange that it has grown so acute again in British India and in the American Southern States. True, it is not a simple question, and the deep-down antagonism is not easy to lay aside. But what worth the Gospel of Christ, if it does not attempt to heal all fissures in the Body of Christ ? Who are we that we should presume that a mark of separation between man and man is to stretch to the very Throne of God ?

That, first of all, is our stumbling-block in India. It is that which keeps thousands of would-be Christians from the foot of the Cross. To England and to the Catholic Church it is the difficulty of the hour, and we must examine it carefully and tenderly.

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE MISSION OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

[*By Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Missionary, Sadhuram Brahmo Samaj.*]

The mission of the Brahmo Samaj or the Theistic Church of India is unique in the modern world ; the work it has undertaken is to organise a system of religious culture and to build up a Church on the basis of natural theism. Its speciality is this that it does not admit the doctrines of *special and miraculous revelation* and *infallible authority*. The most important articles of faith of this church are a belief in the doctrines of a Supreme Being endowed with wisdom and love, of the freedom of the human soul, and of the law of love and prayer. Another great point in the natural and universal theism of that church is loving communion with the Providence.

It is on the mission of this church that Pandit Sivanath Sastri has written a very beautiful treatise. There is no more learned or esteemed exponent of the tenets of the Brahmo Samaj than Pundit Sastri, and this booklet may therefore be confidently recommended as an authoritative hand-book on the subject. It is a book which will do any body's heart good to read and keep by his side.

Though our church is the universal theistic church, says Pandit Sivanath, there must be some difference in the universal and the local in religion. The same thing may be viewed from many points of view and there is an element of truth in each point of view ; and the error of sectarianism lie in conceiving its own point of view as *the* only true one. It is high time for discriminating between the universal and local or national in religion and also for accentuating its universal aspects more than its local differences. In near future, Christianity must also give up its sectarianism and stand on natural and universal theism if it must aspire to satisfy the spiritual needs of a progressive race of people.

The Pandit takes the public into his confidence regarding his own ideal of the future religion of mankind. Loving communion with the Supreme Being will be the guiding principle in which all sects, parties and communities of religious faiths will unite, all other things being held to be national, local, traditional and secondary. But in spite of all these individual differences, men will agree in the main principles of universal religion—namely in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, in the freedom

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of the human soul, in love and reverence for the great and the good of all races, in the final triumph of righteousness, in the purity and elevation of domestic and social life as a stepping stone to man's spiritual and social progress, and in the love and service of man as the best way of serving the Supreme Being.

Pandit Shastri insists on the duty of habituating ourselves to holding loving communion with the Supreme. The theistic church of India "lays all the insistence that is possible with its limited energy on living and loving communion with the Supreme as the chief spiritual aim of its members." A man who does not cultivate or bring a grateful attitude towards the Supreme Father and Mother is a base creature, neglectful of a most sacred duty. Not only is the exercise of loving communion with the Supreme a source of peace and strength for the tempted, buffeted and care-worn souls of men but it is one of the most healthy levers to raise and elevate mankind from its slough of selfishness, narrowness and barbarism.

The last great theological doctrine of the theistic church is the immortality of the soul. Our author says that, in the process of loving communion with God, there comes an inward conviction to the soul that such communion knows no limitation in point of time or space. Hence a belief in the immortality of the soul goes hand in hand with the belief in a loving communion with the Supreme.

Of course, Pandit Sastri could not be expected to overlook the social mission of the Brahmic Church. The first feature of modern Indian theism is that it is spiritual, the second is that it is essentially social and moral. Pandit Sivanath Sastri deprecates Vedantism in as much as it looks upon human society and its relations as so many snares and illusions. He then cites a few examples to establish that the Indian people have never lacked spirituality in their nature. But this religiousness had hitherto two characteristics ; 1st—it was largely coloured by the pessimistic view of life engendered by the Vedanta, andly—it had its play largely in ceremonials, forms, penances, and austerities. Religion, as a messenger to suffering humanity, had never occurred to Hindu teaching. It is now necessary to divert the religiousness of the people to philanthropy, and the Theistic Church of India has taken up that duty as a part of its mission. The second significant aspect of the social side of the Indian theism is the importance that it attaches to home-life;—the raising of the condition of the women of India. Hence female education and the emancipation of woman are a part of the social mission of the

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Brahmo Samaj. He then describes what efforts in this direction have been made in the Samaj from the time of the late Devendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chander Sen. The third prominent feature of the social mission of the church is the abolition of the caste. The fourth great feature of the same is the great importance that it attaches to the purity of man's moral character.

The rest of the treatise concerns itself with meeting some of the objections ordinarily raised against the tenets and programme of the Brahmo church. Most of the ideas contained in this portion may be found in the earlier parts of the book. One of the objections is that Brahmanism is nothing but a system of weak eclecticism. The Pandit says yes, but it is so from the necessity of its character as a natural and universal theism. Another objection is that like the philosophy of the schoolmen and stoics of ancient Greece and Rome this universal theism is likely to confine itself among the educated few and shall fail to appeal to the masses. The veteran missionary here pleads guilty to the charge that this part of the church's duty has not been yet fully attended to. But he is confident that the experiment of preaching a universal theism to the uneducated masses has been sufficiently successful to make them persevere in that course.

Pandit Sivanath Sastri not only claims for the Brahmo Somaj the adjustment and union of the highest conceptions of man about religion and a religious life, but he claims for his church a superiority over all the principal creeds of the world. "The truth of the whole thing is this. The theism of the theistic church of India is not *un-Hindu* but something more than Hindu, as the word Hindu ordinarily means. It is wider in its sympathies and larger in its comprehensiveness. It is not Christianity, but something more than Christianity. It looks upon the current forms of popular Christianity as narrow and sectarian. It is not the monotheism of Islam but something more. Islamic monotheism is fettered by infallible prophetism, whereas the theism of the theistic church seeks to do away with such fetters, leaving the mind of man free to hold loving communion with the Supreme. It is the aim of modern theism to combine in itself the best spirits of these three forms of faith and infuse into them the spirit of universal religion." Pandit Sastri probably considers Buddhism beneath notice and has not a word to say about it.

In conclusion, we are treated to a list of the leading features of the Brahmo Samaj—the first being universality, the second spirituality, the third sociality, the fourth morality, the fifth immediacy

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(by which our author means a direct communion of the soul with God as against a belief in mediators, prophets and avatars) and the sixth, ' perhaps the greatest,' catholicity.

Such are, no doubt, the aims, objects and ideals of the Brahmo Samaj and as aims and objects go, unexceptionally good both as philosophy and rules of conduct. Pandit Sivanath Sastri, however, does not stop to enquire how far all these have been realised in the life of the Samaj. Nor would such an inquiry yield an encouraging answer for, it is well known, no church of the present day has run so far away at a tangent from its aims and objects than the one of which Pandit Sastri himself stands as an apostle and leader. No doubt some of the best living men in Bengal, including Pandit Sivanath Sastri himself, belong to the Brahmo Samaj and would do credit to any church in the world ; but the less one talks of spirituality, morality and catholicity of the Brahmo Samaj as a body, the better. To-day it stands before us as the church of the smart set, of fashionable and swell people, of men with developed ideas of morality, and an assylum for all sorts and conditions of neo-Hindus. There is a greater lack of tolerance and generosity in the Brahmo Samaj than perhaps in the bosom of the orthodox church. Caste has appeared within its pale in a new and more aggressive form. There is a general complaint among Brahmo parents that their boys more easily get out of hand and grow irreverent, irreligious and immoral than boys of Hindu parents. And as for catholicity and spirituality, Pandit Sivanath himself has got some very hard words to say against one of the branches of this church. It is just high time for the well-wishers of the Brahmo Samaj not to sit down to write academic dissertations on the philosophy of Brahmoism or the mission of the church, but to look back and think. Indeed, the present condition and the future prospects of the Brahmo Samaj ought to set its leaders furiously to think. Watchman, what hour of the night ? We ask of Pandit Sastri.

INDIA UNDER RIPON

[*India under Ripon, A Private Diary*, by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt.
Published by T. Fisher Unwin, London]

In these days of repression and reaction, it is really refreshing to read anything bearing the name of the late Lord Ripon. Mr. Blunt's book does not give us many insights into the personal life and policy of Lord Ripon, but it treats us to no end of delightful peeps

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into the dark corners of his viceregal life in India. Mr. Blunt rightly describes Lord Ripon's viceroyalty as "the awakening hour of the new movement towards liberty in India." Indeed, Lord Ripon tried his best in India to give practical effect to the liberal policy of his friend and master, Mr. Gladstone. "Our title to be in India," according to Mr. Gladstone, "depends on a first condition, that our being there is profitable to the Indian nations ; and on a second condition that we can make them see and understand it to be profitable." Not only was every important measure of Lord Ripon's viceroyalty framed to confer benefits upon the people of India, but, what is much more remarkable, the people found in his time that India was being governed for the first time for the Indians themselves and that their best interests were indissolubly bound up with the permanence of British rule. How changed are things now !

Mr. Blunt tells us that the choice of Lord Ripon as the Indian Viceroy was to a large extent Queen Victoria's own. She had a personal regard, we are told, for Lord Ripon on account of his great integrity, and he seemed to her to be the man most reliable among the Peers of the Realm to deliver a new message in her name to the people of India.

Lord Ripon did not disappoint Queen Victoria's expectations and hopes. Mr. Blunt says : "He was seen from the first to be a serious man, but without the chill reserve which is so great a barrier between Englishmen and Orientals and his manners had something paternal in it which inspired a full measure of Indian confidence. It was noticed of him as a wonderful thing that in the streets of Calcutta he would return the salutes of his native acquaintance, contrary to all viceregal custom, and to the point that it became the subject of private expostulation with him on the part of his official *cavalcade*. His first public acts were in character with the programme given him to carry out. The policy of enlarging British India at the expense of her Asiatic neighbours and of the native states was reversed ; economy became the order of the day in finance ; and, as a first measure of conciliation with educated Indian opinion, the gag of the press law was removed. It was made clear that under the new *regime* no native of India was to be persecuted for the expression of his political views." And now ?

No history of Lord Ripon's viceroyalty is complete without a reference to the Ilbert Bill agitation round which raged one of the bitterest controversies of the last century. So Mr. Blunt returns to it again and again in his book. The Ilbert Bill was in itself a very humble measure in as much as it tried to offer a

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very poor instalment of equality between Her Majesty's English and Indian subjects. "Its object was to put a stop to the impunity with which non-official Englishmen, principally of the planter class, ill treated and even on occasion did to death their native servants. It was to give for the first time jurisdiction over Englishmen in criminal cases to native judges—instead of to judges and juries of their own countrymen. Trifling remedy, however, though it was, it roused at once the anger of the class aimed at and a press campaign was opened against Lord Ripon of unusual violence in the Anglo-Indian journal. The Ilbert Bill was described as a revolutionary measure which would put every Englishman and Englishwoman at the mercy of native intrigue and native fanaticism. The attacks against Lord Ripon were certainly encouraged by the Anglo-Indian officials ; and presently they were repeated at the press at home and to the extent that the Bill became a question in which the whole battle of India's future was being fought over and embittered. The *Times* took up the attack ; the Cabinet was alarmed for its popularity and the Queen was shaken in her opinion of her viceroy's judgment. Lord Ripon was left practically alone to his fate."

Though Mr. Blunt does not say anything about *Britannicus* and the boycott of Branson, he gives us every other detail of the Bill and the compromise arrived at by the Government at the instance of Sir Auckland Colvin. Mr. Blunt quotes in his book the opinions of a number of leading men of the Hindu and Mahometan community on this compromise. But the most interesting is certainly Mrs. Ilbert's, and it deserves reproduction here. "She says her husband (Mr. C. P. Ilbert, the law member for the time) has been abandoned by every one and now by Lord Ripon. She blames Lord Ripon for his weakness, not the people at home. Lord Kimberley (then Secretary of State for India) had written to her husband to stand firm but the members of council were frightened out of their wits and Lord Ripon has followed them. Her husband is broken-hearted at it all, and they are going away for a week to hide in some country district. It is all very disgraceful."

Poor Mrs. Ilbert ! she did not know that the Law Member and the Viceroy of India never count for much in a fight against the white bureaucracy. Since Lord Ripon's time, history has repeated itself in one or two cases within recent memory, but no reference to them, we are afraid, is permissible under present condition of things.

What a defeat this concordat ! Mr. Amir Ali, who had not then become the puppet at the hands of his Anglo-Indian friends which he now is, characterised the concordat as 'ten times worse than withdrawing the Bill.'

Mr. Blunt very beautifully sums up the unique position of the white Indian bureaucracy in the following words :—“The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has become too hard a master ; it has forgot its position as a servant ; it has forgot the trust with which it was charged ; it has sought its own interest only, not those of India ; it has wasted the wealth of the country on its high living. Like many another servant, it has come to look upon the land as its own and to order all things in it to its own advantage. Lastly, it has proved itself incapable of sympathy with those whose destiny it is shaping.”

In this connection we cannot resist the temptation of reproducing the following note from Mr. Blunt's book :—

“I had a talk with General Gordon at the end of 1882 in which he had assured me emphatically that ‘no reform would ever be achieved in India without a revolution.’ . . . The opposition of the covenanted civil service to any real reform had convinced him that he would be useless to Lord Ripon in an impossible task.”

Of course, every student of Indian history knows that General Gordon came out to India with Lord Ripon as his private secretary but resigned his office soon after their landing at Bombay.

Lord Ripon's Local Self-Government Bill also met with a very sullen opposition at the hands of the Indian bureaucracy, but it was not half so bitter or open as that against the Ilbert Bill. As in the Ilbert Bill, so in the case of this measure also, Lord Ripon came worse off. The Civil Service got the better of the Indian Viceroy. Lord Ripon's best intentions to give the people a training in self-government were reduced to the merest farce. A power to mend their own roads, to levy their own water rates and devise their own sanitation under very restricted conditions and narrow limits—that is what Lord Ripon's self-government was reduced to by legislative enactments. And there it remains even after a quarter of a century after Lord Ripon's time.

The secret of Lord Ripon's popularity was his transparent honesty of purpose and his refusal to be dry-nursed by Anglo-Indian officials. The rendition of Mysore and his considerate treatment of the Nizam constitute his best claim upon the gratitude of the Native States. As to a supposed treaty leasing out Berars to the British Government in perpetuity, Mr. Blunt notes in his

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diary after an interview with Lord Ripon that he "certainly would never consent to taking any such treaty from the young Nizam." Yet, as Mr. Blunt informs us, "precisely this lenient treaty in the form of a perpetual lease was imposed on the Nizam twenty years later by Lord Curzon under circumstances of extreme compulsion."

There is very little else about Lord Ripon in Mr. Blunt's book. A large part of the book is taken up by Hyderabad affairs, the condition of Moslem thought and education, and the details of a Moslem University in the Deccan. There are references to most of the leading Indians of the time—Surendranath Banerjee, Narendranath Sen, Anandamohan Bose, Jotindramohan Tagore, Pyarimohan Mukerji, Amir Ali, Abdul Latif, Abdul Rahman, Monomohan Ghose, Raghunath Rao, G. Subrahmanyam Iyer, Mathuswamy Iyer, B. M. Malabari, Syed Hussain Bilgrami, Rajah Siva Prasad, Sir Syed Ahmed, V. N. Mandlik, the Aga Khan and K. N. Kabraji. Of Englishmen, we find some interesting reminiscences of Sir William Hunter, Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Alfred Lyall. Sir Alfred almost admitted before Mr. Blunt that the *Pioneer* was a sort of a semi-official organ in his day. We are also told that Lord Ripon had sent for Hunter on more than one occasion and 'begged him to moderate his language in Council'.

In Mr. Blunt's Diary, we find many entries indicating the Mussulman anxiety for preferential treatment at the hands of the Government, the widening breach between the Hindus and the Moslems, and the contemptuous treatment accorded by the English residents to the Indian people. In Lord Ripon's time, however, racial or tribal faction could not come to the surface ; they were keenly watched and promptly suppressed. In Lord Dufferin's time, an open schism occurred between the Hindus and Moslems and only last year the Moslem's demand for special treatment received generous recognition at the hands of Lords Morley and Minto.

The diary of a six month's tour in India, from September 1883 to March 1884, take up nearly two-thirds of Mr. Blunt's book. The rest is divided into four chapters of original matter dealing with (1) The Agricultural Danger, (2) Race Hatred, (3) The Mahomedan Question, and the Future of Self-Government. These chapters are most instructive and interesting and we invite our readers to study them in the original. They will give to every educated Indian a world of materials for thought and reflection.

"India under Ripon" is beautifully printed and carefully indexed and would make a most desirable addition to the Indian patriot's bookshelf.

POLICE RULE IN INDIA

[*The Methods of the Indian Police in the 20th Century,—by Frederic Mackarness, London.*]

One of the most signal services rendered by Mr. Frederic Mackarness to India is the compilation of this little brochure on Police rule in India. Within 18 pages of printed matter, Mr. Mackarness gives us, not in his own words but from authoritative pronouncements and publications, the whole character of the Indian Police of today. He quotes the opinions expressed on the subject by the Indian Police Commission appointed by Lord Curzon with Sir Andrew Fraser at its head in 1903, by Sir John Woodburn, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in 1901, and by the present Chief Justice of Bengal. Mr. Mackarness reviews the Midnapur case, the Rawalpindi case, the Gulab Bano case, a Madura case and a case decided by the Sessions Judge at Bahraich in the United Provinces and makes apposite excerpts from the strictures passed on the Police in the final judgment in each of these cases. Though we do not venture to quote or reproduce in these pages some of these strictures, we have no doubt that the future historian of India of today, freed from the fetters of the Press Act of 1910, will find in Mr. Mackarness' compilation sufficient material to arrive at a right perspective of the condition of things in this country at the end of the nineteenth, and the beginning of the twentieth, century.

ARTICLES

ENGLAND'S WORK IN INDIA

I. A HISTORICAL SKETCH

It is almost a truism to say that you must know what native life was before it came within the influence of the West, in order to be able to mark the changes that have been brought about by that influence. I therefore propose first to lay before my readers a general view of Indian society and Indian life as it was before Vasco de Gama landed in this country, and then proceed with a rapid sketch of the two centuries of anarchy and misrule which was followed by the British conquest. The first fifty years of that rule will not detain us long and we will thus come to the thirties of the last century before we may be said fairly to have come to the subject of our discourse.

The Portuguese landed in India under Vasco de Gama in 1498, just a century after Timur's invasion of India and just a century before Akbar's invasion of the Deccan. Readers of Bernier and the French Physician of Danishmand Khan and of Pere Catron, the Jesuit, will find vivid descriptions of the state of the country in pages chiefly intended to describe the life history of the brave and the great. The Mahomedans had conquered nearly the whole continent, and had impressed every public and many private institutions with their own peculiarities. When the successors of Timur firmly established themselves on the imperial throne at Delhi, the Great Moghul governed the great provinces of his great empire through his great dignitaries—the omrahs of his court—backed by mercenary soldiers paid by the day and local troops maintained by the nobility out of extensive grants of land held directly from the crown. The Cayies and Musties administered the law of the Alcoran and of the conscience to suitors whose importance and power brought them within their august cognizance. The rest of the society managed their disputes in the best way they could with the assistance of the village Punchayet and a strong reverence for time-honored customs, the common feature of all archaic life. There was no crime that a bribe or a fine could not compensate; the poor man never hoped for or attempted to obtain redress for invasion of his rights by the rich.

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Foreign trade there was scarcely any. A nest of pirates infested the Arabian Sea, and the emperors themselves entered into compacts with them to allow the pilgrims to Mecca to go unmolested. Spices and pearls, ivory and shawls, and muslins and brocade left the western coast on foreign bottoms and paid black mail at sea and at every port that they touched. The absence of good roads and the insecurity of property resulting from the system of levying toll at every fort or town held by a marauding chief or rapacious governor and the want of a strong central Government for the repression of crime,—all had the effect of reducing internal trade to minimum, and it often happened that a famine raged within a hundred miles of a place where grain rotted for want of purchasers.

Indigenous learning had ceased. Persian had become the language of the court and of the upper ten. Rich men entertained Moulvies and Munshies for the education of their children and their poorer neighbours.

Sacred and profane literature were alike the abomination of the Mulla and the Moulvie and went to make the torch for the burning of temples and mausolias. Lands assigned by Hindu Kings for the maintenance of learned Pundits and their pupils had gone to support the priests and learned men of the moslem persuasion. Thus persecuted, discouraged and starved by the dominant race, even the drivelling annotations of the old authors that marked the decline of Sanskrit learning had ceased to be studied. Sanscrit scholarship was at a discount in the public service, and in a country without an indigenous landed aristocracy where the despot's favor was the only way to distinction, such learning soon came to lose all public encouragement and patronage also. It dragged a miserable existence amongst priests and religious mendicants who cultivated it more for the purpose of the salvation of their souls than for any abstract love for learning. It is thus that most of the absurd stories of the Puranas—the semi-religious histories of mythical kings and saints—have been preserved to us in their entirety, while the most interesting and important works bearing on Indian history, literature and science are all but extinct.

On the other hand, the study of Arabic and Persian had become fashionable amongst the nobility and the classes from which the then civil service of the country used to be recruited,—namely, the Kayeths and the Khetries. Their knowledge of history consisted of metrical fables of the Shah Namah and the Secunder Namah, and their geography was derived from the Arabian Nights ; the sciences were

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conspicuous by their absence from their curriculum ; only a very few learned the rudiments of logic from the Arabic authors, whilst the acquisition of the Persian language so as to be able to talk and write it with fluency was enough education for the greatest courtier. An off-hand quotation from Hafiz or Sadi established a man's character for scholarship of the highest order, and a happy conundrum or a telling pun won a man about the court the highest place in the State. The Bania learned the three Rs. in his vernacular, whilst the rest of society never thought of learning anything except the trade of their fathers. Caste had become tight and hard beyond breakage. It was ruled in the case of the lower castes by guilds, and by the priests amongst the superior classes. No one thought of leaving the profession of his ancestors nor was there any alternative for doing so. The first question for a candidate for the public service was about the position of his ancestors. Ceremonials took the place of religion and ablution was considered a stronger help for salvation than real penitence or piety. For the generality of the people, two and only two careers in life were open, namely the cultivation of the soil and soldiering. Beyond a certain distance from the seat of government, society was in a state of perpetual warfare where the only option that was left to a man was either to rob his neighbour or be robbed by him. Despotism was the only form of government known, and as the local despot was removable at the sweet will and pleasure of the stronger despot above or alongside of him, people had learnt to look with indifference at their advent or disappearance, which brought about no amelioration of their condition. The Governors of Provinces were busy in making their piles on their own account and at the sacrifice of every principle of equity and justice and concealing the facts from their immediate superior whilst the Suanat Nagars, the court news-suppliers, quietly gave information to the official.

The next two centuries did not add anything either to the store of knowledge or to the material prosperity of the country. The English, the French and the Dutch joined in the competition first for commerce and then for empire. The Ferenghees, as all Europeans were then called, soon made their mark as good soldiers and clever artillery-men, and were largely employed by the native princes in their wars against each other.

Europeans bought and exported spices, silk, muslins and other cotton fabrics, brocade and shawls and sold broad-cloth, glass and hardware and other peculiar products of their respective countries. The difference of manners and customs between the Indians and

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the Europeans was too wide, and points of contact too few, as yet to have any influence on the people in general. Cordial waters and French brandy however had begun to be appreciated by the Mahomedan governors, and European boots and saddlery with other English luxuries were slowly being introduced among the upper classes of the people.

Such was the state of the country when the genius of Robert Clive, backed by unbroken good luck, came out triumphant in the struggle for Empire against the superior genius of Dupleix. England conferred a peerage on Clive and France consigned Dupleix to the Bastille.

For the first twenty-five or thirty years the Company did not realize the responsibility or the advantage of its change of position. The despatches from Leadenhall Street reiterate injunctions to curtail expenses and increase the dividends. Whilst the poorly paid servants of the Company recouped themselves for their exile by trade and other means, they had neither leisure nor the inclination to do anything for the people.

It was not till the passing of what is known as the Regulating Act of 1774 that the history of British influence on Indian life may be really said to have begun. It established a legislature which gave us a statute-book for the first time after a lapse of some 2500 years after the Institutes of Manu. It gave the people the first bulwark of civil liberty in the shape of Civil and Criminal Courts, with defined jurisdiction where the Judge was the servant of the law and the law was no respecter of individuals or classes. Within a few years was conferred on the people the first and the greatest boon that it is within the power of an alien government to give to a conquered race,—namely, the conferment of proprietary rights in the soil. Agrarian laws defining the rights of zemindars and tenants soon followed, and as a crowning act of liberal statesmanship it was declared that in matters of inheritance, succession, marriage, &c., the law of the Gentoos for the Hindu and that of the Coran for the Mahomedan should apply in their entirety. Whilst in matters outside the province of these laws and those made by the recent legislature, it was ordained that they should be regulated by the dictates of equity, justice, and sound common-sense. Thus was established in India within the last quarter of the eighteenth century the rudiments of a strong civilized government. It is easy to discover flaws in the Permanent Settlement and in other individual measures of this period, but no intelligent well-wisher of India can deny that within those twenty-five years were applied

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in this country many more principles of a civilized and humane government than in the entire period of Mahomedan rule.

Then followed the Mysore and the Marhatta wars leaving the English the masters of the situation. With the conquest of each province came in a number of civilians, soldiers, engineers, lawyers and traders ; and, above all, church steeples began to rear their heads in the centres of population and at each sabbath the Missionary preached to the conqueror and the conquered alike that they were creatures of the same God and had the same hopes of salvation ; that they were men and brethren and were bound to one another by the same laws and that the black man equally " was God's image though carved in ebony." To students of history it is but a truism to say that, given two races with different degrees of social and political development to come into contact with each other, the race that has a lower organism is sure to profit most.

We have now to come to that stage of our history when it will be best to divide our further progress into three distinct periods ; namely (1) 1765 to 1834, (2) 1834 to 1858 and (3) 1858 to the present date. We will first trace the principal events brought about by the dominant race in each one of these three periods and then try to narrate their effects on the life and character of the Indian people.

Almost immediately after the assumption of the Dewani by the Company, the rapacity of their servants succeeded in goading Mir Cossim, the Nabob set up by the Company itself, into a war of some magnitude ; and no sooner the war was ended than a great famine devastated their territory and carried away nearly a third of their subjects. The servants of the Company—men who till lately stood behind the counters of their offices, but had suddenly been called upon to rule a country several times as big as the United Kingdom —could not shake off the habits and instincts of their previous life in an instant. Profit was the only object that they had hitherto been taught to pursue, and they naturally devoted the whole energies of their insular strength to convert everything into money. But the British Parliament soon came to the rescue. By the Regulating Act of 1774, a Governor-General was appointed to rule the British dependencies in the East with the assistance of a Council. The Council was empowered to legislate for the whole of the territories of the Company. It established three Supreme Courts at the three Presidency towns with jurisdiction over the whole of their territories. The further progress of events was arrested by the unseemly quarrel that ensued between the Governor-General and the members of his

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Council on the one hand, and the Government and the Supreme Court on the other. The smooth working of the new system did not begin till the commencement of the reign of Lord Cornwallis.

The Mysore and the Marhatta wars continued to engross the whole attention of the Government till the fall of the Peshwa in 1818 ; and no sooner they were settled to the satisfaction of the Company, than it fell out with the Burmese and their whole attention was engrossed in that quarter till 1827. During the interval a silent revolution was going on in the country. The Pindaries and the Marhattas had ceased to visit the more peaceful parts of the country and dacoity had ceased to be a paying profession. Ideas of property promulgated by the permanent settlement and the certainty of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of their own labour gave an impetus to cultivation and trade that was unknown for generations. The necessities of a civilized foreign government holding sway by virtue of its military strength brought into existence a number of roads over which the newly revived traffic of the country found its way to the European factories on the coast.

Up to this time, however, the country was being governed on the principle of an intelligent man managing his estate for his own benefit. Security of life and property was necessary for the development of the country and the ultimate profit of the Company ; roads were necessary in the interests of trade and for the transport of the Company's troops. But the old English principle of the existence of governments for the benefit of the governed was not as yet enunciated in India. The State had not yet taken public education in its hands. No situation of any importance was as yet open to the natives of the country ; their services were accepted only for such work as would pay no Europeans to take up, and, inspite of the marked improvements of the period, the classes which lived by their wits suffered a good deal. The history of some of the aristocratic families, now deservedly occupying the best position in the country, furnishes us with a very good illustration of the morality and character of the people of the period. Clive's Dewan left fabulous wealth to his children, and his Munshi spent nine lacs on the occasion of his mother's funeral. Many of the old Zemindar families of Bengal trace their descent from collectorate amies of the settlement period or salt Gomostas of the time. One of the first questions that was asked of an official after his introduction to a man was about the perquisites of his situation. People boasted of their wrongful gains. Bribery instead of being condemned by public opinion wa a recognized

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institution. Almost every landholder had his "haft kalam" professional forgerers and professional purjurers as a part of his establishment. Judgments of the highest courts were bought and sold with a notoriety that can scarcely be realized at the present day. The office of a Collector's Sheristadar was worth the bribe of an amount from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 according to the condition of the District. Nor was there anything extraordinary in all this. During the period immediately preceding the British occupation, invasion of other people's rights was a recognized mode of existence ; the new Government had taken no steps for improving the morals of the people ; their own example was not very edifying ; improvement in social morality was cared for by none. The pent-up savagery of society, now that open violence had become a forbidden luxury, discharged itself in connecting false claims and supporting them by forced documents and mendacious evidence.

We now come to the beginning of the second period of our history. England had now become the recognized arbiter of India's destiny. Her Empire had become an accomplished fact. About this time a great reform was going on in England. From a variety of causes, which need not be mentioned here, the English people had begun to take a juster view of the rights of people other than themselves and slavery was abolished throughout all British territory. The Reform Act of 1833 swept away Catholic disabilities, reduced the severity of the Penal Laws, abolished abuses of the public service and generally ameliorated the condition of the weak and curtailed the privileges of the strong. It was only natural that the same spirit should be brought to bear on Indian affairs about the same time. It was decided that the natives of India should be educated. The question of the form of this State education evoked a warm controversy amongst scholars and statesmen like Sir W. Jones, Colebrook and a number of orientalists on the one hand and men of the stamp of Macaulay and Trevelyan on the other. Happily for us it was decided that the study of the lyrics of Hafiz and the epics of Kalidasa should for a time at least give place to Shakespeare and Milton and that the astronomy of Keples should be substituted for the astrology of Barah Mihir. The studies of the preposterous and puerile stories of the Shahnamah and the Puranas were replaced by the rational histories of Clarendon and Hume. Had England done nothing more for India she would still deserve our gratitude for all this, but she did a great deal more. Indians were for the first time employed as judicial officers and the famous "Black Act" giving Indian Civil Officers jurisdiction over Europeans

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in civil cases was passed ; they were allowed to enter the Bar ; within a few years *suttee* was abolished, infanticide was in a great measure put down. The opening of the Suez Canal and the introduction of steam vessels in the Indian seas shortened the distance between England and India, thereby inducing a larger number and a better class of Europeans to come to the country and keeping more in touch with the progress of ideas at home than heretofore.

The progress of events was for a time stayed by our disastrous wars with Afghanistan. The second Sikh War completely annihilated the only power which yet retained a vestige of national independence. Then followed the annexation of Coorg, Mysore, Jhansi, Nagpur and Oudh. It does not come within our purview to justify or condemn the morality of the policy which led to these annexations. All that concerns us is that they brought the whole of the peninsula under the British Crown and gave the new provinces a government established by law in the place of governments by the irresponsible will of a despot or despots. Individual kings and their families may have had just grounds of complaint against the Marquis of Dalhousie but the thanks of the millions of their subjects and that of the rest of us are certainly due to him for having cleansed the plague spots from our midst. It was during this reign that railway was for the first time introduced in India. Steam ships began to play in our waters and telegraph lines were laid from one end of the country to the other. Then came the Mutiny and its attendant horrors. It left a dark spot in the minds of our conquerors and retarded the march of events by a whole generation at least, though it pealed the death-knell of the old Company. Queen Victoria assumed the position of direct sovereignty over her Indian Empire and, by a Proclamation of unprecedented grace, declared it to her subjects that henceforth fitness should be the sole test for entrance into her service without distinction of colour or creed ; that competition and not nomination should determine the fitness of candidates and trade be made free. The education despatch of Sir C. Wood was then given effect to and three universities were simultaneously established at the three presidency head-quarters with affiliated colleges for general and technical education ; the legislative councils of the Supreme and the local government were for the first time opened to the children of the soil ; a Penal and a Criminal Procedure Code, a Code of Civil Procedure, a Law of Landlords and Tenants, a new Limitation Act, together with many others, were introduced and three High Courts with better

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defined powers took the place of the old Supreme Courts. The breaking up of the Company's monopoly brought any amount of capital into the country and developed its industry and natural resources at a marvellous rate. The civil war in America created a demand for Indian cotton in England and large tracts of the country henceforth were specially reserved for its growth. The defeat of the south and the restoration of peace brought back prices to their normal level and cotton mills began to rise all over the country to spin and weave the raw material which no longer paid to be sent to England. Within a short few years Lord Mayo introduced the municipal system in India and the system of local self-government received a further extention at the hands of Lord Ripon. The struggle over the Ilbert Bill brought into existence the National Congress; under its well-organized agitation, membership in the legislative Councils has practically become elective and the Civil Service age limit has been raised. It is now a question of time as to when simultaneous examinations will be held for it in both the countries.*

T. D. Banaji

HE CAME FROM OVER THE SEAS

He was the guest of the evening and he came to see the other side of the shield. A fellow-citizen of the world, a comrade in the journey of life, a much-travelled man and a student of Asiatic problems,—yet he was a strange sojourner in a strange land. Accident of birth and force of circumstances made all the difference, but a human being like us he was and a keen observer of men and things.

"Yes, it is an opportunity I do not like to miss and so—to our topic. I was telling you that much of this unrest, or discontent as you like to call it, is certainly due to the fact that you forget that, apart from all other considerations, you have got to pay for peace and security which the British rule has conferred on you."

"Yes, I see your point. We are not blind to the blessings of the British rule. We can quite appreciate that the new culture of the West has opened the eyes of the sleeping East, that things are being viewed in a new light and in a comprehensive form unknown

* This article was written several years ago by a gentleman who is no more in the land of the living. The next two instalments of this article will contain the author's reflections on the moral, social and political gains secured by India since her connection with England. *Ed., J. W.*

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in this part of the world a few generations back. Yet the difference is there. That difference lies in what we have lost in getting what we have got."

The shades of evening were falling fast, the dying rays of the setting sun peeped into the spacious room through the half-closed shutters of the next room and the faces of eager listeners were glowing with a strange light of expectancy and semi-credulous admiration. As he came to be acquainted with the views of the moderate leaders of Bengal on the partition of Bengal and the Press Act and the general repressive policy of the Government of India and the various provincial Administrations, what must have been his feelings ? Did he realise, sitting there within the space enclosed by the chunam-washed walls, in his old and experienced heart which throbbed within him bearing a remembrance of many lands and many peoples, how we, though brown of skin and apart in language, *think and feel* ? Feeling—a trifle, a mere sentiment—a hinderance in the great struggle for existence—blinds the vision, throttles the springs of action, and leaves you behind,—alone, unfriended, unprepared in the race of life. And yet what a power that feeling is ! In itself, it is the fountain of action,—the source of moral responsibility. And did he realise, sitting at the green-covered table before a strange company, that there might possibly be another significance of that very feeling which the materialistic West considers as a hinderance to progress ? Price we are ready to pay, price we have already paid,—but how much ? Oh ! that is the question. Will he ever realise, even if we say, how much ?

"The education which the State has undertaken is too literary and has failed to solve the bread problem."

"That has been a huge mistake—why don't you go in for industrial and technical education ?"

"For the very good reason that the State does not provide ample facilities for such an education. Only the other day, in the Imperial Council, a Resolution——"

"Yes, but how can the State create another set of hungry place-seekers without finding employment for them ?"

How hopeless ! Yet the company proceeded to discuss the question of industrial development and the chances of India under a Tariff Reform Parliament. Not much of prospects for India, so far as imagination goes.

He was old, but clearness of intellect had not forsaken him and seriousness of life had its hold unimpaired on him. Would he were a bit more kindly ! Could he sympathise with us ? Could

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he help bridging the gulf unfortunately widened of late between the mighty rulers and the unfortunate ruled ?

"Yes, but what have you lost ? "

"The right to live as men."

He laughed, then he sat quiet for a while and everybody else was silent. The room was getting dark.

Then the flash—the electric light was glowing and the whole company was flooded with a pinkish-blue light—their faces were pictures of sadness, sadness as comes of momentary despair, when the non-moral asserts itself, when human souls lose sight of the divine hand and grope in the dark for help that is not for the coming.

"That is rather strong," he said.

"Yes, but look around ; aspirations are stopped at a certain pitch, education is denied in a manner, industries are unfairly treated, service openings are inequitably distributed, agriculture is neglected, sanitation is ignored and only taxation grows apace."

And yet in that brilliant light arose before my eyes the visions of ancient magnificence of the Emperors of Delhi, of the Satraps of the Provinces, of the Military Lords of Purgannas and, I felt, I could see the solemn and sober warriors of old, clothed in their flowing oriental robes of review, spears in hand, surrounding the assembly of the nobles and officials, both Hindus and Mohamedans—dispensing equal justice to all. Then caste or creed or colour was no bar. Then "civilization" was not so advanced and wealth had not yet become a pass-port in Society.

"But how were you treated in the days of the Mohamedans ? Was not lawlessness and disorder the natural consequences of those irresponsible days ? " he enquired.

. "Yes, I was thinking of that. Yet, in assuming that lawlessness and disorder was universal in those days, you err in so far as you take the India of the sixteenth or seventeenth century to be the same as she is to-day. In each province of the country in those days and in each rural unit law and order was maintained by the man in power for the time being without reference to an organic development. The glory of the British rule in India lies in the fact that the influence of your race has been fully exerted in the making of the Indian Nation."

"But where is the Indian Nation ?"

"That is a question I have heard on many occasions, but the reply to it is that you do not see the wood for the trees.

He smiled.

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"I apprehend your objections," I said. "Your argument is that more than a hundred races of people speaking as many languages or dialects with classes and sub-classes preferring many kinds of religion cannot form a unit. I submit such a fusion is possible and in fact is in existence to-day. The reason is simple, it is the growth of political ideas and we are grateful to you for having taught us all this."

"It has possibly been a mistake."

"And why so?"

"Because we are the organisers and you are the organic units. Thus we know the whole truth and you know only a little. That being so, for you to try to generalise is rather absurd. In fact your political ideas, as is your knowledge, are defective."

Oh, could he but see our hearts! Know we not what is good to us, endeavours must we avoid to have justice done to us, stop we must to bring our grievances to the august throne of our beloved Sovereign or to his Ministers and representatives? And how shall we live? Oh, live in the blessed ignorance as in the by-gone days, satisfied with such blessings that may be thrown in our direction, while the world forges ahead.

"Defective knowledge," he continued, "and defective political ideas are dangerous twins."

"May be, but allow me to say that a conviction like that arises out of ignorance and want of sympathy, ignorance of the state of our feelings, of our ways and means, of our ideals and traditions and want of sympathy with our aspirations and efforts. Yet, as a Christian nation, whose inspiration is drawn from the infinite pathos of the life of your Lord, you should try in the first instance to sympathise with us. That is the one key to the sealed chambers of our heart, that is the only way of leading this glorious Empire along the paths of progress under the sole inspiring flag of Great Britain."

"But why don't you purify the administration of justice?"

"How do you mean?"

"Why don't you separate the union of judicial and the executive functions in District Officers?"

"Is not the union of these powers an Indian institution?"

What should you think of a man who cannot distinguish between India of the great Mogul and India of the 20th century? There was a sense of deep disappointment among the company. Is that the sort of wisdom by which England hopes to rule India successfully? The future seemed dark,—impenetrably dark.

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And out in the street the roars of vehicular traffic were dying out, the crush of electric tram-cars became less frequent, belated Bengalees were hurrying home. To their homes they were going—to their wives, mothers, sisters and children, their central spots of tenderness and affection to which their labour and life were bestowed. The cycle goes on and let us hope and trust—for progress.

The guest took his leave. We wished him peace and happiness in all sincerity and in all sincerity we wished he had left us with even a slight ray of changed light, light that might be of use to him in his efforts to enlighten his own countrymen in the knowledge and problems of New India.

Observer

BIOLOGY AS A SUBJECT FOR STUDY IN INDIAN COLLEGES

The position of Biology as a subject for education is assured in Europe and America. If England is proud of her Newton, she is equally proud of her Darwin. In this country, however, Biology has got to make her own position. Not long ago the chemists of this country were looked down upon as bottle-washers. There is no wonder that Biology, which is a much newer subject than chemistry, should still find some difficulty in getting her usefulness recognised in India.

In this paper we shall try to find out what are the uses of Biology as a subject for education. We shall first of all see what are the general advantages of studying Biology and then examine what special advantages may be derived in this country by the study of the biological sciences.

Let us, at the outset, see what is meant by the term Biology. The word Biology is rarely used at present to signify a single subject. Broadly speaking, Biology means the science of living things. The living things are divided into two great classes : (1) the plants and (2) the animals. So the study of Biology means the study of animals and plants. A branch of Biology—Physiology,—deals with the mechanism of life. Another branch of Biology which deals with the distribution, evolution and affinity of plants is known as Botany. We have got the corresponding subject—Zoology, which deals with the distribution, evolution and affinity of animals. For simplicity's sake we shall include under the heading Biology—the three subjects—Botany, Zoology and Physiology—subjects which deal with normal plant

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and animal life. There are other subjects such as pathology, hygiene, medicine, agriculture, &c. which might be regarded as different branches of Biology, as they also deal with life under certain conditions. Huxley has pointed out Biology might be made to include mathematics, history, philosophy and other subjects which are produced by the activity of man—a living being.

Let us now find out what are the uses of a study of Biology. The uses of studying a particular subject may be twofold : (i) Its uses as a subject for educating our faculties, (ii) The usefulness of the information thus acquired in studying the subject. As by different forms of physical exercise different muscles of the body are developed, so by different forms of mental exercise different parts of our brain are developed. The object of intellectual education is to cultivate our various mental faculties—memory, reasoning power, imagination, observation, &c. In determining the merit of a particular subject, we shall have to consider, besides its educational advantages, the usefulness of the knowledge obtained in studying that subject. Memory may be equally well cultivated by getting by heart a book of geography or a postal guide. But why do we not make our boys study postal guide instead of geography ? The reason is that his knowledge of geography will be of constant use to him in after life while his knowledge of postal guide is likely to be of very little use to him.

It is for this reason that the study of science is given a prominent part in education in Europe. In India also we are gradually coming to recognise the importance of scientific education. As chemistry and physics were the first developed of sciences, it is but just that they should be given prominence, but the claims of Biology should not be left out of consideration.

Modern Biology affords as much scope for developing different faculties of mind as any other science. Memory, reasoning power, power of observation—and other faculties are as much necessary for biological studies as for any other subject.

It may be almost safely said that the India affords better facility for studying Biology than any other subject. One of the objects of scientific education is to increase the spirit of inquiry of the pupil. In India we have around us various plants and animals. Is it not natural for the boy to wish to know something about what he constantly sees around him ? Will it not be highly injurious to the spirit of inquiry not to satisfy this natural craving for knowledge ?

Another object of scientific education is to develop the faculty

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of observation and manipulative skill of the boy. These habits when once acquired will be of immense use to him in after life. There is no doubt that these faculties may be developed by studying other sciences. But the study of Physics and Chemistry is much more costly than that of Botany or Zoology. In a poor country like India a boy has got greater facilities for observing, and making experiments on, animals and plants. There are so many plants and animals around us that any boy with a knife and a lens may dissect and examine them without any cost at all. Not only can he do these things in the class before his teacher, but even the poorest boy might repeat these at his own pleasure. Botany can be taught at a much less expense and much more thoroughly than any other science. This will not only develop his faculties of observation and manipulative skill but also develop his powers of enjoying and appreciating the beauties of nature.

In the study of natural history sciences we have got to use that wonderful instrument—the microscope—which perhaps next to the balance is the most important instrument invented by man and used in scientific researches. An acquaintance with this instrument will open up new fields of wonder and beauty before the boy. The microscope in after life might act as (in his solitude) a companion to the man. In the far off villages where perhaps there is no society or amusement to beguile his time with he will find an inexhaustible store house of amusements preserved for him by nature. A drop of putrid water, a piece of green moss on wet soil, or some whitish filaments on a piece of cowdung will show him an immense number of interesting and beautiful things.

Biology being a new science, there is considerable scope for research work in this direction. Moreover, the conditions of life in India are quite different from those of any other country; consequently there must be something newer in life here than in any other country. Not only do we expect to find new plants and animals in this country, but we ought to find some peculiar adaptations in living creatures here so that they may live well under changed circumstances. Those who want to be original workers in this country will find more facility in biological than in any other line.

It can not be denied, though it is rarely felt by many that India is mainly an agricultural country. It is the agriculture which produces wealth in India, as in England it is the machinery which produces the wealth of that country. We get all the necessities of our life either directly from or in exchange of the agricultural

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products of our country. Would it not be culpable ignorance not to know anything about plant-life upon the welfare of which the life and happiness of so many people of our country depend?

A more thorough dissemination of the knowledge of Botany—about how plants eat, drink, breathe, fight with one another and with animals, about their method of breeding, about their susceptibilities to different conditions of light, heat, moisture and chemical things—would add greatly to the improvement of agriculture of the country. People who have gone through a course of study in Botany would know how to act cautiously to improve their land, and what probable consequences might arise in their attempt to improve a particular soil. From their success the cultivators and other people might take their cue. That dissemination of knowledge is highly useful for the improvement in agriculture and arts would be evident from the conditions of America and various European countries.

Advanced work in higher Botany might also be carried on here to the great benefit of the country. How the nitrifying bacteria might be suitably cultivated in this country, how inoculation of the soil could be effected—these and various other useful researches might be done here. In modern time the manuring of a soil has passed off mainly from the hands of the chemists to that of the botanists. Formerly it was thought that by simply making chemical alteration in a soil its fertility might be improved. But now it has been seen that mere chemical change alone can do little good to the soil. In a good soil a large number of microscopic organisms are present, which do immense service in improving it. So in increasing the fertility of a soil it must be found under what sort of conditions the micro-organisms of the soil flourish best. Besides this, the micro-organisms are of immense service in various arts and industries. The arts of baking, preparation of fermentative liquors and enzymes, sterilisation and preservation of food, medicines and other things, tanning, extraction of dye from plants, and various other industries require the application of biological knowledge.

How the body can be maintained healthy and strong on an economic diet is one of the most important of our national problems. Chittenden's researches prove that the body can be kept healthy on a much lower protein diet than sanctioned by European Physiologists. If his researches turn out to be true, no other country will profit more from them than a poor country like India. Chittenden's experiments have got to be repeated and corroborated here and also the other conditions of living under

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which a man may live well on a low protein diet should be clearly and precisely determined. These can be done only by a group of physiologists making experiments on themselves and on trustworthy persons and recording the result of these.

There is another important side of the problem on metabolism. This is about the relative merits of animal and vegetable proteins. There is a school of doctors who are preaching that the physical deterioration of the Indian people may be stopped by the nation's general adoption of meat diet like Europeans and Americans. If this statement be true we must say that the fate of the Indian nation is doomed. Very few people here even among the middle classes can meet the cost of a meat diet. Many of the students, who, following these preachers, adopt such diet, do so at the expense (of the corresponding diminution) of ordinary diet in their families. It might be suggested that beef is a cheaper form of meat. But there is little likelihood of the Hindoo's adopting beef as an article of diet. And even if they were to do so, beef would no more remain so cheap as it is now.

Is there then no hope for this nation? Is science which has done so much for mankind unable to do anything for us in this direction? It is admitted that the aim of the chemists is to create food synthetically out of the elements of air, water and soil,—substances which are so plentifully present in nature. It is also well-known that all the elements that are combined to form the human body are derived directly or indirectly, that is, via animals,—from the plants. It is also known that some of the vegetable food-stuffs contain more nitrogenous substances than meat—only these are not so readily digestible—therefore assimilable as meat is. Is it now too much to expect from the ambitious chemists—who want to create protein out of air, water and soil—a task of tremendous difficulty, to render the nutritious substances present in pulses as palatable and easily digestible as meat? Why not some of our research scholars, instead of trying those stiff problems in which they can produce little or no work at all, attempt some of these easier problems where a little work would be of immense use to mankind?

In this paper I have tried to prove the following points :—The study of natural history sciences at present affords as much scope for intellectual development as any other science; they afford much greater scope for original research work than any other subject; also they are practically as useful as any other science being intimately connected with the most important of material problems—our

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health and food. A lawyer would find very little use of his knowledge of higher mathematics in after life, but his knowledge of Physiology would help him to preserve his own health and the health of his children. A deputy magistrate for instance in a remote town will be able to derive as much recreation and amusement from his microscope and his Botany as from his Shakespear. When a student leaves his laboratory his knowledge of higher Physics and Chemistry would be of little use to him, but he will find ample scope for extending his knowledge of Botany after he has left his college. He will find his laboratory everywhere. And if he be a diligent worker he will be able to increase the boundary of knowledge or do some good to the cultivators by imparting to them some of his botanical knowledge.

It is for these reasons that the study of Biological Sciences should receive proper attention from the Government as well as from the people. A Botanical Laboratory is much less costly to fit up, and the teaching of Botany would be much more efficient than that of any other subject—the botanical specimens are so readily obtained and so easily handled by the students. Thus all the advantages of a thorough scientific education may be obtained from the study of Botany. An efficient education in a subject even if it be not a noble one is much better than an indifferent education in another however noble that may be.

Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharjee.

THE BETRAYAL OF TANTIA TOPEE

"The hitherto apparently interminable series of ever shifting and harassing manœuvres by which the most active and energetic of the rebel chiefs of Hindoostan had contrived to escape pursuit and wear out his pursuers was about to terminate, through the unexpected capture of the one individual, who had so long formed in his own person the chief focus and rallying point for the insurgent bands of Central India. The star of the renowned Tantia Topee was about to sink below the horizon; and by the treachery that precipitated its declensions the last hope of the rebel chiefs of India was destroyed." *

We had left Tantia and Man Sing in the Paran Jungles, where detached from their armies they had been in hiding with a few faithful retainers. The English being repeatedly baffled in their

* Ball's Mutiny, Vol. II, p.p. 596-7.

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attempt to capture Tantia now clearly recognized that their success in this matter depended on the chances of any one's betraying the great Maharatta general. The clear and far-sighted intellect of Sir Robert Napier at once recognized the fact that to save further trouble to the British army it was essential that Man Sing should be first gained over. Accordingly, Major Meade approached the jungles with the main intention of learning the whereabouts of Man Singh and to secure if possible the confidence of some of his influential friends. Arriving at Sirsimao on the 3rd March, Meade had to occupy himself for two days in clearing the rugged and densely wooded passes. In the course of doing this work he succeeded in gaining the confidence of a relative of Man Sing named Narayan Sing, an old man, who promised to bring to Major Meade's camp the dewan of Man Sing and to do his utmost for securing the surrender of Man Sing.

On the 11th the old man accompanied with the dewan of Man Sing arrived at Major Meade's camp. Meade had a long interview with the dewan, in the course of which he offered the conditions he had been empowered by his superior general to offer to Man Sing, *viz.* "guarantee of his life and subsistence" if he surrendered. He also requested the dewan to fetch the Raja's family to his camp promising "to do everything in his power for their comfort" and assuring "that they should not be molested by the officials of the Gwalior Durbar or by any one else." *

It is necessary here to note the relation of Man Sing to the Maharaja of Gwalior. A chief of ancient lineage and noble birth and a vassal of the Gwalior Raja, Man Sing had taken umbrage against his feudal lord for his confiscating some of his possessions, to take vengeance for which he had leagued himself with the rebel army. For this reason the English had to guarantee the safety and honor of himself and his family from Scindia's wrath and vengeance against the refractory vassal.

Days passed by, yet no news of Man Sing or his family cheered up the anxious moments of the English general. Suddenly on the 25th of March, Meade learnt to his surprise that the Dewan of Raja Man Sing, with the ladies of the Raja's household, attendants and followers, had arrived at his camp. Meade received them kindly and courteously and sent them on to one of the Raja's villages near Sipri. The dewan also informed Meade of the Raja's intention of surrendering very shortly, which was fulfilled to the

* Malleron's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III., p. 372.

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very letter. On the 2nd of April Man Sing entered the British camp, after the following conditions being settled and completed : " 1st, that he should be met at some distance from the camp by a native of position—a ceremony the omission of which is an insult, 2nd, that he should not be made over to Gwalior Durbar, but should remain in the English camp, 3rd, that after staying two or three days in camp he should be allowed to proceed to his home, at Maori near Sipri, whither the females of his family had gone, to recoup himself in a manner befitting his rank."*

Having gained the preliminary step in the programme of capturing the veteran Maharatta, Sir Robert Napier now hastened to its final stage by working upon the weak feelings of Man Sing. Man Sing had so far only obtained guarantee from the English as to his life and freedom from molestation ; but what was life to a proud vassal raja without position, esteem and honour ? And on this point Meade on the 8th of April of 1859 wrote as follows to Sir R. Napier : " I have done all I could by trained and encouraging council to urge him to establish by so signal an act of service (the betrayal of Tantia Topee) his claim to the consideration of government promised him by Sir R. Hamilton in his telegram of the 27th ultimo." Thus with continued baits Man Sing was gradually gained over, and on the 3rd " Major Meade urged him to perform some service which should entitle him to further consideration." And his first sign of moral debasement was shown in his volunteering to accompany Major Meade and his followers in their attempt to capture Ajit Sing, his uncle. But Ajit Sing succeeded narrowly in getting away and joining the other rebel army in the jungles of Seron. This act of Man Sing to help the English in the attempt to capture a man who had been his uncle and companion on the battle field indicated that the sentiments of honor and affection in him had undergone a change. Col. Malleson says—" It was a first step in moral debasement, a prelude to one still lower."*

And this led to the betrayal of Tantia Topee who had reposed unbounded faith in him and who moreover by sentiments of friendship had been closely united to him. Before going to the British camp, Man Sing had consulted with Tantia and left one of his faithful adherents with the latter, advising his great friend to "stop wherever this man takes you." In the meantime the rebel leaders and their army after rallying their shattered ranks, now numbering about 8 or 9 thousand in the Seron jungles, requested Tantia Topee to

* Col. Malleson *History of Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III., p. 374.

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join them, fully appreciating the inestimable service of the veteran Maharatta chieftain. On the receipt of this letter Tantia deemed it proper to consult his friend in whose hands he had entirely placed himself, and whom he trusted implicitly. Accordingly on the 5th of April, Tantia sent a message to Man Sing who had been at the English camp informing him of the receipt of the rebel army's letter and asking his advice as to the course to adopt under the circumstances.* Though Tantia knew fully well that Man Sing had surrendered to the English, yet he dreamt not for a moment that he would violate the laws of honor, hospitality and friendship. Man Sing in reply to this message sent word to Tantia Topee that he would come in three days to see him and then settle what to do.

Man Sing more than kept his word ; at midnight on the 3rd day, the 7th of April, Man Sing came to Tantia not as a friend or old comrade but as a traitor to betray the person who had implicitly given himself up to his care and charge. He was followed at a distance by the soldiers of Major Meade. On the 8th of April at about 2 A.M., the faithless friend, with Major Meade's men at his back, very secretly arrived at the Seron jungle where they found Tantia asleep. The merciless Man Sing seized the arms of the sleeping chieftain and at once secured his whilom friend, ally and comrade. "Asleep he was seized, roughly awakened and conveyed to Meade's camp. Warmly aroused, the famous Maharatta was at once hurried to Sipree, a distance of about 10 miles from the scene of his capture. When he reached the camp he appeared to have undergone a great deal of hardship, his habiliments looking rather worn." His dress consisted of a red *pugree* and silk pant and a thick padded coat ornamented with sewing in gold thread. His arms consisted of a fine brace of gold mounted *pistols*, a double-barrelled rifle and a beautiful long sword. His family which had already been captured remained confined in the fort of Gwalior.

G. L. D.

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. III, p. 376.

The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

UNITED BENGAL

1. EASTERN BENGAL & ASSAM

Provincial Ways and Means The news-agent who grudged the E. B. & Assam budget of this year even three-fourths of a column of telegram from his local representative did not really know his vocation. For, indeed, has this new province of ours established her full claim to a larger share of attention of tax-paying India to-day. Of the budget much has been said already, but to readers of the *Indian World* we would make no apology for reiterating some of its salient points here. The Financial Secretary claimed that the average expenditure per head of population has risen from 11-6 annas in 1906 to a little below one Rupee—still the smallest figure in India. This, said he, represented in a nut-shell the administrative progress of the province. The fixed assignment from the Imperial Exchequer to the provincial coffers has been increased from Rs. 4,85,000 to Rs. 52,27,000, other assignments hitherto made for various purposes (aggregating Rs. 9,18,000) having been merged in this settlement so that the net increase has been Rs. 38,24,000. But besides this, the Government of India have agreed to finance from Imperial revenues five important, and we may add expensive, schemes when they are taken in hand. These are the schemes for the organization of the River Police, for the re-organization of the Subordinate Police, for the improvement of secondary education, for industrial development and for the revision of the pay of ministerial officers. Finally the Government of India have accepted as a charge upon Imperial revenues the subventions to be made to the Chittagong Port, and have made a contribution of five and a half lakhs to it. The total amount available for expenditure is Rs. 3,05,43,000. And the main disbursements are to be made as follows :—

Rs. 30,04,000, (comprising management of Government estates, charges of District Administration, charges on *Land Revenue* account of Land Revenue collections, Survey and Settlement, Land Records) being 41,000 more than the revised. This includes Rs. 61,000 for colonisation in the Backergunj Suderbands and in the Nambor Forest. Under this allowance has been made for addition to the cadres of the Provincial Civil

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Service and Subordinate Executive Service, and provision made for Rs. 19,000, half the cost of a launch for the Collector of Backerganj, and for the purchase of three elephants.

Rs. 13,12,000. This represents an increase of Rs. 40,000,— due among others to the inclusion of Rs. 17,000 for *General Administration* a second motor car for His Honor, to increased charges connected with the enlarged council and to the growing cost of the Civil Secretariat.

Rs. 45,71,000. This includes an increase of Rs. 54,000 over *Administration of Civil & Criminal Justice* the figure of 1909-10. A lump provision of Rs. 20,000 has been made for the appointment of a Deputy Legal Remembrancer, and one of Rs. 5,000 to provide trained legal advisers and Public prosecutors at a few of the more important sub-divisions. Under this has been provided Rs. 19,000 as part cost of a steam launch for the Collector of Backergunj, the other moiety having been provided under Land Revenue.

Rs. 55,49,000. In order to facilitate a proper estimate of the *Police* steady and enormous increase under this head we subjoin a comparative statement of the police expenditure for the last few years :

1906-7	...	...	...	Rs. 38,83,000
1907-8	...	...	...	" 44,20,000
1908-9	...	...	...	" 50,41,000
1909-10 (revised)	...	...	...	" 52,49,000
1910-11 (budget)	...	...	...	" 55,49,000

It has been laid down in the Budget that next year the figure will exceed that of 1906-7 by 43 per cent. and that "a very considerable increase in expenditure has still to be faced" in order to enable Government "to fulfill completely its elementary duty of maintaining order." We should remember here that the Government of India have already undertaken to finance from Imperial revenues the schemes for the organization of the River Police and for the reorganization of the subordinate police ; and that this increase in the budget figure has got nothing to do with them. We are told "full effect will be given to the reorganization of the C. I. D.," and that "this branch of the service is estimated to cost Rs. 255,000." Under River Police Rs. 203,000 has been provided, including a lump provision of Rs. 80,000 for the purchase of new launches and floating thanas. "A comprehensive scheme for the organization of this important branch of the police (River Police) is now under the consideration of Government, but until

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the River Police is more than a skeleton force it will be necessary to incur special expenditure each year for the protection of the jute trade."

Education Rs. 27,01,000. The comparative figures are as follows :—

1906-7	...	...	...	Rs. 12,27,000
1907-8	...	...	...	" 17,19,000
1908-9	...	...	...	" 21,68,000
1909-10 (revised )	...	...	...	" 24,03,000
1910-11 (budget )	...	...	...	" 27,01,000

The figure includes the liberal grants made to private institutions. It must not also be forgotten that the Boards' Sub-Inspectors have been provincialized, and the estimates provide for these charges. "The full inspecting staff sanctioned for the province has not yet been entertained and 32 posts still remain to be filled"; and "in view of more pressing educational needs in other directions and especially under collegiate education, it has been decided not to give full effect to the sanction for the present." "Including the special Imperial contribution of Rs. 60,000 the budget grant for collegiate education has been fixed at 3,87,000." The contribution to Boards for the development of primary education has been restored to Rs. 3,85,000.

"Here, too, it is impossible to foresee the ultimate growth of expenditure, but here, too, Provincial revenues will, under the terms of the new settlement, be relieved of the cost of two important measures of reform—the first for the improvement of high schools and the second for the reorganization of the whole system of technical education and for industrial development."

Medical Rs. 11,37,000, includes not only medical charges proper but also the provision made for sanitation and vaccination. The sanitary side of the Budget (R. 3,67,000) includes Rs. 1,05,000 on account of the sale of quinine partly balanced by an entry of Rs. 61,000 on the receipt side.

Civil Works under Civil Officers Rs. 11,33,000. Out of this Rs. 6,02,000 has been budgetted as communication grants to Boards of which Rs. 38,000 represents 1½ p. c. of Government estates collections. The grant for the improvement of the rural water-supply has, at the instance of the Finance Committee, been increased from Rs. 60,000 to 80,000.

Public Works Rs. 55,77,000. Of this, 'civil works (departmental)' is taken at Rs. 54,18,000. It will be seen that this staggering figure, a considerable portion of which is to be

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expended at Dacca over picturesque official residences, does not provide for even temporary quarters for the clerical staff of the Government offices to be brought down from Shillong this year. In reply to a query by an Hon'ble member, the Public Works Secretary replied the other day that the clerks will be at liberty to erect their own houses on the Government land at Amlapara ! The terms of this settlement again are most uninviting and absurd, but we are told they will be reconsidered by Government. At the suggestion of the Government of India a sum of Rs. 20,000 has been provided, under Public Works (Miscellaneous), to cover the cost of a Committee appointed to enquire into the conditions of tea-garden life in the Duars.

Our renovated Provincial Legislative Society has concluded its labours after a record session of three various and Council and Councillors different sittings—one of which saw the inauguration of the reformed legislature, another the financial statement presented and the Excise Bill passed, the third and last was held on the 5th April when the Budget was 'discussed' or 'debated'—as they choose to call it by a happy figure of speech. This three-days'-session calls up in a Hindu mind the associations of the three days' annual worship of the goddess Durga. And in this light the leave-taking prior to this Honor's departure for the hills was appropriately touching. But the resemblance is not to be pressed any farther ; for there was hardly any music there—the *sine qua non* of the Hindu worship—if of course we except the deep and rhythmical snores of a blessed "visitor" of almost Burdwanian proportions—a patent medicine-vendor, aye a multi-millionaire, innocent of the English alphabet. Perchance he was waiting there for his cue to enter the Council chamber with a bundle of printed "speeches" (to be taken as read). When will it please the gods to order his promotion from the purgatory of the visitor's seat to the paradise of the padded chair ?

At first sight the rather small chamber with its array of small desks looks like a glorified examination-hall. There is a balcony at one end of the chamber where a number of rickety bent-wood chairs are found carelessly strewn about. Here must the gentlemen of the press seat themselves if at all, and will have an army of "Private Secretaries" to the Hon'ble members to keep them company. And on the Budget-day there was Mr. Findlay Shirras, a Professor of the Dacca College, taking notes of the proceedings on behalf of nobody knows whom. The gallery lends a pretty enjoyable view of the venue below—the thatchless heads of

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the European members reflecting the variegated headgears of the Indian Hon'bles : some making vigorous pencil sketches of their colleagues, while the discussion is in its full swing,—a few others enjoying their noon-day siesta. It is rather a striking significance that with the exception of three "natural leaders"—the Nawab, the Maharaja of Dinajpur and the Raja of Gouripur (Assam)—no other Indian member has been assigned his seat in the front rows. Moreover, particular care has been taken to sharply separate the Moslem members from the Hindus, even as we are told the good will be differentiated from the bad on the Doomsday. There is at least one member on the sunny side of thirty ; and another, whose features greatly belie his years, looking more like a candidate for the Provincial Executive Service than a ripe full-fledged Councillor. Still, it seems Mr. Ghaznavi's "Supreme" honour is not beyond the cavil of some of these gentlemen : for is it not a fact that "without very expense of money Mr. Ghaznavi got the Supreme of Council" ?

We shall not attempt any description here of the philosophy and madness displayed in the costumes of the Councillors. The Europeans were almost all of them in frock coats, as was also the case with an Indian member who apes them passably well in all save the virtue of punctuality. There was an audacious sartorial attempt to make East and West meet on the person of a zemindars' representative who had donned a compromise between the European evening dress and our classical choga and chapkan—in felicitous white silk, the emblem of peace. His emancipated shirt-front shone and swelled in pride like a swan's breast and seemed to mock the orthodox dress of the hopelessly ortho-lox members.

We have almost begun to suspect that Messrs. Remington and Company must have inspired the reform scheme of Lord Morley, though perhaps we will never know *In the mass of Type-written Eloquence* how much of the Council expansion we owe to that enterprising firm of manufacturers. For indeed the only men who have been the gainers all round in the new 'Reforms' are the typists, who, in place of ten or twelve Hon'ble Members of the Council of Dacca alone, can now count at least four times the number as patronisers of their trade. When the interminable type-written stuff was being rattled off on the last Budget day by the Indian members, each using the pronunciation peculiar to his own patois, it was a relieving feature that almost half the number of non-official members were absent, and some of the speeches were taken as read. Three among the four Mahomedan (special) seats were

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vacant. Their fourth member, who was present, had not parted his lips since taking oath as member. And we were told this gentleman was persuaded into the belief that it would not be a graceful act to criticise the Budget, for it might look like want of affection for the Government. But it seems it did not strike the other members that way, save the Nawab Bahadur, who, complacently enough, repeated his famous sentiment of last year, though not in so many words, that he had absolute faith in the officials and would not therefore speak anything regarding the Budget proper. He did not perhaps care much about the finances of Government so long as the "lamentable conditions of the zemindars of this province" were not remedied. And it was particularly touching to hear the valiant son of Sir Ahsunolla exclaim that "if Government do not come to their rescue, their ruin is inevitable." The Government should legislate in order to save the zemindars "who might be counted upon as so many assets of Government." Assets forsooth? It is interesting to note that neither the Chief Secretary nor His Honor thought fit to take any note of this pathetic wail. As for Khan Bahadur Nawabali, he would have Primary Education made free as well as compulsory. If there was any need for it anywhere it was here in Eastern Bengal—where the mass of the population, especially the Moslem population, is steeped in abysmal ignorance and poverty.

But what could have been the matter with Rai Sitanath? Here was a man—a battle-scarred hero of hundred fields—at one time the most uncompromising critic of Government actions, who not long ago had enjoyed the distinction of being taken to task by the provincial ruler for his fearless observations in Council,—now, here was he to lend weighty support to the lavish and progressive expenditure on Police, on the plea that the present times—"the unsettled state of the country"—required it. Before the Rai Bahadur resumed his seat, the vision of Mr. Facing-both-Ways floated too clearly before our eyes. He was loud in his eulogy of the Reforms, and whatever little he said regarding their drawbacks, he said with great timidity and reluctance and took care to sugar it well to suit the official palate. "It is in no carping or fault-finding spirit, but from a desire to apprise the Government of what the popular feeling is—and it is more in sorrow than I have to say, and I say so with great reluctance"—what does the reader think this lengthy preamble is leading to?—"that in the history of British legislation this is the first statute which creates a distinction between race and race." This is doubtless using a "bushel-basket to bring a wren's egg

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to market in ! He then went on to entertain the Council with a vivid description of the "fairy land" of the new town at Dacca which, in his eye, "compares favourably with the Chowringhee of Calcutta." While Chowringhee may look to its laurels, we regret to note what an excellent descriptive correspondent the newspaper-world has lost in the Bhagyakul Councillor. After all, was it fair to keep the Council engaged over such literary fustian ? The strong case, however, which Rai Sitanath made out in favour of the extension of the supply of drinking water in rural areas, and of the improvement in internal communications, was worthy of him. But whatever did prevent him from moving a resolution regarding this matter beforehand, before the Budget had assumed its final shape ?

It was pleasant to find at least one European non-official member, Mr. Morgan, the representative of the Naraingunj Chamber of Commerce, agreeing with Rai Sitanath in the justice of his demands. Comparatively a young man, Mr. Morgan seems to have risen above Anglo-Indian exclusiveness, and promises to be a useful member of the Dacca Council.

By far the most diverting spectacle was that of an obscure mofussil lawyer formulating schemes for a separate University and a High Court for the province. Like the traditional knight-errant eager to right imaginary wrongs, this gentleman came to the new Council evidently in search of adventures. But the hard irony of it, that this ardent separatist in the matter of education advocating "better encouragement, guidance and direction of high education," should be satisfied with nothing less than "*an* University" at Dacca. The establishment of "*an* University" being of primary importance, the Hon'ble member had a few small orders to make—viz. the raising of the School of Engineering and the School of Medicine to the status of Colleges, to make them "sufficient for the sphere of action of an University." The Director of Public Instruction sympathised with the member in his laudable ambition, and thought that though the condition of secondary education in this province was very satisfactory and the number of Arts Colleges fairly large, still it was not time yet to sever "our connexion with the University of Calcutta." Thus Babu Anangamohan Naha's ingenious scheme of "*an* University" was practically floored by no less an authority than the Director of Public Instruction himself. How often our men try to out-Herod Herod ! As to the other patriotic suggestion of his, the less is said about it the better. Even the Government passed over it in cold silence. Is there any thing wrong at Comilla ? Or was it Halley ?

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Who indeed in this wide Empire could, before the Dacca budget came to be discussed, ever seriously cherish the hope that Sir L. Hare would really surpass himself in the way he has done ? It was interesting to have Sir Lancelot's cosmogony of the new province and his justification of its heavy expenditure, but before we pass on to that we have to take into account the unceremonious contradiction which he gave to an official statement of Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson's. "First of all I think it must be admitted that it is the anticipated loss of the opium revenue which is causing all the present financial anxiety, and that but for this it would not have been necessary to impose additional taxation." It is indeed refreshing to see a provincial satrap challenging the truth of an *ipse dixit* of the Finance Member regarding the Partition of Bengal. How regrettable that there was no capable member in the Imperial Council itself to beard Sir Guy in his own den. Lucky Sir Guy !

The Partition, according to Sir L., was a necessary measure in the gradual evolution of efficient Government of the land ; and the creation of an Executive Council for United Bengal is "hopelessly ludicrous to any one who knows what the proper study of the requirements of such a huge area as this province means." And we must bow to Sir Lancelot's superior wisdom in this respect. "Anything I have had to do before has been child's work to what I have had to do since I came here."

"Who would not weep, if Lancelot were he" !

So there should be another partition to lighten Sir Lancelot's burden of work,—at least consistency requires it.

"I imagine the guiding principle must be that an approximately equal standard of administration is to be aimed at in each province. There is to be no marked partiality and one child must not go in rags and tatters and another in silk and satins." Have we not here the advocate of an Executive Council for Eastern Bengal and Assam ?—and rank socialism, in spite of the Dhiraj of Dhiraj of Burdwan ?

"No question has been asked nor any reference made to the recent prohibitions which the district officers have had to issue in regard to three proposed District Conferences."—An eloquent comment no doubt on the representative character of the new Council. In justification of these prohibitions, Sir Lancelot said that "in each case there were resolutions proposed which Government cannot under present circumstances permit, and no undertaking could be given that there would be no incitement to sedition and race-

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hatred." . . . "they (such meetings) prepare the material upon which the assassin works." True, as bureaucratic vision goes. Because it may not be possible "to prevent a blacksmith forging a sword in his private apartments that is no good reason for not closing an open and notorious factory for sword"—thus pronounced H. H. of Ebassam. But can it not be that Sir L. Hare's "eyes are made the fools of the other senses"? And is His Honour sure that the "sword" he sees made in that "factory" is not

"A dagger of the mind, a false creation,
"Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?"

Even the "Indian Daily News" has not been satisfied with the explanation given by Sir Lancelot in defence of the prohibitions. Sir Lancelot's district officers demanded impossible undertakings from the organisers of the meetings. And we thought there must be some very extraordinary reasons for this. But while Sir Lancelot has failed to convince us of the necessity of such a step, he has plainly admitted that "there is less active boycott and the ordinary citizen has become less amenable to the leaders of the agitation." Then why not let these poor leaders alone? "Give you a reason on compulsion—if reasons were as plentiful as blackberries, I would give no man a reason upon compulsion"—as another valiant Knight said elsewhere. Going on to deal with the "many-headed mischief" of the boycott, Sir Lancelot imagined that the "advocacy of the boycott is invariably followed by acts of tyranny and brutality and illegal interference with the rights of a free people" . . . "you and I well know that the cases which have been brought to trial bear a very small proportion to the cases which have arisen but which the raiyats have been afraid to press home"—an outrageous supposition this.

Perhaps we shall not be permitted to progress any further in the great social movement for elevating the depressed classes.

"The ostensible object of those meetings was to raise the social condition of the people, but it appears from the accounts published in the press that anti-partition agitation and the boycott of foreign goods were urged and the promise of social privilege was only made as a reward or return for promising to take the boycott vow."

Sir Lancelot, for aught we know, is here making a large draft upon the lurid imagination of Hare Street. We have never heard of "the promise of social privilege" ever being made "only as a reward or return for promising the boycott vow." It really melts our heart to find Sir Lancelot so solicitous about those alleged by him to be subjected to "social persecution" on their failure "to

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bow down to the orders of the boycotters." "The constitution of Hindu Society," we are told, "lends itself with great readiness to this form of compulsion and no weapon is more feared than social ostracism when ruthlessly used in pursuance of a political object." We would suggest that this social constitution be so altered by Government as to bring it entirely under the purview of the "special (or political) branch" which has been recently placed under a distinct and separate Under-Secretary; further, that this same branch should engage itself in finding matches for the children of these socially persecuted, and other cognate matters.

Sir Lancelot, we find, has revived the long-dead fiction of "the violent scenes in the bazar the deplorable riot at Jamalpore," being the "sequel" of the "enforcement of the boycott." —But History will no doubt return quite a different verdict on the disgraceful scenes which were enacted in Eastern Bengal before the very nose of British officials. Sir Lancelot's etiology of the Jamalpore riot may find support at Simla and Whitehall, but the people know the *truth*.

It seems we must readjust our notions regarding our constitutional rights of agitation in the light of their interpretation by the Satrap of the new province. "When an agitator who wishes to press his views on Government says that the boycott will be preached until Government takes a particular course which Government has decided is not for the good of the people, and has announced it will not adopt, such an appeal is not a constitutional act or an appeal to Government but an act of defiance and open resistance to Government." Is this a dictum of a benevolent, or a soulless, despotism? We leave it to Lord Morley to answer it. Regarding the economic aspect of the boycott, His Honour's views are strikingly original. "To put the case concretely it does not matter why you do not take foreign cloth, whether by reason of hatred of the foreigner or love of your compatriot. Or simply because of bad crops and general shortness of money, a corresponding quantity of jute or some other commodity which you would have exchanged for the cloth cannot be taken by the foreigner. For it is goods which balance goods, and if you will not take what the foreigner can give you, he cannot take what you want him to take from you in exchange. And so a slump in cloth means a slump in jute." This might pass as sound economics in a village jute-growers' meeting, but——. We had almost forgotten the Press Act.

But how Adam Smith must have turned in his grave at this singular exposition of the doctrine of Free Trade by a countryman of his!

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"The boycott system," we are told, "is a dole system. So much is paid for the cloth which is its actual value and so much more which is a dole, little or none of which goes to the improvement of the position of the workman even temporarily and none to his permanent improvement." This reckless statement makes us almost despair of Sir Lancelot, for he refuses to see the improvements already made in the position of our workmen and in the number and quality of their industries with the help of this self-imposed protective tariff and in so short a time. He may brush up his failing memory a little by perusing the Report on the state of the industries of this province got up by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I.C.S., some time ago, and the references made therein to the healthy impetus given by the Swadeshi movement. After all, it will be an evil day for the world when it will have to look to any exalted I.C.S.—even an L.G. of Sir L. Hare's reputation—for precepts in Political Philosophy and in Economics.

We wish we had more space to devote to this lengthy address, bristling as it is with wise saws, maxims and even oddities of a ruling mind. But as it is, we must content ourselves with sampling here the purple patches that relieve its sombre aspect :—

"Not to get the most for my money appears to me inexcusable." "To see work done in a wasteful and inefficient way is a most grievous annoyance." "I would leave all I possibly could in the hands of the people and tax as lightly as possible." "If a bucket has a hole in it that is enough, and it is no use pointing out its many other excellences." At any rate, Sir Lancelot's 'bucket' has come to stay, no matter how large a hole there may be in the Bengal Partition. The 'bucket with a hole' will, no doubt, find a place by the side of Lord Morley's "fur coat."

Apart from the consideration of the points raised by the speech itself, we must admit it was a matter of great kindness on His Honor's part to read out only a few select passages and leave the rest to be taken as read. We anxiously wait for the day when whole sessions of the Legislative Council will be—"taken as held."

II. BENGAL

Really Bengal seems to be an wonderful province. Here, every man seems to think himself fit to pass opinion on every manner of subject,—special study or devotion being no necessary qualification for any such work. We have known Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter as a successful Vakil and an independent Judge. We are also getting used to consider

An Egregious Pronouncement

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him as an indispensable factor in the promotion of joint-stock Companies. But goodness alone knows when he became a serious student of politics and administrative problems. Recently in one of his peregrinations through the unfortunate province of Eastern Bengal and Assam he happened to seize the opportunity of a prize distribution in the Goalundo School for delivering what he seemed to think, and what Anglo-Indian critics have since acclaimed it to be, a very *notable* pronouncement. I shall pay down a thousand guineas to the man who, without any previous knowledge of the matter, could guess the subject of this important pronouncement. Anything about the Bangya Sahitya Parishad or the Romesh Chandra Dutt Memorial Museum? Anything about the Bangadeshiya Kyastha Samaj or on the virtues of wearing sacred threads? Or is it anything about the present condition and the prospects of the *ekalipi-bistara* movement or the industrial development in Bengal? No, the Goalundo School prize was far too serious an occasion to be spoilt by any harangues on such trivial subjects. It was on the partition of Bengal and its blessings that Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter discanted for a good quarter of an hour at the Goalundo School. And who would think that Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter stopped by only blessing the partition? He would be a great fool who would, for did he not take the Bengal public into his confidence on this historic occasion regarding his unique wisdom and foresight? He told them how, like a very good prophet and a far-sighted statesman, he had a long time ago told a Lieutenant-Governor what a good thing was the Bengal Partition. We do not think it necessary to argue the matter with Mr. Saroda Charan, for, if he yet does not see the evils of the partition and the enormous disadvantages and inequalities this measure has given rise to, we don't think there is much hope for him. No one can convince him who will not see or, like the proverbial ostrich, will bury his head in the sand before a coming storm. But may we hope that before he delivers another oration on the partition of Bengal and tries to play to the Anglo-Indian gallery, he will read over the speech on the subject of his kinsman and friend, Mr. Bhupendranath Basu, reproduced in another part of this number of *The Indian World*, as well as our note on the subject in the present issue under the head of Eastern Bengal and Assam?

We regret to be obliged to refer to another feature of Mr. Saroda Charan Mitter's public activity. We notice that Mr.

† The Sacred Thread
for the Kyasthas

Saroda Charan Mitter recently conducted a tour in some of the Bengal districts for the purpose of

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insisting upon the Kyasthas of Bengal wearing the sacred thread. Though we are quite sure that the Bengal Kyasthas are not half so silly as to take up this idea with any enthusiasm, yet we can not sufficiently condemn this propaganda of neo-Kyasthism. Our progress in the past as a people has been very much retarded by slavishly following, against our conscience and our reason, social injunctions and ordinances of the kind which Mr. Mitter wants to lay upon us at the present day. As for the merits of the question, we leave the Kyasthas and the Brahmins to fight them out between themselves. For ourselves, we can not approve of the wisdom of a movement which is bound to set caste against caste, revive the reign of custom, and encourage the introduction into the peaceful life of the Bengal Kyasthas the martial vigour of the warrior-castes of the North. In these days when anarchy and violence is rampant, it is most mischievous to whip up a people to its martial traditions. Sufficient to the day is the evil thereof. The Bengal Kyasthas may be Kshatriyas—but, for heaven's sake, let the sleeping lions alone. And as for Mr. Mitter's efforts to convince his caste-men of the communal advantage of wearing a sacred thread, he is surely running a losing race with Time.

Public thanks are abundantly due to Mr. Radha Charan Pal and Dr. Haridhan Dutt for their indefatigable exertions in bringing home to the Police their shameful guilt in connection with the Nintollah fire. It is very seldom that such a case of Police nepotism is unearthed and legally substantiated. But Mr. Radha Charan and Dr. Haridhan have almost achieved the impossible. It is sad to reflect upon the fact that highly paid European members of the Calcutta Fire Brigade, which, according to present arrangement, is under the charge of the Calcutta Police should refuse to play the hose without consideration. What a revelation ! And yet we are told by Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu that it is only the Indian section of the Police that is open to corruption and needs improvement. Poor Indians !

After the very careful and patient hearing given to the defence by the Special Tribunal of the High Court in the Haludbari Dacoity Haludbari Dacoity Case and the very considerate and closely-argued judgment delivered by the Chief Justice, no one can doubt that the accused have been fairly dealt with and rightly convicted. We are indeed mortified to find the increasing complicity of our youngmen in gang dacoities. The Bighati trial was certainly an eye-opener, but a large section of the public was

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yet unconvinced about the fact that our literate youngmen had taken to dacoity as a serious pastime in life. But after the conviction of the principal accused in the Haludbari case, one must be prepared to look facts squarely in the face. What, indeed, has come upon our youngmen that they should soil their hands and disgrace their people and the country to which they belong by lending themselves to such an unholy, immoral and unpatriotic programme? Is there no power on earth which can induce them to turn away from these evil ways and convert them into respectable and patriotic citizens? When, indeed, can we expect the return of sanity in the patriotism of our youngmen?

One of the most promising signs of the times is the zest with which Bengalees have begun to utilise the water-ways of the province to run steamship lines.

The Bengal Steamship Company, Ltd.

There has recently appeared several companies in the field, but one of the most successful, and skilfully organised and economically run, lines is the Bengal Steamship Company, Ltd. We have before us its last published report for the year 1909, and we feel no hesitation in congratulating Messrs. Muralidhar Roy and Brothers, the Managing Agents, for the splendid success achieved by the Company during the short time of its existence. The dividend of 9 per cent. per annum in the first year of a company's life which it has been the singular fortune of the Bengal Steamship to declare would, no doubt, make many a Board of Directors green with jealousy. Next year we hope to hear of still better result.

We are glad to note the success of another Indian Joint-Stock concern—The National Insurance Company of 22, Canning Street. The Directors' report and accounts for the year ending 28th February 1910 are indeed very encouraging. During the year, 1859 life proposals were received and 1393 accepted for the sum of Rs. 20,77,950. The total annual premium income as at 28th February, 1910, was Rs. 2,92,015 as against Rs. 1,59,346 of last year. This shows an increase of Rs. 1,32,668. The Company has paid a dividend of Rs. 5 per share on 1st October 1909. As the accounts have been audited by Messrs Lovelock and Lewes no exception can be taken to the figures of the Company. We wish the Company renewed success every year.

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

Though the statement made by Mr. Valentine Chirol, the special correspondent of *The Times* in India, to the effect that unrest is still the dominant factor in the Indian political situation today is wide of the mark and an exaggerated reading of the signs of the times, it is evident that there is a great tension of feeling between the European and the Indian population of this country and a widespread discontent among all classes of the people. The tension of feeling between the rulers and the ruled is no doubt due, as Lord Morley has clearly given expression to the fact, to racial pretensions and racial prejudices. The discontent is owing to continued disappointment to get our claims recognised and our grievances redressed by a long line of Anglo-Indian administrators. We shall in this note deal with each of these two phases at some length.

We are not one of those people who believe that at the bottom of the racial antagonism in this country there is nothing else but wickedness and perversity. The whole of this antagonism is traceable to a long series of misunderstandings and misapprehensions, beginning from a date much earlier than that of the Ilbert Bill. All these again have their origin in sharp conflicts of various interests. The Anglo-Indian, from his position of vantage, has always stoutly refused to part with any of his special privileges and to make any concessions to Indian demands. The Indian, taking advantage of western education and the spread of democratic ideas all over the civilized world, has learnt to knock for rights of citizenship, for a share in the administration of his country and the liberalization of his government. "Knock and it shall be opened" may have been the words of an Asiatic prophet, but it has been the secret of success of democratic ideas in the West. If 'knock and open' be the secret of success of Western agitation, why should it not hold good in India also?

There has recently appeared a school of Anglo-Indian thinkers, of the Strachey-Colvin-Lyall-Chesney type, who seem to entertain the idea that Eastern countries are no good for Western institutions and that what may be good for the West is bound not be so for the East. Very similar arguments have in several countries of Europe been frequently advanced from time to time against the spread of female education. Readers of

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Sydney Smith's essays know with what good-humoured banter such objections were answered by the great ecclesiastical wit of the last century. Similar objections were also advanced by people who stoutly resisted the abolition of the slave trade, as they asserted the freedom of the slave would redound to his misery and unhappiness. Now, with the abolition of the slave trade and the almost universal education of women, Europe is much the more happy and contented. We need not, therefore, entertain seriously the arguments of selfishness which are inspired by the principle of what is sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. Moreover, it is historically inaccurate and misleading to say that popular and responsible governments are merely Western institutions. It has been shown times out of number by a host of recent writers that representative government in India is almost as old as its hills.

As we have said above, Anglo-Indian statesmen pin their faith upon these convictions not out of any motive of wickedness, but as a measure of self-protection. It will not, however, do in these days to monopolize all the loaves and fishes of office, the responsibility of government, and the position of power. There must be some amount of give and take. The Anglo-Indian must not oppose every legitimate demand of the educated Indian for an increasing measure of self-government and must recognise the fact that, condemn how you may the present system of education and the consequences of Macaulay's folly, the educated Indian has found out his birthright and will not take things lying down. You may not like the educated Indian, but it is no good trying to put him down or treating him with contempt.

Besides the attitude of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy there is another matter which deserves special notice,—it is the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press. Though we do not think that there is any wickedness behind the aggressive hostility of the Anglo-Indian Press against all advanced Indian movements and aspirations, we can not condemn sufficiently the spirit of superciliousness with which the Anglo-Indian Press deals with all Indian questions. The Anglo-Indian Press seems to be far too conceited and dogmatic to treat any difference of opinion with consideration. From the editor of the *Statesman* down to that of the *Eastern Bengal Era*, every Anglo-Indian journalist thinks himself to be a *sub-juncta* and beyond correction or doubt. However short and imperfect may his acquaintance with India and its people be, he writes on Indian affairs with an air of confidence which would put many an author of *penny dreadfuls* to shame. There is nothing in Indian affairs beyond

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

his ken or which he thinks unequal to explain. He holds in his hands all the tangled skeins of all revolutionary conspiracies which may or may not be in existence in the country ; he constitutes himself the arbiter and champion of all communal interests. He knows to perfection where the Hindu fails and the Mahomedan succeeds. He has got by rote all the passages of Steevens, Rudyard Kipling and of *Twenty-One Days in India* about the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Bengalee Babu and the Mahratta Brahmin. The Native States are always subjects of his special care. He thinks he has the making or the unmaking of our people in his hands and, like the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat, has a supreme contempt for the educated Indian. Though he never affects to be omnipotent, he never forgets that he is omniscient. From his editorial chair in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Allahabad he daily describes the currents and under-currents of Indian life with as little regard for truth as some of the most gushing and go-ahead journalists in Fleet Street. He supplies to the English Press all the sorry material for scare head-lines, for the Anglo-Indian journalist is, above everything, a panic-monger and a purveyor of sensational news. The air of superiority and the attitude of omniscience always assumed from the doyen to the veritable tyro of the Anglo-Indian Press constitute a great menace to Indian progress and stand considerably in the way of successful administration in India. Until and unless the Anglo-Indian journalists care to study India and her problems at first hand, without prejudice or bias, as the late Mr. Robert Knight did, or to draw their inspiration of Indian affairs from the responsible leaders of the people, carefully read the organs of Indian opinion, note their contents and modify their opinions in the light of the knowledge supplied by them, till then we have no doubt the Anglo-Indian Press must remain a danger to the State.

This is so far as the tension of feeling between the rulers and the ruled is concerned. Now, we shall deal with the direct causes of discontent. When we look back to the series of repressive legislations which have been placed upon our statute book since Lord Ripon left the shores of this country, when we recollect the many acts of executive high-handedness which have remained unredressed at the hands of our government during the last quarter of a century, when we bring before our mind's eye the numerous occasions when Indian public opinion has been absolutely disregarded and, sometimes, contemptuously treated, we realize how greatly has the government of this country been responsible for the discontent which is so

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pronounced a feature of the present situation. The Partition of Bengal was no doubt the last straw to break the camel's back, but, it is well-known how, before that measure came into force, the poor people of India was already groaning under iniquitous imposts, under re-actionary laws, and repressive executive measures. The shelving of the recommendations of the Indian Public Service Commission, the treatment accorded to a resolution of the House of Commons in regard to the simultaneous holding of the Civil Service examination in England and India, the countervailing excise duty imposed on Indian cottons at the pressure of Lancashire, the introduction of a new section on sedition into the Indian Penal Code with a view to penalise all 'want of affection' for the Government and the administration, the withdrawal of popular power from the Corporation of Calcutta, the officialization of the universities of India, the weakening of the political and social influence of the Bengalee-speaking people in the name of territorial redistribution, the dispersal of a Provincial Conference at Barisal, the conduct of the Police in the riots of Jamalpur and Beadon Square, the overbearing and insolent treatment accorded to His Majesty's 'equal subjects' in this country by a number of white birds of passage, the 'unequal' treatment received by the Anglo-Indian and the Indo-English and the vernacular Press, the enactment from time to time of various measures introducing pretty drastic machinery, the quartering of the punitive police in remote country-sides, the petty prosecutions against the Press, the system of indiscriminate and reckless house searches, the prohibition of District and Social Conferences, the increasing refrigeration between the rulers and the ruled and, at the top of all these, the rather frequent use of the Regulation III of 1818, all these had a cumulative effect in driving the iron into our souls and spreading a spirit of unrest in this country. And as to the vast mass of poverty that exists in the country, the Government seems to have done precious little to reduce it. Have the responsible men who are at the helm of the State ever taken care to enquire how all these measures, singly and jointly, have goaded our people almost to a sense of desperation? To repress a people and flout its public opinion is no doubt an Asiatic way of demonstrating the governing spirit or the ruling strength. Western statesmanship, on the other hand, suggests the removal of sore grievances as the only way of successful administration. "We are representatives," Lord Morley himself has told us, "not of Oriental civilisation but of Western civilisation, of its methods, its principles and its

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

practices." And is it not an English political philosopher who has laid down the doctrine that sympathy on the part of a government consists in giving the people what it wants and removing what it does not? Has the Government ever approached the question of popular grievances from this broad standpoint or extended the unflagging spirit of conciliation to the solution of every Indian problem? The people wonders, and Echo answers "No."

The Remedy That seems to be the Indian position in a nutshell. What is now the remedy for all this discontent? Briefly the word 'repression' must be replaced by the word 'sympathy' in the official world, the Anglo-Indian official must be prepared to give and take, and the Anglo-Indian Press cease to be omniscient and offensive. The anxiety of the official always to stand in *loco parentis* and the habit of the Anglo-Indian journalist to always distort and misrepresent Indian views must be given up. There recently appeared a very beautiful article in *The Nineteenth Century* from the pen of Mr. Wodehouse and also an interesting leader in the *Englishman* under the heading of "Pause," a careful perusal of which we recommend to Messrs. Paul Knight and Evered Digby & Co. At the same time, we must not ourselves forget our own share of responsibility in the matter. Indian newspapers and Indian speakers must avoid the habit of imputing motives to every Government measure and administrative action. They must give up the habit of exaggeration and of crying for the wolf when and where it is not. They must learn to be tolerant of other people's faults and be generous to other people's weaknesses. We must always bear in mind that it is no easy task to change the policy of the Government all at once. Nor is it any good crying for the moon or becoming impatient idealists, and, after all, the British government in India is perhaps the best we have had for many a long century and also the most well-equipped to hold sway over us for many generations yet to come. Above all, we must insist upon our more emotional countrymen not to transgress law and order for that way does not lie our peace, progress and prosperity. It is of course by themselves nations are made, but there is very little chance of our reaching the goal by riding at a break-neck speed.

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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XI]

MAY—1910

[No. 62

DIARY FOR APRIL, 1910

Date

1 At Cawnpur H E Lord Minto inspects all places of interest in connection with the Sepoy Revolt

A Sub Inspector of the Noakhali Police, along with a constable, raided the National School there and took down the names and addresses of the students

2 Then Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto arrive at Agra.

Babu Bishnu Charan Roy, a remandee of Madhabpur in Faridpur, is arrested today in connection with the search of his house where a quantity of gun powder is alleged to have been found

3 The Viceroy and Lady Minto inspect the Moghul ruins at Fatehpur Sikri

4 At a meeting of Bengal Legislative Council held at Belvedere the Calcutta Police Act Amendment Bill is discussed and passed

A warrant is issued for the arrest of Mr Aurobindo Ghose for a letter published over his name and addressed 'To My Countrymen', and the Singhiari Office, where Mr Ghose lived for sometime, is searched by the Police in consequence

5 At a meeting of the Ebassam Legislative Council held at Dacca, Sir L Huie in a lengthy speech supports the Partition of Bengal and the prohibition of the Conference at Faridpur, Mymensingh and Burial

6 At a meeting of the Punjab Legislative Council, Mr MacLagan presents the provincial budget as assented to by the India Government

7 The Bombay Government Gazette contains a list of prohibited publications, including the *Indian Socialism and Justice*

8 The provincial budgets are passed by the Punjab Legislative Council at Lahore and the Ebassam Council at Dacca

9 A rather violent shock of earthquake is felt at Chittagong, Chittagpur, Comilla, Birisal and Noakhali

10 The Viceregal party are touring in the Kurram valley

11 The Mymensingh District Moslem Educational Conference opens at Jamalpur, the District Magistrate, Mr Blackwood, and several Hindu gentlemen being present

12 The Maharajah of Patiala issues a notification to the effect that no boy or girl below the age of 18 in his State shall use any intoxicant, including tobacco, under pain of a fortnight's imprisonment with fine.

The Gonda Exhibition opens today

In the House of Commons, Mr Montagu replying to Mr O'Grady, states that Lord Morley is considering the proposals to create an Executive Council in Bengal. The question of a similar Council for L B was not immediately contemplated

13 Sir Charles Allen, the Chief Secretary of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, dies suddenly at Darjeeling

14 In the House of Commons, Mr Montagu, replying to Sir Philip Magnus, states the necessity for an improved system of education in India demands a comprehensive and urgent recognition. Lord Morley is unable at present to promise the appointment of a Commission or Royal Committee, but he recognises the probable advantage of such a course

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15. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald asked Mr. Montagu a long question in regard to the warrant of arrest issued against Mr. Aurobinda Ghosh, but the latter replied that he was not aware of the issue of any warrant.

16. The first session of the Zoroastrian Conference is held at Bombay.

17. The Behar Provincial Conference opens at Muzaffarpur with Mr. Deep Narain Singh in the chair, in which he recants his previous subscription to the Bengal boycott programme.

18. Bhai Parmanand at Lahore is ordered by Mr. Harrison, Special Magistrate, to execute a bond of 5 sureties for Rs. 9,000 to be of good behaviour for 3 years and in default to undergo 3 years' simple imprisonment.

19. In the House of Commons, Mr. O'Grady asked whether, in view of the loss to the officers concerned, who were suffering by two years' delay in the presentation of the Government of India's report on the proposed re-organisation of the Provincial Service of Works Department, Lord Morley would communicate with India with a view to speedy submission of the report. To this Mr. Montagu replied : The Government of India has recently laid the proposals before the Local Governments, but there has not yet been time to receive a reply. Lord Morley will see that there is no unnecessary delay, but the question is one of considerable difficulty.

20. Over 200 Hindus of Peshawar submit a strongly worded memorial to the Chief Commissioner, charging the Deputy Commissioner with culpable negligence during the recent riots there.

21. Certain Moulvies are holding again and again Mahomedan mass meetings in Gcwindpore, Jalalabad, and Shaikhaia villages in Raipura Thana of Naraingunj Sub-division and preaching that Mussalmans should not pay Hindu Mahajans their dues nor in any way serve Hindu masters. They are exciting Mussalmans against Hindus, characterising the latter as oppressors, usurpers, infidels and what not.

22. Inspector Pettigara of the Bombay C. I. D. produced before the Chief Magistrate there five different booksellers having, as alleged, in their possession more than 3,000 copies of certain prescribed books. Several Christian houses in Calcutta are also searched by the Police today.

23. Sir Pherozeshah and Lady Mehta leave Bombay for England by the P. & O. Steamer *Mantua*.

24. Halley's Comet becomes visible in several parts of India.

25. The Kamala Press of Khulna is released under orders of the Local Government.

The Chief Justice of Bengal with two other Judges of the Calcutta High Court, sitting as a Special Tribunal, convict today a batch of young men of respectable families for their complicity in the Haludbari Dacoity case (Bengal).

26. The U. P. Budget is discussed and passed at a meeting of the Legislative Council held at Lucknow.

27. In the Peshawar trial, the Special Magistrate convicts 108 persons and sentences them from three to five years' imprisonment.

28. The Viceregal party leave Dehra Dun for Simla.

29. A great panic prevails in Behar in consequence of some atrocious murders committed by a superstitious mob in connection with an absolutely false impression about the foundation of the Dhang bridge near Sitamarhi.

30. Lord Morley speaking today at the Royal Academy Banquet in London thus referred to India : I think for the moment circumstances are hopeful and satisfactory. We believe that we have overcome great difficulties and have prepared the way for a further advance in the same direction towards, I fervently hope and believe, the same satisfactory end. But the Indian problem is enormous, and its perils are not easily grasped by the people of England.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Special Representation

The Government of India have declined to grant the request of the Parsee community for special representation in the Councils of the Empire.

Malik of Pahari Khel

It is satisfactory to learn that the Indian Government has been both quick and lavish with its rewards to the Malik of Pahari Khel, whose action brought about the death or capture of 12 noted outlaws last month. He has been given 7,500 rupees, a rifle, and a plot of land, rent free, for seven years. He has also been given a stone house, and the privilege of a chair in durbar. It is to be hoped that he will confine him, if to his stone house for some months, to come as several trans frontier warriors have sworn to have his life.

The Transvaal and British Indians

Sixty British Indians were deported from the Transvaal early in May. Since then there have been two more batches of Indian deportees from South Africa. Among the first 60, twenty five assert that they are South African born. They complain bitterly that in spite of the assurances of Lord Crewe and Colonel Seely men born in South Africa or long domiciled there should be deported. They also complain of the hardships and had accommodation and food on boardship. The majority of the Indians landed practically destitute, their families, relatives, and resources being in the colonies.

Indians and the Colonies

There has recently been presented to Parliament the report of the Indian Emigration Committee, appointed in March, 1909, by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with the concurrence of Lord Morley. The object of this committee was to inquire into the question of emigration of Indians to the Crown Colonies, and in carrying out the work, the committee's labours have been of an arduous character. A very large number of witnesses were called including some specially summoned to London from India, Trinidad, and Mauritius, and the evidence occupies many hundreds of printed pages. The main feature of the report, which is a unanimous one, there being no minority report, is that the committee does not favour the importation of Indian coolies for specific terms or for a specific purpose, or unless the coolies are given facilities for settling down in the territory to which they go on the conclusion of their indentured period. The report deals fully and separately with the conditions, as affecting Indian emigrations, in each of the Crown Colonies, and points out to which of these Indian emigration is recommended, and where it is regarded

as unsuitable. In the latter category are included all the British West African Colonies which, it is held, are quite unsuited to Indians. In the case of Mauritius, the Committee recommends that no further Indians be imported. The supply of labour is already sufficient, and the island, is, moreover, becoming over-populated.

The Consumption of Drink

It remains true that India is, comparatively speaking, an abstemious country. Nevertheless, the ominous fact is being continually emphasised that the Indian people are in danger of losing this proud distinction in consequence of the spread of Western customs and the removal of traditional restrictions. The figures of net revenue from intoxicating liquors were given as follows in reply to a recent question in the House of Commons :—

Years				£
1874-5	...	...	...	1,561,000
1883-4	...	...	...	2,538,000
1894-5	...	...	...	3,620,000
1904-5	...	...	...	5,295,000
1905-6	...	...	...	5,621,000
1906-7	...	...	...	5,835,000
1907-8	...	...	...	6,163,000
1908-9	...	...	...	6,342,000
1909-10	...	...	...	6,717,000

It is not contended that these alarming figures represent a proportionate multiplication in the actual consumption of drink and drugs, a considerable part of that increase being doubtless due to other causes ; but the fact remains that they do represent a very serious growth of intemperance amongst a naturally sober population. Independent evidence of this is forthcoming from many quarters, and it is officially admitted in the Government reports. It is difficult to obtain figures for comparison of the actual consumption of liquor, but, as an illustration, it may be stated that in certain distillery areas, where the consumption of country spirit five years ago was 6 million gallons, it rose last year to 8½ millions. In the province of Bengal the increase of country liquor distilled in five years shown in the official returns was 50 per cent., whereas the population only increased 2 per cent. The quantity of liquor imported into India twenty years ago was 2½ million gallons ; in 1908 it was 7 million gallons.

A Resolution on the Press Act

The Bombay Government has recently been obliged to issue the following Resolution in view of the diversity of interpretations in the matter of security for old Presses :—“ Security should ordinarily be dispensed with when a fresh declaration has to be made in respect of an already existing newspaper or press, if it has been well-conducted in the past. In exercising the discretion vested in them by law, Magistrates should consider all the circumstances of each case, the character and antecedents of the persons in whose names in the new declarations are made, their age, standing, and

reputation. The manner in which the presses and newspapers have been conducted in the past may be taken as evidence of the way in which they are likely to be conducted in future, but in deciding whether security should or should not be taken the true criterion is the use to which they are likely to be put after the fresh declaration."

The Imperial Council

The *Times of India* writes :—" We have at length finished with the Legislative Councils, and everyone, we imagine, is glad that the last question has been put and the last speech read. The Imperial Council has been a great strain on all concerned, from the Eurasian reporters, who have been at their wits' end to know how to cope with the mass of oratory, to His Excellency the Viceroy, who would have been more than human if he had managed to keep awake half the length of the sessions. The trouble so far has been that everyone has been so conscientious. Throughout the dullest speeches members have remained in their places with the fidelity of Roman sentinels. Happily there are signs that this constant attendance, which gratifies every bore with a full audience, is being relaxed. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has begun to stay away with some regularity. A distinguished member of the Government of India retired from one sitting, and was to be seen in an ante-room solacing himself with a well-used pipe, and it has been noticed that other officials have found a stroll in the corridors more soothing than the torrent of verbiage within the Council Chamber. Unfortunately, so long as the Viceroy presides over the gathering, a general stampede will be impossible, as it would savour of disrespect to His Excellency. But if at any time a duly qualified Speaker is appointed, there can be no doubt that a library and smoke-room for members will become essential, for the chamber would empty as soon as Mr. Dadabhoy or the learned Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya got on his feet. And this is the only cure for sheer boredom. The need of a Speaker with a greater knowledge of procedure than a Viceroy can spare time to acquire will become manifest as the novelty of the Council wears off and members begin to display more activity. The Viceroy has not been altogether happy in his rulings, and if he were called upon to exercise his judgment more frequently his position would become trying. It is generally agreed that he was wrong when he ruled Mr. Bhupendranath Basu out of order in the closing debate on the Budget. The understanding was that the final stage was to resemble the old miscellaneous debate, and that any topic could be introduced. Yet Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was called to order for speaking on the partition of Bengal, a question which was germane to the Budget, since it contains an increased grant for Eastern Bengal and Assam. No one desired to have this wearisome and unsettling subject discussed, and hence no one was sorry when the Viceroy intervened and brought the speech to a pause. But if the matter is considered strictly on its merits there can be little doubt that Mr. Bhupendranath Basu was in order, and on some other occasion a like blunder on the part of the Viceroy would cause some unpleasantness."

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COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

Sea Fishing

The prospectus of the Pioneer Fishing and Curing Company, Rangoon, has been issued locally. The capital is Rs. 2,00,000 in shares of Rs. 10, of which Rs. 5 will be called up at once. The company has secured two steamers. A Fishing Company is also being promoted at Bombay.

Indian Glass Factory

The prospectus of the Madras Glass Works, Limited, has been issued in India. The Company proposes to engage in the manufacture of glassware, an industry for which there is said to be a good opening. The imports of glassware are considerable, while most of the materials for the manufacture are locally available. This will be the third company to attempt the manufacture of glass in India. A fourth company is also about to be started in Bombay.

Prosperous Rangoon

Rangoon is fast developing into a prosperous port. Its riverside is now lined with long wharves, and often difficulty is experienced for a steamer to land its cargo. Merchants are building palatial offices of four or five storeys, where formerly stood edifices of one or two storeys of no architectural pretensions. The streets and houses are lit by electricity in place of kerosene lamps. The roads are crowded with vehicular traffic, and motor-cars costing Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 10,000 each are used by the mercantile community.

Garda Canal

The boldest scheme of irrigation work ever contemplated in Northern India is the suggested Garda Canal, and it will present difficulties that will fully tax the ingenuities of engineers to carry on the work at any reasonable cost. If the project goes forward the head works will probably be at or near Banbassa, and the canal will take a westerly course, reaching the Ganges in a length of about 160 miles. The alignment crosses a number of rivers and drainage channels in sub-Himalayan country with a fairly steep slope necessitating much masonry work at the points where these channels have to be negotiated.

Still Backward in Manufacture

A correspondent writing to the *Nation* (London) says :—The latest trade returns show that India is still backward from a manufacturing point of view. The largest item in manufactured exports is contributed by the cotton mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad. Luckily they depend upon Indian cotton, of which the last crop was very large. Being unable to make the finer counts, the Indian manufacturer exports chiefly to Asiatic nations, where Japan is a keen competitor. The jute industry is about as large as the cotton, and it has a more general export trade, for the gunny sacks of Calcutta are found in every part of the world. But the trade has been for some time in an unsatisfactory condition, owing to the large extension of jute mills, and many owners would be glad if a four days' working week were temporarily adopted. The extensive import of manufactured tobacco shows that in spite of the attempts to start Swadeshi cigarette factories, makers are dependent for their material on foreign sources. It will be in-

teresting to learn the effect of doubling the import duty on cigarettes. There is said to be enough tobacco land in India, skilfully treated, to supply not only India, but an export trade, and the same remark applies to sugar, which is imported on a large scale. But, then, it has also been said that Devonshire (with intensive cultivation) could raise enough wheat for England, and Scotland with sufficient vineyards could provide all our wine. Hence the *Pioneer's* remark that a great many articles are imported which could be made in India must be taken with a pinch of salt. Paper is one of these articles, matches are another ; but, then, there is a difficulty about obtaining suitable wood. Glass, also, it is thought, might be made in India, and, in fact, the Madras Government is giving a grant to a newly-started glass factory. Commercially and industrially India is sure to progress, so long as it is not hampered by tariff wars or internal disturbances.

Technical Education in India

An Indian correspondent, writing to *The Times Engineering Supplement* says :—India is, as yet, not sufficiently advanced in modern civilization to admit of a large increase in the numbers who seek an outlet in the higher branches of technical science. The openings which do present themselves are mostly in civil engineering, and, though present developments in mining, particularly coal mining, have created a demand for mining and mechanical engineers, yet the physical circumstances of the country render the number of openings, apart from those in civil engineering, small. The innate objection of the native of India to enter other than Government employment is also a serious factor in attempting to devise plans for the advancement of technical education. The geological formation of India and the geographical situation of her colleges are factors of great importance in any discussion as to the relative merits of different system of education to suit India's special needs. The country is a poor one, when judged by the trade statistics per head of her 300,000,000 inhabitants. For the next 50 years at least it will not be worth while to provide specialized technical instruction in every Presidency in each one of the great sections of engineering, for the three main reasons—(1) that India will not develop at a sufficiently rapid rate (2) that as specialized instruction is at all times an expensive matter, the need of duplication of instruction will have to be clearly shown before local governments would agree to load themselves with the expenditure necessary ; and (3) that the output from the colleges ought not to exceed the country's needs. At the present juncture co-ordination of some kind is urgently required, and it would appear that a committee, upon which the various great departments, such as Commerce and Industry, Public Works, &c. would be represented, would really best meet the existing situation. Bengal is regarded as a district with special facilities for technical development, because Calcutta is the capital of India, and the greatest trade emporium, and because the Gangetic plan is thickly populated. Coal-mining, spinning, weaving, and tanning may be instanced as examples. At the time of the Delhi Durbar a great exhibition of the arts and crafts of India was held, and the results of this most interesting exhibition

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were published in a book under Government authority. This book, besides being a compendium of arts and crafts for the whole of India, is also worthy of study from the statistical point of view. Analysis shows that Bengal does not occupy that pride of place in regard to arts and crafts that it should if account be taken of the size of its population. Bengal, indeed, stands last but one on the list. It is not easy to account for this fact, which, however, must not be overlooked, especially by officials on their first arrival in the East. Probably it is an illustration of the influence of climate upon character. Bengal has a moist and damp climate, while the Punjab is a dryer and colder region, undoubtedly tending to produce an individual made of sterner stuff than the Bengali. It will be said against this that large engineering and other works do flourish in the Bengal Presidency, and mechanical engineering is essentially a profession which demands stamina from those who practise it. On the other hand, however, it must be remembered that most of these engineering firms are in European hands, worked by European capital and with the European "drive" behind them. No decadent industries can be revived or new industries established unless the cause of decadence be removed, and if that cause lie in the essential characteristics of the people, it is a mere waste of money to spend it in the attempt. Although it is in Bengal that the loudest complaints against Government lassitude are heard, it would appear probable that more permanent good would result from efforts in the direction of technical education in the western districts than in the eastern, owing to the greater adaptability of the population. It is to the western districts that aid should be given if the ancient crafts of India are to be preserved.

SELECTIONS

THE NEW IMPERIAL COUNCIL IN INDIA

I

Before attempting to review briefly the proceedings of the new Imperial Council, the first fruits of the Reform Scheme of 1909, I desire to warn your readers that whatever estimate may be formed of its potential usefulness is altogether subject to the suppression of the present seditious movement, which—whether it be, as many hope, merely a transient, superficial agitation, or, as others fear, a widespread, deep-seated conspiracy for the overthrow or paralysis of British rule—is unquestionably still the dominant factor in the present situation in India. I hope later on to deal very fully with this grave problem; but for the present I can only say that there appears to be little or no substantial evidence in support of the optimism which prevails in certain official circles both here and at home. What follows should therefore be read in the light of the above important reservation.

In closing the first Session of the Imperial Council, as the Viceroy's Legislative Council enlarged under last year's Reform Scheme is now generally called in contradistinction to the enlarged Provincial Councils of the local governments, Lord Minto very properly described it as "a memorable Session." It has been even more than that. For better or for worse it has been a memorable event in the history of India, for cautious and tentative as has been the attitude of all parties concerned during this first Session, and free as it has been from any startling incidents, no one can have watched its proceedings without being conscious of the presence of a new force of vast potentialities which must tend to modify very profoundly the relations between the governors and the governed in this great Dependency.

SOME OF THE MEMBERS

Even to the outward eye the old Council Chamber at Government House has unquestionably presented during these meetings a very significant spectacle, to which the portrait of Warren Hastings over the Viceregal Chair always seemed to add a strange note of admiration. The round table at which the members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council used to gather, with far less of formality, has disappeared, and the 59 members of the enlarged Council have their appointed seats disposed in a double hemicycle facing the Chair. They sit for the most part according to provinces, and the features, as well as in some cases the dresses, of the Indian members show at a glance how representative this new Council really is.

The tall burly frame of the Kur Sahib of Patiala is only more conspicuous than that of the Maharajah of Burdwan, because the former wears the many-folded turban and brocaded dress of his Sikh ancestry, whereas the latter, like most Bengalis of the upper classes, has adopted the much more commonplace broadcloth of the West. The bold, hawk-like features of Malik Umar Hyat Khan

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of Tiwana in the Punjab are as characteristic of the fighting Pathan from the North as are the Rajah of Mahmudabad's more delicate features of the Mahomedan aristocracy of the erstwhile kingdom of Oudh. The white *swadeshi* garments affected by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from the United Provinces—who opened the last meeting of the Indian National Congress at Lahore with a presidential address which lasted for two hours and a quarter, and wound up with an apology for its brevity on the ground that he had had no time to prepare it—testify, at any rate more loudly to the sternness of his patriotic convictions than the equally *swadeshi* homespun, cut at least in European fashion, of another "advanced" politician, Mr. Bhupendranath Bose of Bengal. More worthy of attention is the keen, refined, and intellectual face of Mr. G. K. Ghokale, the Deccani Brahmin with the Mahratta cap, who has been sent up from the Bombay Presidency to represent one of the most powerful political forces in India—the ruling caste of the last dominant race before the advent of the British Raj. The red fez worn by the majority of Mahomedan members shows that their community has certainly not failed in this instance to secure the generous measure of representation which Lord Minto spontaneously promised to them three years ago at Simla. The peculiar glazed black head-dress of the Parsee and the silk kerchief of the Burman in turn indicate the racial catholicity of the assembly in which Sir Sassoon David, of Bombay, worthily represents, by his authority as a financier, the small Jewish community of India.

REPRESENTATION OF CLASSES

Nor are the different interests and classes less adequately represented than the different races and creeds. Besides the great territorial magnates of whom I have already mentioned two or three by name, there are not a few other well-known representatives of the landed interests which, in a country like India where agriculture is still the greatest of all national industries, have a special claim to respectful hearing, even though they have hitherto for the most part held aloof from the fashionable methods of political agitation. There is indeed a good deal of disappointment among the urban professional classes, in whose eyes a Western education—or rather education on what are, often quite erroneously, conceived to be Western lines—should apparently constitute the one indispensable qualification for public life. But they too have secured no considerable number of seats, and if the voice of the Indian National Congress does not predominate it has certainly not been reduced to silence.

The only classes which have no direct representatives in the new Council are the scores of millions of humble toilers which are known as the "depressed classes" and though quite unaccountably the vast majority of them go to swell the numbers of the Hindu population of India in the census, are regarded as "untouchable" by all the higher Hindu castes. There can be no stranger anomaly than the claim of the high-caste Hindu Politician to "represent" the interests of those with whom he is debarred from all contact, for by their mere touch—nay, by the passing of their very shadow—he holds himself to be "polluted." No doubt a few of the more enlightened leaders are beginning to recognize this anomaly, but the movement for raising the "depressed classes" will have to over-

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come tremendous difficulties before it can make any appreciable headway against the accumulated pressure of social and religious traditions handed down from remote ages. For a long time to come the "depressed classes" will probably find, as in the past, their truest friends and best qualified representatives among the European members of Council, who, just because they are aliens, are free from all the influences, whether of interest or of prejudice, which tend to divide Hindu society into so many water-tight compartments. Let any one who has any doubts on this point read some of the documents published in the Blue-books on the reforms—petitions from low-caste communities imploring Government not to commit the defence of their interests to the Hindu Brahmin, but to continue to them the direct and unselfish protection which they have hitherto enjoyed at the hands of British administrators.

THE SPEECHES AND DISCUSSIONS

Doubts were freely expressed among Englishmen before the meetings of the new Councils as to the competence of the Anglo-Indian officials for the novel duties allotted to them in these assemblies. It was argued, not unreasonably, that men who had never been trained or accustomed to take part in public discussions might find themselves at a disadvantage in controversial encounters with the quick-witted Hindu politician. It is generally admitted now that the first Session, at any rate, of the Imperial Council has by no means justified any such apprehensions. Not a few official members, it is true, were inclined at first to rely exclusively upon their written notes, and there has been indeed from beginning to end but little room for the rapid thrust and skilled parry of debate to which we are accustomed at Westminster. Most of the Indian members themselves had carefully prepared their speeches beforehand, and read them out from typed or even printed drafts before them. In many cases the speeches had been communicated two or three days ahead to the Press, and sometimes a speech was printed and commented upon in the favoured organ of some honourable member, though he had ultimately changed his mind and preserved silence without, however, informing the editor of the fact, or, again, it was published without the interruptions and calls to order which had compelled the orator to drop out some of his most cherished periods. As it was the custom for Indian members to communicate also to the departments immediately concerned the gist of the remarks which they proposed to make, the official members were tempted at first to frame their replies on similar lines and to read out elaborate statements bristling with figures, which would have been much more suitable for circulation as printed minutes. But gradually many of them took courage and showed that they could speak easily and simply, and quite as effectively as most of the Indian members.

Indeed, one of the best speeches of this kind was that delivered on the last day but one of the session by Mr. P. C. Lyon, a nominated member for Eastern Bengal, in reply to the fervid oration of Mr. Bhupendranath Bose on the threadbare topic of Partition. On this, as on other occasions, the florid style of eloquence cultivated by the leaders of the Indian National Congress fell distinctly flat in the calmer atmosphere of the Council room, as indeed Mr. Gokhale warned some of his friends it was bound to do. During the last two days discussion was allowed, somewhat needlessly

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under the new rules, to roam at large over all manner of irrelevant subjects, but on this occasion it served at least one useful purpose. The question of the Partition of Bengal must now, one would think, have received its *quiescus*, for two excellent speeches, delivered with much simple force by Maulvi Syed Shams-ul-Huda, Mahomedan member for Eastern Bengal, and by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, another Mahomedan who sits for Bengal, completed the discomfiture which poor Mr. Bose had already experienced at Mr. Lyon's hands.

PREVALENCE OF GOOD FEELING

In spite of wide divergences of views, the proceedings of the session were generally dignified, sometimes even to the verge of dullness, and with one or two exceptions they were marked by good feeling on all sides. It would be unfair not to give to Mr. Gokhale his full share of credit for this happy result. Though often an unrelenting critic of the Administration, he struck from the first a note of studied moderation and restraint to which most of his political friends attuned their utterances. He naturally assumed the functions of the leader of his Majesty's Opposition, and he discharged them, not only with the ability which every one expected of him, but with the urbanity and self-restraint of a man conscious of his responsibilities as well as of his powers. His was, amongst the Indian members, not only the master mind, but the dominant personality. The European members, on the other hand, showed themselves invariably courteous and good tempered, and not a few awkward corners were turned by a little good-humoured banter. Nor was it unusual to see the Englishman come and sit down by the side of the Indian member to whose indictment he had just been replying, and in friendly conversation take all personal sting out of the controversy.

As Lord Minto aptly put it, the Council room "has brought people together. Official and non-official members have met each other. The official wall which of necessity to some extent separated them has been broken down. They have talked over many things together." From this point of view, if future sessions fulfil the promise of the first one, the Imperial Council may grow into a potent instrument for good, and introduce a permanent improvement in the relations between the Indian peoples and the Government of India. How far it will tend to promote confidence in the Imperial Government and to strengthen the ties which unite India to the Empire is quite another question, which I must reserve for a further letter.

II

I concluded a previous letter by stating that, whilst the indications of the first Session justify the hope that the Imperial Council will tend to improve the relations between the official classes and the peoples of India, the ultimate influence of this larger representation of Indian interests upon the relations of India with Great Britain was a question which I reserved for a further letter. In one important direction it may prove fertile in surprises.

Nothing has as yet struck me more in the course of my present visit to India than the prominence which is being given by almost all classes to economic questions. In the Central Provinces, in the United Provinces, in the Punjab, and here in Calcutta I have

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conversed during the last six weeks with representative Indians of various creeds and classes and political opinions. Not a single one of them but has laid stress upon the urgency of developing the commercial and industrial resources of India. Some see in that direction the real panacea for "unrest," which, they contend, can only be allayed by diverting the activities of Young India from the mischievous field of politics into new and more healthy channels. Others approach the question on stricter economic grounds, and urge the absolute necessity of creating new sources of revenue to meet the increasing expenditure of the State—expenditure which is bound to go on increasing if we are to fulfil our most elementary duties towards the Indians themselves. Others, again, who do not claim to be anything more than intelligent utilitarians, are equally urgent in defence of what they regard as an indisputably sound "business propositions." But all, whether Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsees or Europeans, Bengalees or Punjabis, conservative, or "moderate," or "advanced," are agreed that India has a right to demand the co-operation and generous support of her rulers, both here and at home, in a much more vigorous policy of economic development than has hitherto been pursued. The vehemence and universality of this claim constitute an entirely new departure since I was last in India four years ago. I am aware that for a long time past the economic grievances of India have formed part of the National Congress platform, but the subject was generally handled in a somewhat academic fashion or as a peg on which to hang the usual diatribes concerning the "drain." Moreover, the politicians were apt very often to weaken their case by professing at the same time, in deference perhaps to their sympathizers at Westminster, an invincible faith in the doctrines of Free Trade. They, at any rate, entirely subordinated their economics to their politics. Even if they wished to do the same now, they could no longer afford to do so without jeopardizing their influence.

FISCAL INDEPENDENCE

This new tendency has asserted itself at every turn during the first Session of the Imperial Council. With the exception perhaps of the debates on the Press Bill and on the position of the British Indians in South Africa, it is upon the economic aspects of every question under discussion that attention has been chiefly concentrated. It is in fact remarkable how little has been heard in the course of the Session about the political aspirations of the Indian peoples, and how much about their economic aspirations. In the debates directly devoted to the Budget, as well as in others dealing primarily with education, with public works, with sanitation, points have been repeatedly raised and pressed which, directly or indirectly, effect the whole economic relationship between India and the metropolis. Criticisms of the Budget would probably have been far more outspoken than they actually were if the more militant Indian politicians had not been naturally reluctant to embarrass the Imperial Government in the very first Session of a Council which owes its existence to that Government. For Indian politicians are kept much so well informed as to what is going on at Whitehall not to be aware that the Budget submitted to Council was not the Budget originally prepared by the Government of India, but quite a different Budget amended to suit the economic views of the

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Imperial Government. Even in far Lahore some Indian gentlemen expressed their views very freely to me on the subject. Moreover, as the Session advanced, honourable members began to shake off to some extent the restraint which they had placed upon themselves at first. In the course of a debate on technical education, one of the "advanced" members, Pandit Malaviya, openly charged Government with having in the past destroyed the native industries of India under the selfish pressure of British industrial interests and with refusing at the present day, in obedience to the same behests, to do anything to revive them. The Pandit's bitterness found little or no echo in the Council Chamber, but the common burden of many other speeches, absolutely unexceptionable in tone and substance, was that the Government of India had repeatedly failed in the past to protect the financial, commercial, and industrial interests of India against selfish or at any rate narrow considerations of purely British interests, and that in future quite another attitude will have to be adopted if the Imperial Council is allowed to fulfil its appointed purpose as the interpreter of Indian opinion and Indian desires. Finally, during the last debate one honourable member spoke out the real mind of almost every one of his colleagues in no uncertain terms and with evident reference to the new Indian Budget :—

We regret [Mr. Dadhabhoi said] the absence of fiscal autonomy for India and the limitations under which this Government has to frame its industrial policy. We regret Government cannot at once give the country a Protective tariff. However excellent Free Trade may be for a country in an advanced stage of industrial development, Protection is necessary for the success of infant industries. . . . Even for a small import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on cotton goods a countervailing excise duty upon native manufacturers is imposed, in disregard of Indian public opinion, and the latest pronouncement of the Secretary of State has dispelled all our expectations of the righting of this wrong.

NEW LINES OF CLEAVAGE

The solemn warnings uttered not only by the Finance Member, Sir Fleetwood Wilson, but by the Viceroy himself, with regard to the growth of public expenditure and the necessity of retrenchment will serve only to accentuate this new demand for greater fiscal independence, which may very rapidly overshadow all purely political issues, or at least lead to entirely new lines of political cleavage. Radical politicians at Westminster may be ready enough to make graceful concessions to the political aspirations of Young India, for such concessions cost them nothing at all. Having no personal concern with the administration of India, they are able to earn a very cheap popularity by pressing the claims of the Indians to a larger share in the government of their own country. But their position may be a very different one when they are asked to allow the natural conclusions to be drawn from the very premises they have themselves endorsed. Will they be prepared to say that India must be governed according to Indian ideas when the representatives of Indian opinion begin to claim with far greater unanimity than any mere political aspirations have hitherto commanded that Great Britain must cease to practise a cheap philanthropy in such matters as the opium traffic at the sole expense of the Indian taxpayer, that the Government of India must at least

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be allowed to give preference to Indian industries in its own contracts instead of being compelled, as is often the case at present, to place its orders at home for the benefit of British industries, and, finally, that in fiscal matters India must be free to act in accordance not with British but with Indian ideas of what is best for herself? With regard, moreover, to many of these questions, Anglo-Indian official opinion will be far more closely in sympathy with native opinion than on purely administrative questions, and the opponents of yesterday may very well become the allies of to-morrow against the party which has hitherto claimed a monopoly of British sympathy with Indian aspirations.

The intrinsic merits or demerits of Protection and Free Trade are beside the point. Those who argue that in matters of administration mere efficiency is of less importance than the enlisting of the co-operation of Indian public opinion, are debarred from contending that in economic questions the same Indian public opinion, only far more active and more unanimous, should be subordinated to mere soundness of British doctrine.

I shall have occasion later on to refer in greater detail to these matters, but even in the most superficial survey of the first Session of the Imperial Council it is necessary to direct attention to what has been perhaps the most significant feature in its proceedings.

III

There are one or two further points of some importance with regard to the practical working of the new Imperial Council with which I had not time to deal in my previous articles.

Needless to say that amongst the Indian members it was the politician, and especially the more "advanced" politician, who figured most prominently in the discussions. The more conservative Indians were usually content to listen with more or less visible signs of weariness to the facile and sometimes painfully long-winded eloquence of their colleagues. When they did intervene, however, their speeches were usually short and none the less effective. In most of the division that were taken they supported the Government, and in no single instance was the Government majority hard pressed. The majority in support of any resolution resisted by Government never reached 20, and generally fluctuated somewhere between 16 and 20. The only resolution which would have certainly combined all the native members in support of it was Mr. Gokhale's resolution with regard to the position of British Indians in South Africa, but as it was accepted by Government it was passed *nem. con.* without a division.

SOME PRACTICAL DRAWBACKS

That in these circumstances the official members who are at the same time heads of the most important administrative and executive departments should be kept in constant attendance during debates in which many of them are not in any way directly concerned, and that they should thus be detained in Calcutta at a season when their presence would be far more useful elsewhere, constitutes one of the most serious of the many practical drawbacks of the new system for which a remedy will have to be found. It is as if not only the Parliamentary representatives but the permanent officials of our own great public departments were expected to sit

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through the debates in the House of Commons, without even the facilities which the private rooms of Ministers, the library, and the smoking rooms at Westminster afford for quiet intervals of work between the division bells. Nor is that all. The Council has been in session during the very months of the short "cold weather," when it is customary and alone practicable for heads of departments to undertake their annual tours of inspection. The *reductio ad absurdum* is surely reached in the case of the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the Staff. Though the Imperial Council is itself debarred from dealing with Army questions, they could be seen any day sitting through the debates merely because their votes might conceivably be required to maintain the official majority, and, except for one or two short excursions in the intervals between the meetings of the Council, they were tied to Calcutta when they ought to have been travelling about the country and inspecting the troops. Yet it is generally admitted that at no period since the Mutiny has it been more important for the Commander-in-Chief to maintain the closest possible contact with the native army—especially when the Commander-in-Chief is as popular with the Indian soldier as Sir O'Moore Creagh.

Another obvious drawback of the present arrangements is the inconvenience to which members of Council from the provinces are subjected by the irregular intervals at which the Council actually sits. Either they must waste their time at Calcutta during the intervals to the detriment of their interests at home, or they must spend days in railway carriages rushing backwards and forwards from their homes to the capital, for in this country of magnificent distances there are few journeys that take less than 24 hours, and from Calcutta, for instance, either to Madras or to Bombay takes the best part of 48 hours. Unless arrangements are remodelled so as to enable the Council to transact its business, whether *in pleno* or in committee, either in one session or in two short sessions, but in any case continuously, many of its most valuable members, who have important business of their own which they cannot afford to neglect, will cease to attend, and the Council will not only lose much of the representative character, which is one of its best features at present, but will fall inevitably under the preponderating influence of the professional politician. In his closing speech Lord Minto outlined a scheme which would in some measure meet this difficulty, but it is doubtful whether it will prove by any means adequate.

Another point which requires consideration is whether it is desirable for the Viceroy to preside himself over the deliberations of the Council. Even if he could properly afford the time for it, it seems hardly expedient that the immediate representative of the King-Emperor should be drawn into the arena of public controversies. Proceedings are bound to grow more and more contentious, and delicate questions of procedure will arise and have to be settled from the chair. These are all matters in which the Viceroy should not be committed to the premature exercise, on the spur of the moment, of his supreme authority.

THE REPORTING OF THE DEBATES

One of the chief purposes which the creation of the new Councils is intended to achieve is that of enlightening Indian opinion throughout the country by means of the enlarged opportunities

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given for the discussion of public affairs. But that purpose will be defeated unless the discussions receive adequate publicity. They certainly did not do so during the recent session. Not only is the art of gallery-reporting still in its infancy, but many of the Indian newspapers have still to learn that "it is not cricket" to report only the speeches of their political friends and to omit or compress into a few lines the speeches of their adversaries. A glaring instance of this shortcoming was afforded the other day by the *Bengalee*. The Nationalist organ published Mr. Bupendra Nath Bose's speech on the partition of Bengal *in extenso*, as he had intended to deliver it, without taking the slightest notice of the fact that he was repeatedly called to order by the Viceroy and had in consequence to drop out whole passages of the oration, and it published practically nothing else—though perhaps no other indictment of the Government during the whole session was more successfully refuted, both by the official spokesman, Mr. Lyon, and by other Indian members.

Apart, however, from any such deliberate unfairness, the communication of speeches in advance to the Press should be strenuously discountenanced. Many official members showed that they could perfectly well dispense with the doubtful advantage of knowing beforehand exactly what their critics were going to say and if once this practice is stopped newspapers, relieved from the temptation of giving undue preference to easy "copy," will learn to cultivate and to rely upon more legitimate methods of reporting. It is to be hoped also that the *Gazette of India*, which published the official verbatim reports, will not in future lag so far behind the actual proceedings.—(The special correspondent of the *Times*.)

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No problem in India has, in these times, given more genuine cause for anxiety and disquietude than that occasioned by the growth of a spirit which, setting aside all concrete issues and controversies, has developed into a mere antagonism of race; nor can it for a moment be doubted that this is what is actually occurring in certain parts of India to-day. One of the most significant points about the anarchical movement in that country has been the absence, to all outward view, of any other consideration than this; the victims selected from amongst English officials having been, in nearly every case, men conspicuous for precisely those qualities which, one would have thought, might have saved them even from the attacks of a murderous fanaticism—men who, in their general conception of their duties and in their relations with Indians, stood for the highest and most generous traditions of their race. And this gloomy and disturbing thought must have been particularly borne in upon many by a deed which—to select only one instance—is under trial at this moment in Bombay. The late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson of the Bombay Civil Service, belonged, from every point of view, to a class which, as everybody hoped, was peculiarly fitted to guide affairs through the present somewhat acute crisis to a satisfactory and progressive settlement. This is a class which is slowly becoming more numerous every year, and

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which comprises all the best English thought in connection with India ; a class, namely, which while fully alive to its responsibilities, is yet capable of adaptation to a changing environment, starts with no congenital antipathy to India or the Indian people, but rather seeks to make itself acquainted with all that is best, most interesting, and most deserving of sympathy in both, and looks upon Indian aspirations as a natural and healthy growth which, although the process be one of infinite difficulty and complexity, must needs be fostered, encouraged, and guided towards an ultimate realisation by those in whose hands the destinies of the country have been placed. To this class, it may be said, belongs every Englishman, official or unofficial, who has a higher conception of the duties of Empire than that of mere dominance or exploitation, and who recognises that, in the last resort, the truest tribute to British rule will be the progress, prosperity, and happiness of the India which Englishmen have helped to build up.

If, then, this class is to be rejected by the consciousness of India, and if those who belong to it are to be considered enemies of the country, it must be confessed that there remains obviously no hope of ever arriving at a settlement of current problems. The two races must drift further and further into antagonism and the future of India is one to which no man, who is temperamentally opposed to everything like racial feeling and to a reign of force and violence, can look forward without the deepest apprehension and a feeling of keen disappointment that, after so many decades, things should have come to this. Liberalism becomes mere weak iss, and the whole controversy descends to a primitive and uninspiring level. Still worse, perhaps, for many—all the hopes which they had entertained of the Indian people, their confidence in the purity of Indian ideals, and their sympathy for the birth-pangs of a nation in the making, have reluctantly to be given up. Their vision of ordered progress and emancipation, of increasing co-operation and of mutual respect and goodwill, is shattered, and only the dreariest of actualities takes its place.

Such, it must be assumed, were the feelings of many when they read about the outrage referred to above : and especially of those who had known anything personally of its victim and of the way in which, throughout his career, he had set himself to the accomplishment of his duties. The mere fact that the deceased officer was held in the highest respect by all classes of people and was genuinely liked by all who had occasion to have dealings with him, caused his death, at the hands of an Indian, to come as a peculiar shock and to have about it a sinister suggestion heightened by the known facts of his efficiency and popularity.

In circumstances like these, optimism of any kind becomes truly difficult. So difficult, in fact, does it become that it is only by a conscious effort that the mind can be restrained from falling into an attitude which, if it ever became general, would be fatal to all hope of progress and amelioration in connection with Indian affairs. And it is precisely because of this great danger—the greater because it is so natural—that I wish, in the following few pages, to emphasise another aspect of things which, under existing conditions, may tend to pass almost unnoticed; to refer, that is, not to what in these times makes for pessimism but to what, to the

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careful and impartial observer, gives cause for confidence and hope. And in this we shall be guided purely by personal observation and experience, well knowing that in all things connected with India, it is impossible to make absolute statements or to pass outside the limited area of life and thought in which one happens to have been placed.

Speaking generally, the great danger of the present time lies precisely in the amount of apparently conclusive evidence, afforded by certain recent developments, of the existence in India of a widely spread and wholly unreasoning racial hatred, the natural expression of which is in crime and outrage. That such a feeling exists in certain places cannot be denied. Nor can it be denied, as has already been said, that it constitutes the gravest of all dangers in India and that, if it continues to develop, it must render the problem of that country quite insoluble.

But it would be a profound injustice to the Indian people, as a whole, to assume that such a feeling is either natural to the Indian temperament or is in any way representative of the consciousness of the race. The experience of Englishmen in India is sufficient to prove the opposite. No man can be for long in that country without noticing the remarkable absence of insistence upon elemental considerations of race ; and that these should have come into prominence of late with a certain section of Indian thought must be taken rather as a complete subversion of the normal condition of things than as indicative in any way either of the general Indian attitude or of the probable future developments of the problem of India. And it becomes more than ever necessary to insist upon this in view of the fact that amongst those unacquainted with India everything has tended of late to generate another opinion.

Such an opinion, though perfectly natural in the circumstances, cannot but do harm, in so far as it does injustice ; and for this reason it should be guarded against. For the justice required of the Englishman in connexion with India is not merely a matter of the mechanical justice of the law courts. It is rather a general justice of attitude in all things. And one aspect of this will consist in a careful discrimination between good and bad and an avoidance of generalised condemnations. This is perhaps easier for those in actual contact with Indian affairs. But it is by no means easy for those at a distance. The kind of hasty generalisation referred to is natural in view of the absence, amongst English people in general, of any detailed knowledge about India, its people, and its problems : and it is more ready made in proportion to that ignorance. There can be little doubt, indeed, that the majority of home-dwelling English people, when they think of India, have their thoughts unconsciously coloured by vague memories of the Mutiny and, in these latter days, by the kind of things in which the daily Press finds, apparently, the only items of Indian news worth reporting. We live in an age when sensation and striking interest are the qualities chiefly demanded of our newspapers. And so it has come about that whatever there is of anarchy or sedition in our Indian Empire is duly reported, while nearly everything else is left out of account. The result of this has been undoubtedly that the intellectual and emotional contact of England with India has in recent years been narrowed down to

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the finest point—and that point of such a nature as is scarcely likely to promote feelings of friendliness or goodwill towards Indians as a race. This in turn sets up, as time goes on, an altogether unfortunate thought-atmosphere, which enters perceptibly into most discussions of Indian affairs. The new spirit in India is too often accepted at its lowest valuation and comes to be thought of, at a distance, merely as the artificial agitation of a few selfish and designing men, and as having nothing to do with a genuine patriotism or with a real awakening of the higher qualities of the Indian nature. Thus every further development of the movement tends only to increase the feeling of antipathy and resentment towards it. If it has to be met, and if those who are in first-hand contact with it accept it in a more liberal spirit, such action hardly ever carries with it the emotional assent of the majority of people at home. It is at best looked upon as a kind of disagreeable necessity, as something dictated by policy rather than by a genuine liberalism : and if, in the midst of all this, something occurs, like one or two recent happenings to reconfirm an already existing apprehension and dislike, there follows almost inevitably a strong revulsion of feeling right away from any line of progress and adaptation which might suggest itself to responsible persons in India as right and necessary.

Now a feeling like this, however excusable it may be, has an unfortunate result. It is noted in India and comes to be accepted by large numbers of educated Indians as the representative feeling of the race. And this in turn gives rise to a conviction, which has produced half the Extremism that there is in India—the conviction namely that English opinion as a whole is out of sympathy with Indian ideals, is incapable either of understanding them or of giving them a fair hearing, and so is a factor from which nothing is to be hoped. From this emerges the belief that the only course open to Indians is that of pressure and agitation ; and out of the latter is rapidly generated that friction which, in some cases, has developed into an irreconcilable race-hatred. The objectifications of such a hatred tend in due course to strengthen the original feeling, upon which they are largely a reaction ; and so things go on from bad to worse, causes generating effects, and these effects reconfirming the causes.

The history of the Indian movement has been to an appreciable extent of this nature. Suspicion has bred suspicion, hasty judgments have produced hasty judgments, and in this way things have in many places arrived at a purely artificial state of complication which has little to do either with the English or the Indian character as they really are. And the true problem of the future must consist in gradually unravelling this tangled skein and reducing things to a condition of normal and natural simplicity.

One way of doing this is certainly to turn the attention to what is best rather than what is worst in India. Instead of sporadic outrages we should note rather the remarkable racial tolerance shown for so long by the people of India, the spirit of friendliness and hospitality which an Englishman may everywhere meet in that country, and the ready allowances made for the many fundamental differences of habit, temperament, and outlook upon life which separate the European from the Oriental. We should, moreover, note, and give due acknowledgment to the growing

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spirit of unselfishness and public service, the high ideals and the honest self-criticism and efforts at internal reform, which are, all over India to-day, among the accompaniments of the new movement ; and we should not be blind to the many difficulties which a people uneducated in self-help must necessarily feel when it is, of a sudden, stirred with a host of new instincts and is irresistibly compelled to formulate its whole being anew. To judge in this way is no mere sentimentalism : it is rather an essential condition of justice. For of the two opposite types of judgment the kindlier and more human is far more likely to approach nearer to the truth.

It confirms, moreover, the experience of those who have been in the closest touch with Indian thought and feeling. It is the opinion of not a few men who possess such experience that the existing racial feeling in India is, except in a definite class of cases, due to accidental and contributory causes rather than to any deep-seated antipathy to the Englishman as such ; that it arises, that is to say, out of a conflict of another kind and is not the cause of this conflict ; and that as this controversy finds settlement the racial tension which accompanied it will naturally disappear. That this is a point of enormous importance is clear at once, for were considerations of mere race at any time to become of primary weight, the problem could obviously never find solution.

Anyone who has taken the trouble to ascertain the attitude of educated Indians towards the problems of the times will, we think, have discovered that there are certain fundamental difficulties which are responsible for much of the ill-feeling which exists to-day. Some of these are circumstantial, others are psychological. Taken together, they account for many of the misunderstandings and many of the harsh and hasty judgments which have of late been not infrequent on both sides. They are concerned not so much with actual political controversies as with the atmosphere in which those controversies have at present to be worked out, and so, in connection with a problem which is so largely psychological, are worth considering.

Racial feeling, it may be said, is, in many of the forms in which it has grown up in India to-day, largely the product of one or other of the following circumstances, for which no particular race or party but the general disposition of things in that country is responsible.

In the first place, there can be no doubt that on the Indian side a regular thought-structure has, owing to the very nature of the case, been allowed to build itself up during the past decade or so, and that this, so long as it remains, must continue to dominate a large class of minds. It is within this emotional and intellectual atmosphere that great numbers of educated Indians habitually dwell. It is due simply to the fact that the educated classes, being naturally on the side of change and development, have insensibly come to range themselves in a kind of general opposition, not in the first instance malignant or in any way racial, but similar to that which one party in conventional political life adopts towards the party in power. Out of this very normal condition of things, however, has developed a psychological result altogether out of proportion to the original design. For this solidified opposition has led to the almost exclusive insistence in the Indian political Press upon the mistakes, shortcomings, and

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inequalities of British rule. Nine out of ten Indians only read their own newspapers, and consequently nine out of ten have this side of the matter habitually presented to them. The other aspect tends to remain in the shade, the presumption being, one must suppose, that an opposition does not wish to weaken its cause by emphasising the virtues of the other side, no matter how striking or how numerous these may be. It is not its business ; its own task being to criticise and to promote the cause of change. It is true that in many Indian newspapers we find a remarkable fairness of outlook and an impartial discussion of current controversies. But such papers appeal rather to the more thoughtful and intellectual of Indian readers and do not exercise or attempt any kind of emotional appeal. So far as the student population are concerned, and so far (in a larger sphere) as touches the growing idealism of India in these times, it may be safely hazarded that the view of contemporary problems which is day by day, or week by week, presented to them is exclusively that of a recognised opposition. And in this way, not unnaturally, has grown up and developed what we may call a 'generalised judgment' of the whole relationship between England and India, most unflattering to the former and calculated in course of time to inspire somewhat bitter and resentful feelings.

Now, to anyone who has been in contact with educated India in these times, one fact becomes speedily apparent in connexion with this—and it is a fact of the profoundest importance. It is soon seen by experience that this opposition has little reference to the concrete Englishman or to the concrete relationship between the races. Bring the extremist writer and the official Englishman into personal contact, enable them to meet, substitute a human relationship for an abstract relationship, and, if things are at all normal, they will get on admirably together and possibly become the best of friends. It is the abstract relationship, the abstract Englishman, that are detestable to many Indians in these days. It is the idea of British rule, as contrasted with and opposed to the idea of self-government, which makes the aspiring Indian patriot the enemy of the former.

And here two facts must be remembered. The first is that the Indian mind is naturally deductive. It thinks normally from universals to particulars, from the ideal to the concrete ; and so when, owing to a variety of contributory circumstances, the Indian consciousness has become revitalised, it has been quickened, so to speak, at the ideal end. What has happened in India has not been a gradual inductive widening out from smaller to greater—that formula of steady progress which the English mind has always set up for the country—but rather the awakening of an ideal in India, stupendous in its implications and carrying with it all the idealism, the romanticism, and the psychological cravings of an intensely idealistic race. This is a phenomenon which those who have studied Indian thought, and particularly the spiritual and philosophical thought of the race, might have predicted. All through history, the Indian mind has tackled the problem of life deductively. The sages of the past saw intuitively, and then applied what they saw, the ancient Aryan polity, with its elaborately worked out metaphysical reference, being a striking and familiar instance of this. This directivity of mind is, perhaps, a quality peculiar to

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Asiatic, as opposed to European, thought ; and in all questions connected with the mutual relationship and reciprocal influence of East and West is one of basic importance. In the case of the Indian ideal, it is at the root of many apparent puzzles and contradictions ; and those who wish to understand exactly how the awakened consciousness in India is working in these times, will obtain a clearer insight into the whole dualism of England and India if they realise that, whereas the Western mind considers the whole problem of the country inductively, the Eastern mind, as a rule—and especially where the new idealism is keenest—starts with its large ideal ; and the problem becomes for it that of bringing the ideal down into actualisation amid the apparently antagonistic conditions of to-day.

The main point, however, is that, having started at this end, the Indian political consciousness is still in a large measure in the region of ideals. Its emphasis, from the point of view of constructive development, is normally, rather on the end to be achieved, the abstract India of its dreams, than on the steps—slow, it may be, practical and pedestrian—which are logically necessary for its achievement. And consequently there is, just now, every reason for the abstract Englishman, or for British rule in the abstract, to be given a reality and an importance which they do not deserve ; and, while this lasts, the period of violent antagonism, on the plane of ideas, and of a fundamental incompatibility between two contrary propositions—British rule and Indian autonomy—cannot but continue. The only way in which these logical opposites could possibly be resolved would be by reducing the whole problem to actualities—setting concrete Englishmen to work it out with concrete Indians and to deal with every question, as it arose, as man to man, and not as ‘entity’ to ‘entity.’

And this brings us directly to our second fact. That is that, unfortunately, the whole disposition of things on the other side—as they are in India to-day—is directly opposed to any such purely human dealings. So rapidly and irresistibly has our system of government developed that it has absorbed and drawn up into itself all that warm and vital humanity which belonged to an earlier condition of things. We have come to speak in abstractions—‘the Government thinks,’ ‘the Governor-in-Council is of opinion that,’ ‘the Decentralisation Commission holds that,’ and so forth. Even individual officers tend to become in some degree automatic, reflecting the views or the policy of the impersonal mechanism to which they belong. And one effect of this has been, as we say, to throw every problem and every controversial issue right up into the region of ideas. It becomes a ‘paper’ problem, a thing to be generalised about, a subject of ideal antagonism ; and ideal antagonisms are, of all things, the most dangerous and the most likely, if projected into action, to give birth to actions coloured by all the intensity and the extravagance of the region to which they belong. Half of the difficulties in India to-day arise from the fact that ideas, on either side, are forced to remain ideas, without being subjected to that reconciling and harmonising process which ensues upon their being brought down to the humbler plane of practice. So much for one of the causes of estrangement.

Another cause is simple. And that is the lack of personal

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contact between the races. As things are, it is but one Englishman out of a hundred who has anything in the way of personal and intimate dealings with the people of the country. He may see many Indians in the course of his work or his business, he may attend functions at which large numbers of either race are gathered together, and of course his daily life brings him into contact with certain of the menial classes. But a genuine intercourse is so rare that it is very often stated to be impossible—a fact, however, which there are quite sufficient instances to disprove. There are English people in India to-day who have so far broken through this negative convention that they find an entirely new world opening around them—a world of new interests and experiences and of many pleasures from which the exclusionist is entirely shut off. They begin to see what India might be, were this more commonly done; what possibilities of co-operation and rapid progress would open out; and how many problems would become easy of solution which are now almost insuperably difficult.

Circumstances, hard work, club life, marriage, racial modes of amusement and relaxation—all these have much to do with the rarity of personal intercourse. There are other causes, however, of a more psychological nature which have equally much to do with it. And of these causes one can only say, very seriously, that—so long as they exist—the Indian problem must forever remain a problem; racial feeling must continue to paralyse every effort at solution; and manifestations of that feeling must continue, in one shape or another, to occur and confound the whole issue by an appeal to motives and impulses which really lie quite outside it.

This is a genuine problem, and it has been becoming more and more so as the years have gone on. It is, in many ways, the ultimate problem of India. Solve it, and the other will automatically solve itself. Allow a wave of purely human friendliness and confidence to pass through the country, and it will wash away most of these acrimonies and fears and suspicions which have gone so far to produce a strained and unhealthy atmosphere in these times.

In this connexion we speak purely from what we have seen of the experience of men and women who have recognised and made use of the great openings for a development of human interest which life in India so abundantly offers. It invariably happens with such persons that they acquire an affection and a feeling for the country and its people which, in some cases, rises to a peculiar degree of intensity. There can be little doubt that India, thus seen, comes to take hold of a man and to grip his heart and sympathies in a way which few who have not had the experience can understand. And the reason seems to be—quite simply—that such persons see all that is best in the Indian nature. They unlock a door which otherwise remains perpetually closed. Almost unconsciously, perhaps, they discover a source of warm feeling and friendliness which in the dehumanised and depersonalised surroundings of to-day, is often frozen at its fount. They come to see that beneath the externals of Indian life, behind its surface strangeness and remoteness, lies an intensely human heart, eager for friendship and sympathy and abundantly grateful when it finds them. Such a heart needs the right surroundings

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in order to beat freely ; and the very readiness of the response, so often proved by those who have tried, seems to show that an atmosphere of this kind is one for which the Indian nature imperatively craves ; that, in order to be itself, it needs the oxygen of confidence and love. The question has, we think, seldom been raised with regard to the British *regime* in India, whether in spite of a thousand practical benefits, it has not well nigh neutralised all these by its negation of the purely human element in the life of the country ; and whether, by starving the Indian soul, it has not raised up for itself a multitude of problems which a mutual freedom of thought and sentiment might, of itself, have solved before they arose. Nor, we think, has it ever been suggested that perhaps, through this repression of a natural impulse, it may all along have been trusting back into itself an instinct of expansion which was bound sooner or later to break loose in some form or another, and most likely in a form quite different from that which it would have taken under more natural circumstances. The very impersonality of our *regime* in India has given to the latter a coldness, a hardness, and an impassivity which, in themselves, and quite apart from any special causes of grievances would be enough to render it unpalatable to a people who, from time immemorial, have always looked upon the bond between ruler and ruled as an intensely personal bond.

No insistence, indeed, can be too strong upon the importance of the personal element in everything which has to do with Indian life. If this be absent, then all things go wrong. Suspicions and unkind feelings are generated. False motives are attributed and believed. Nothing appears quite as it is or as it is intended to be. And particularly with a people of quick imagination, vast structures of thought, built on surmise and inference, spring up and, having sprung, take a deal of undoing before they can be removed.

It has been the lot of the writer to have seen something of, perhaps, the only surroundings in which, apart from the private and individual enterprise, an Englishman can still come into close and familiar contact with the Indian nature. Life in an Indian college has, or should have, this advantage—that it brings the English teacher and his Indian pupils into a healthy, natural, and spontaneous relationship which enables them to understand one another and to become friends. Moreover, the whole character of the work is one which encourages intimacy and which affords ample opportunities for psychological study.

As a result of such an experience it can honestly be said that no life could be pleasanter or more free from jarring influences than that spent amongst young Indians under such conditions. Many difficulties and misunderstandings seem here to disappear which, in the outer world, often consolidate into problems of apparently hopeless complexity. Not only can a teacher meet his students on the common ground of studies, but the games and the manifold interests of college life provide almost continual occasions for co-operation and friendly feeling. Particularly instructive are the chances thus afforded of learning something of the Indian reaction upon life, of the hopes and ideals of the young in these times, and of the difficulties and troubles with which, for a variety of reasons, the young Indian life is so often beset. To

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the English world in India such things as the joint-family system, as plague, and high prices, and so forth, which mean so much to the educated Indian, are something far away and removed from the immediate centre of life and interest. But to the young Indian who has a family of six or seven—*aunts, cousins, mother, sisters, younger brothers*—to support by his own unaided efforts, who has to sit for his all-important examination with, perhaps, one of his family dying of plague at home, and who has to look forward to the rush for appointments and the consequent delays and disappointments which that rush so often brings with it, these things are matters of the nearest and most troubling importance. An English educationist sees much of this side of Indian life, and so, perhaps for that reason, he is often tempted to be charitable where it is easy outside to fall into somewhat harsher judgments. He sees, moreover, the kind of soil in which all these new ideals, these bursting hopes and aspirations, have sprung up in recent times ; and he finds himself watching, with no little sympathy, that inevitable struggle between the ideal and the actual which is and must be particularly keen and trying in the case of a temperament so readily touched by ideals, and so impatient to mount as that of the young Indian. Nor can he fail to see, also, the inherent dangers of such a temperament—that high tension of spirit which, if touched with kindness and sympathy, may produce the most splendid results, but which, if infected with hatred, may well produce an extravagance of hatred which would be impossible for a duller and less susceptible type. For the keynote of the Indian character, and especially of the Hindu character, is its fundamental and essential idealism. Its virtues and its faults are alike those of the idealist. Unless it be stimulated by an ideal it is only too often inert, careless, temperamentally supine, floating dully and dreamily through life, fitted only for routine work and incapable, for the most part, of enterprise or originality. But if once that inner centre has been stimulated which responds to an ideal, it becomes capable of a peculiar self-abandonment : a new vitality pours into it, and hidden potentialities come to the surface : the whole nature is rendered suddenly dynamic. When this occurs, it depends largely on accidental circumstances whether all this newly acquired force be poured into channels of love and service or into those of hatred and violence. The energy behind is the same. Only its manifestations differ in the one case or the other.

What has just been said might, in fact, almost serve as a formula to apply to a large part of the racial feeling in India. A careful psychological study would probably reveal that, in nine cases out of ten, such a feeling is due in its ultimate analysis merely to intense aspiration and not to a genuine racial dislike. It is not the Englishman as such, but the Englishman in relation to the Indian ideal, who is the object of this sentiment ; and the problem resolves itself merely into one of a gradual adaptation, which time and necessity alone must, quite apart from anything else, combine eventually to bring about. It is too seldom remembered that the new spirit in India is only a few years old, and that, with the very first moment of its appearance, a totally new philosophy of the relationship between the two countries had imperatively to be learnt. That the Indian demand upon the British

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psychology and temperament should, in the first rush of an awakened idealism, have gone in excess of the former's native adaptability and capacity for change, and of the possibilities inherent in circumstances themselves, is hardly to be wondered at. But this is a situation which the passage of time must necessarily readjust, and which it is fast readjusting to-day. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the past ten years has been the subtle change in the general attitude of thinking Englishmen towards the country—a change so far reaching, yet withal so silent in its operations, that it has within a few years brought the whole problem into an entirely different category. And those who have observed this change cannot but anticipate that the racial tension at present existing in certain places will, as this continues, before long be largely relaxed. For it is only rarely in India that one comes across an antagonism so stubborn or so deeply rooted as to withstand a genuine sympathy or an earnest desire, whether on the part of official or unofficial Englishmen, to benefit the country or the people. A gradual humanising of the conditions at present existing in the country, the infusion in an ever greater degree of the personal element, and the acceptance of every opportunity of co-operation, whether in matters of State or in other departments of life—above all, a gradual opening of the mind to all that is best in the Indian nature, to the fund of pure and generous emotion and the high idealism which may be found abundantly by those who go even a little out of their way to seek it, and which, as it is recognised and appreciated, will come more and more to the surface—these are really the means by which, in a very short time, a totally different atmosphere would be created in India. And, in order to bring about a consummation so desirable, it is unwise, as we remarked in an earlier place, to concentrate too much attention on certain of the darker features of the unrest. As offences against law and order, these have to be dealt with as a matter of course. But only harm can result from dwelling on them in thought, or making them the subject of emotional judgments about India or her people. For, even more immediately important than the Indian problem itself is the securing of conditions in which that problem may be worked out; and the first of such necessary conditions must be the absence of all ill-considered or sweeping judgments, whether on the one side or the other.

One peculiar advantage, perhaps, which an educational experience provides is the practical evidence of the possibility of transcending such considerations in India. The writer, as he looks back, can recall a thousand instances of the kind; and it is probable that the experience of others would be the same. To select only one small example, he recollects that at a certain college of his acquaintance, the English Principal happened to be taken seriously ill and was compelled to lie in bed, practically helpless, for many weeks. During all that time he was nursed, night and day, by relays of students, who voluntarily took upon themselves this very self-sacrificing task, in spite of the fact that it meant giving up hours of recreation and of sleep.

Nor is this a solitary instance. Many have found, both official and unofficial, how much genuine kindness and simple goodwill are to be met with all over India. This, when it is

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given, should not be received as a right paid to a race of superior beings. It should be accepted and returned on its own human level. Such community of heart, if it could only be secured, would solve many problems, for the simple reason that it would provide the atmosphere in which alone problems can be solved. So long as it is absent even the simplest problem must remain insoluble. Once make it possible, and not only a new situation is set up, but a whole host of new possibilities for the future appear. And one of the things which would then be discovered is, we think—as all which we have seen has forced us to think—that racial feeling in India, where it is found among the Indian people, is in an appreciable number of cases something secondary and derivative, not original or instinctive. It is due very often to accidental and particular causes, to circumstantial impressions and judgments, to the heat of controversy, or to the conflict between ideals and the conditions through which they have to seek self-realisation—not to a natural predisposition towards such feelings in the Indian nature. The whole history of the past fifty years has shown how absent such feelings have been from the normal Indian attitude towards Englishmen as a race. If, in the last decade, they have broken out in places, even if, in some cases, they have led to horrible and fanatical crimes we should not, on that account, be tempted to generalise too hastily.

Psychologically speaking, India is passing through a very difficult time. New forces are playing through her, for which she is not herself responsible, and which, very often, she has not yet learnt either to comprehend very clearly or to assimilate the use. The idealism of the race has been revitalised, and all this idealism is struggling to find outlets for itself. And so every element of difficulty, or obstruction, of inadaptability, has been thrown of a sudden into high relief. The desperate efforts at self-adjustment, of fitting itself to the new environment which is already beginning to open out before it, must continue for a while. Eventually both sides must fall together into the lines of progress and advancement and the real constructive movement must begin. That movement could not begin earlier, since it needed, both for its initial impulse and for its carrying on, the awakening of that inner spirit, or force, in the Indian nature, which alone could set it going and help it towards its accomplishment. At present this force is still engaged in "finding" itself. It is entangled in many difficulties, and has not in some places seen its way out. So long as this entanglement continues there must needs be something of friction and antagonism ; but this, we sincerely hope and believe, will ultimately pass away and will yield place to a period of co-operation and progress. And such a consummation may even now be immensely accelerated by checking unkind suspicions, by refusing to generalise hastily on a few facts, and by an effort, on both sides, to see the good rather than the ill.

We have concentrated our attention on this aspect of the matter simply because it seems to us to be one of paramount importance. We know that recent occurrences will have roused very strong and very bitter feelings, and that such feelings are, in the circumstances, perfectly natural and excusable. But it is precisely here that the danger lies, of condemning a whole people for the sins of a few, and of so being, even though unconsciously, unjust. Moreover, experience has shown how deeply, very often, such injustice is felt,

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and to what an estrangement of feeling it not infrequently leads. It is for these reasons, therefore, and because circumstances have enabled him to see something of another side of the Indian nature, that the writer has thought it worth while to emphasise a different aspect of things at a time when many will, undoubtedly, be feeling disgusted and embittered, and inclined, perhaps, to be indignant against the Indian people as a whole.

(Mr. E. A. Wodehouse in *The Nineteenth Century*.)

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When people have for a long period lived in social groups, or have become consolidated into nations, a need has been felt for a general agreement as to the value of one article compared with another, and the establishment of a firm medium of exchange has been felt desirable. In every ancient community, the question arose, and continues to arise (witness India), "What shall this medium be?" One may imagine—in a community proposing such a question—that the man possessing cattle would reply, "Let cattle be the medium of exchange, so that I may be able to obtain whatever I like, parting with that of which I have abundance." This was the case in many countries, especially South Africa, before the mining boom. With the advent of organised government maintained by the collection of tribute or taxes, it became a question for the authorities: In what form do we ordain the taxes shall be paid? Ages and ages ago these questions have been answered in almost identical terms by the dominant classes in every society. "The currency," they say, "shall be what suits us best, of which we have either a monopoly or a good control." So it came about that in nearly all organized States—for reasons which need not be discussed here, probably superstition, as Mr. Kitson remarks—precious metals were used first by weight as money or media of exchange, then stamped into coins bearing their relative equivalents in gold, silver, copper, nickel, etc., as currency, and finally one or more ordained by law as legal tender for the payment of taxes claimed by governments or debts due to creditors.

Local conditions, however, have led to the establishment of different standards, so that we find the silver standard in China, the gold in England, and cowrie shells among some tribes on the west coast of Africa.

Why is there a conflict of currencies?

The conflict of currencies has arisen because men were not agreed as to the medium in which this demand upon labour should be made. As soon as such people came to deal together in exchange, the first point that arose was the need to establish a relation between different currencies. This relationship is called the price. As we know full well, prices are not firm. Thus the price of silver and gold, as of other commodities, rises and falls, and the efforts of all governments and far-seeing financial folk are directed to finding that one thing, a standard by which every other thing shall be measured.

When India was conquered by the E. I. Company, Madras had already established a gold standard and currency; while in Bengal and to the north the silver rupee held the field with gold coins

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in concurrent circulation. When it was destined that the country should become one vast shop, an understanding became necessary as to the exact relationship of gold and silver as demands on labour. The Court of Directors in 1806 wrote a despatch in which they expressed their unwillingness "to establish a monopoly ;" but, nevertheless, they had to find means to free the channels of commerce of all the obstacles to the process of suction which they had set going. The Government, therefore, elected to support a silver currency. In 1818 the gold pagoda was replaced by the silver rupee in Madras, by Government notification, while in 1855 the present silver rupee was declared to be the standard coin for the whole of British India and no gold coin to be legal tender.

From that day to this the Indian currency has been played with by notifications, proclamations, and Acts of Parliament, and the Indian people, probably not knowing what was really taking place, have nevertheless suffered greatly on account of the mischievous activity of financial wire-pullers. The briefest history of Anglo-Indian currency can best be set out in the following manner :—

1841.—Officers were authorised to receive gold mohurs at public treasuries at the rate of 15 rupees (*i.e.*, 30/-).

1853.—The discovery of gold in Australia cheapened it, so Government, to suit themselves, notified that "no coin will be received on account of payment due"

1864.—This did not suit the exporters in Bombay, Bengal and Madras who were increasing their dealings with England, a gold-standard country ; consequently another notification was issued permitting the circulation of English gold coins at rates of 10/- and 20/- for 5 and 10 rupees respectively.

1868.—Government raised the rate of exchange making the rupee cheaper, *i.e.*, less in value.

1876.—Owing to continued coinage of silver, the rupee fell variously from 2/- to as low as 1/6½ in exchange, but the Government declined to adopt a gold standard.

1878.—Government was led to the general conclusion that it would be practicable to adopt a gold standard.

Between 1878 and 1892 the market value of silver continued to fall, owing to the great out-turn in America. Private holders of silver bullion took it to the Indian mints where, for a small percentage, the Government turned it into currency at nearly double its value.

This suited no one but the private holders of silver bullion. Many fruitless attempts were made by international congresses to establish the price of silver, and at last the Government decided in 1893 to close the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, retaining the power themselves to buy silver bullion in the market at 1/ and sell it after coinage at 1¼ per rupee. They also prohibited the use of Indian gold, so as to facilitate coinage import of British gold. In 1898 the value of silver bullion decreased to 10½d. for the rupee.

What was the effect of all this on the Indian people ?

Suddenly, after years of repeated famines, increased taxation, and growing difficulties on every hand, the Government prevents them from turning into money such gold and silver as they have in their banks or homes. More than that, the Government, so that it shall not be in a like misfortune with its subjects, retains to itself the right to do what they may not do.

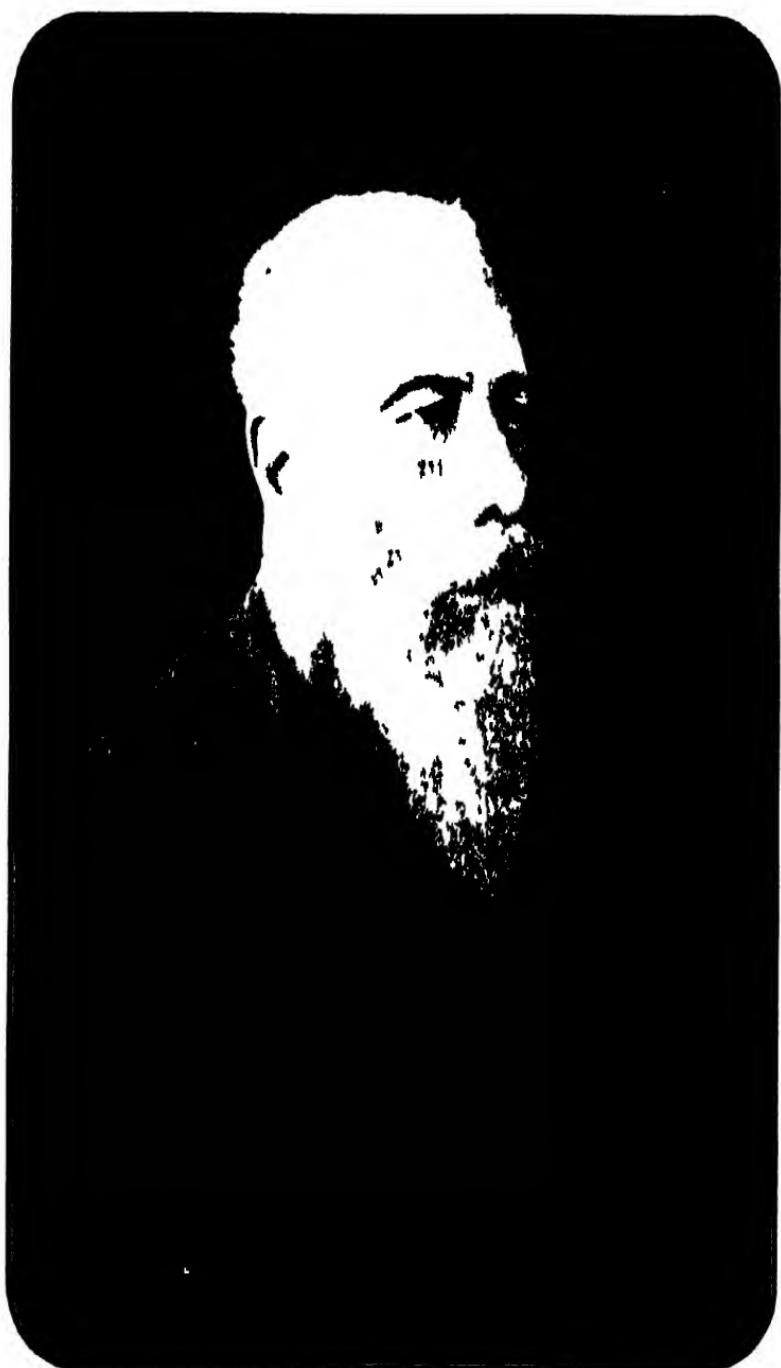
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People scarcely realise the tremendous importance—in the economic sphere—of these currency changes. In 1864 a silver rupee represented to the Indian cultivator 2s. in British gold; to-day it is but 1s. 4d. If we imagine that the whole of the native population held in 1864 a capital in currency of a specific number of rupees, they would have been in a position to exchange with the English, Chinese, and American without a disadvantage. To-day, through the currency changes alone, the Indian people have been by comparison with European people decapitalised to the extent of 33½ per cent. They have, in thirty years, by Act of Parliament, been declared to be worth only two-thirds their value in 1864.

Who is to blame? The Departmental Committee, in recommending a gold standard for India, say in paragraph 34 of their Report: "Regard being had to the supremacy of gold in international commerce, the change to a gold basis has been represented to us by Professor Marshall (Q. 11,815) as 'like a movement towards bringing the railway gauge in the side branches of the world's railways into unison with the main lines.' This consideration relates to the interchange of commodities." A very pretty simile, to be sure, but who is to stand the cost of converting the "side branches" to suit the "main lines"? To be sure, the poor folk who live on the side branches both do the work and pay the price! So it is not any one's fault, but India's misfortune, that she has gradually and surely become tacked on to the main lines of international commerce. (Mr. William L. Hare in *Letchworth Citizen*).

LIST OF RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

1. THURSTON, E.—Caste and Tribes of Southern India
Vols I to VII (Madras : Government Press 23s.)
2. SHARROCK, J. A.—South Indian Missions.
3. LEES SMITH, H. B.—India and the Tariff Problem
(London : Constable & Co., 3s. 6d.)
4. RIVETT-CARNAC, J. H., C. I. E.—Many Memories
of Life in India, at Home and Abroad (London :
Blackwoods, 10s. 6d.)
5. CHAILLEY, JOSEPH—Administrative Problems of
British India (Translated by Sir William Meyer,
London : Macmillan & Co., 10s.)
6. HOLE, R. S.—A Manual of Botany for Indian Forest
Students (Calcutta : Government Printing Office).
7. ALSTOR, LEONARD—Education and Citizenship
in India (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 4s.)
8. HANNA, COL. H. B.—The Second Afghan War, 1878
-9-80 (Its Causes, Its Conduct and Its Consequences ;
Vol III, with 9 Maps : London : Constable, 16s.)
9. ROSS, E. DENISON—An Arabic History of Guzerat
(Edited from the Unique and Autograph Copy in
the Library of the Calcutta Madrassah, Vol I.
London : John Murray. *Indian Texts Series* : 12s)



Devendranath Tagore

REVIEWS & NOTICES OF BOOKS

DEVENDRANATH TAGORE AND THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

[*The Autoobiography of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore*: Translated from the original Bengali by Satyendranath Tagore and Indira Devi : Calcutta, S. K. Lahiri & Co.]

The name of Devendranath Tagore bulks largely in the history of the Brahmo Samaj. In fact, excepting that of Raja Ram Mohan Ray, there is no more honoured or esteemed name among the representative men of New India than that of Devendranath Tagore. With his conversion the Brahmo Somaj entered into a new phase of life ; his decease practically coincided with the commencement of its decadence.

Since its establishment in Raja Ram Mohan Ray's time, the Brahmo Somaj has passed through three definite stages of development. From 1828 to 1844 it struggled against tremendous and heavy odds and was engaged in a most acrimonious and bitter fight with orthodox Hinduism. From 1845 till the advent of Keshub Chandra Sen in 1859, it put forth strenuous efforts in its defence against the attacks of Christian Missionaries. The third stage dates from the anxiety of its advocates to make it the universal theistic church of India. Devendranath Tagore was the hero and apostle of the Bramho Somaj in its second stage of development, of its flourishing days and of the period of its unbounded enthusiasm and strenuous activity. It is both a pleasure and a privilege to read the autobiography of such a representative personality. As his son and translator, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore, says : "Its value consists in its being a record of the spiritual struggle of a noble soul against early associations, conventionality, and family ties. The struggle of a soul striving to rise from empty idolatrous ceremonial to the true worship of the one living God, the Brahmin of the Upanishads, the power which operates in the universe, creating, sustaining and destroying, the eternal spirit immanent in the world without and in the soul of man. The record, in fine, is one of an illumined life struggling towards more light, and shedding its brilliance on all around."

Though the spiritual life of this saintly character was crowded with important incidents, his material life may be summed up in

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a few words. Devendranath Tagore was born, in the year 1817, of one of the richest men then living in Calcutta,— "Prince" Dwarka Nath Tagore. Naturally he was brought up in the traditions of an orthodox Hindu household. Under the indulgent treatment of a loving grandmother, Devendranath grew up into a wilful young man,—more mindful of his worldly than spiritual interest. In 1839, he established a society called the Tatwabodhini Sabha where discourses on religious subjects were delivered periodically. Five years after, he established a theological school in connection with the above Sabha for the teaching of Vedanta and the training of young men for the purpose of preaching the Bramho religion. In 1846, his father Dwarka Nath Tagore died in England, deeply involved in debts which put young Devendranath to the greatest ordeals of his life. On one side was the question of his father's sradh according to orthodox rites, and on the other the payment of his father's debts to the tune of about a crore of rupees with an asset of no more than forty-three lacs. In the case of the first, he refused to take part in the idolatrous rites and performed the sradh according to a form which he had himself prepared for the occasion. This measure of reform, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore informs us, raised a storm of opposition from his orthodox relatives and friends and created a permanent breach in the family. Regarding this breach Devendranath Tagore himself writes in his autobiography : " My friends and relatives foisook me but my God took me in with his blessings. My conscience was satisfied at the triumph of the Right. . . . I gained satisfaction of spirit at the triumph of religion. And that was all I wanted." His father's debts he arranged to pay off by a complete renunciation of his earthly interests. He placed everything he had in life unreservedly, including a trust property which no one could legally touch, in the hands of his creditors till all the liabilities were liquidated. These two incidents brought out the best in Devendranath's character and laid the foundation of his future spiritual greatness. Sometime after his father's decease, he spent a considerable part of every year in touring through various parts of India, the sweep of his travels ranging from Lahore to Moulmein. In 1856, he for the first time set foot on the Himalayas and there, according to his own statement recorded in his own autobiography, he heard the divine call which determined his future life. "He spent a year and a half," we are quoting from his son's words, "among the mountains in the vicinity of the Simla Hills, absorbed in intense study and contemplation, and returned to Calcutta shortly after the

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Sepoy Mutiny, a regenerated soul, full of ardour and enthusiasm to propagate the holy religion he had embraced. It was then that he poured forth his inspired utterances in a series of sermons, delivered extempore from the pulpit, which made a most profound impression upon the congregation. The sermons were taken down in writing by myself and others and eventually published in a book entitled *The Bramho Dharma Vyakhyan* or Exposition of the Bramho Dharma." This book has so far remained the text-book of the Bramho creed. In 1859, Keshub Chandra Sen joined hands with Devendranath Tagore, but broke away from him in 1865. After Keshub's separation, Devendranath Tagore practically retired from active work of the Somaj and spent the remainder of his days in communion with God. A large portion of the evening of his life was spent in a place which he built at Bolepur in the Birbhum District, in Chinsura by the bank of the Ganges, and in Park Street, Calcutta. On Thursday 19th, January 1905, at about 2 P.M., Devendranath Tagore quietly passed away at his ancestral family residence at Jorasanko in Calcutta, conscious almost till the last moment.

Devendranath Tagore was the most valuable spiritual asset of the Bramho Somaj and his inspiring autobiography is perhaps one of the best records of spiritual culture. In the original the autobiography stands as an unsurpassed contribution to Bengalee thought and literature, and though it is impossible to render such writing from an Asiatic to a European language faithfully, Mr. Satyendranath Tagore and his scholarly daughter, Miss Indira Devi Chaudhuri, have succeeded in retaining in the translation under review not an inconsiderable portion of the beauty, sweetness and grandeur of the original. Only we wish the Translation had been more neatly printed and more carefully gone through the Press. There are hundreds of ugly mistakes in the book, besides a whole page of errata published by the Translators. It is incomprehensible also why all the chapters of the Translation from the xxth to the last should contain headings, while the first nineteen should go without them. As regards the autobiography itself, it does not carry us beyond the 40th year of Devendranath Tagore's life. But of the time it covers we have a most glowing account: we read of stirring episodes, of material and spiritual struggles, of long and difficult pilgrimages and tours, and of deep and undying friendships. How many peeps it offers to us into the lives of such men as Rammohun Roy, Rajnarain Bose, Akshaykumar Dutt and Dwarkanath Tagore and what an insight does it give us into the Bengalee life of fifty

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years ago. But, above everything, it contains some exquisite dissertations on religion and philosophy which it does one's heart good to read and ponder over. We reproduce below for the edification of our readers the "Farewell Offering" which Devendranath Tagore delivered in 1889 as his final blessing to those whom he loved on earth, almost in imminent expectation of a summons to his Maker's presence :—

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN

संगम्बद्धं संबद्धः सर्वे भनाति जानतां ।
द्वया भाग यथा पूर्वे संजानाता उपासते ॥

"Be ye united together ; speak ye in unity ; united know ye each the heart of the other. As the gods of old with one mind received each his offering due, even so be ye of one mind!"

समानीय आकृतिं भवाना इदवानि वः ,
समानमत्तु वी मनी यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

"Harmonious may your efforts be, and harmonious your thoughts and heart, so that beauteous Peace may dwell in your midst!"

"Live ye all one in heart and speech." This loving blessing and benediction which I have just expressed in Vedic words, it is meet ye should keep well in view, in the midst of the world's wranglings and jars. If to this end ye follow the way, then shall ye become gainers of your end. This way is the way of unity. If ye follow this way, all contentions shall depart from amongst you, Peace shall reign, and the Brahmo religion shall have triumph.

1. The Brahmo religion is a spiritual religion. Its seed-truth is this—By the soul shalt thou know the Supreme Soul. When God is seen in the soul, then, indeed, is He seen everywhere. The dearest dwelling-place of Him who is the root of all this complexity, the One Sovereign of all this universe, is the soul of man. If ye know not the soul, then all is empty. The soul is the root of the knowledge of God.

2. In this body dwells the soul ; and, within it, in the pure, resplendence of spiritual consciousness, the pure, bodiless Supreme Soul is to be seen. With mind and body subdued, unattached to all outward things, even-minded in sorrow and joy, self-contained, the Supreme Soul is to be viewed. This is spiritual union. When with love ye are united in this spiritual union, ye shall be delivered from all sin, and shall attain the steps of salvation. After death, the body will be left here, but, united in this spiritual union, the soul shall dwell with the Soul Supreme for ever.

3. As for the health of the body ye partake of your regular

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daily meals, so for the soul's health the worship of God must be performed every day. The worship of God is the soul's sustenance.

4. “तज्जित् प्रीतिसाम प्रियकार्यसाधनं तदुपासनमेव।” “Loving Him and the doing of deeds pleasant in His sight, this, indeed, is His worship.” That Brahma, who is beyond Time and Space, and who yet pervades Time and Space, the Witness of all, सत्यं ज्ञानमग्नत्वं, Truth, Wisdom, and Infinity—knowing Him to be the Soul's Ruler, and the Heart's Lord—adore Him every day with love, and, for the good of the world, be engaged in the performance of works of righteousness which are pleasing in His sight. Never dissever these two ever-united limbs of God's worship.

5. Let only that be done which promoteth well-being. Do no evil to an evil-doer. If any should work unrighteousness, it should not be requited by unrighteousness. Always be righteous. Evil should be overcome by good, and unrighteousness by righteousness.

6. Contend with no one. Restrain anger ; and, imbued with love and charity, behave justly to all. Let love be thy rule of conduct with regard to others.

7. By day and night instruct yourselves—govern yourselves—and accept righteousness as the end of existence. For him who can subdue his heart and senses, there remains no cause for sorrow and suffering. For him who cannot restrain himself there is suffering on every side.

8. “श्वेताला परमहत् इष्टः यमिष्ठता” ! He who desireth the good of mankind must look on others as he looks on himself. It behoves thee to love thy neighbour, since, it pleases thee to be loved by him ; and to avoid giving pain by hatred, since it causes thee pain to be hated by another. Thus in all things shalt thou deal with others by comparing them with thyself ; for as pleasure and pain affect thee, so do they affect all creatures. Such conduct alone is the means of attaining well-being.

9. He who adores God and loves man, is a saint. Such a man never rejoices in finding fault with men, for man is beloved of him. He is pained by the sight of a fault in others, and lovingly does he labour for its correction. He loves man as man ; and owing to that love, is pleased by the sight of good, and grieved by the sight of evil in man.—Therefore he is unable to proclaim the faults of others with rejoicing.

10. The satisfaction of the inner spirit, or, in other words a good conscience, is the unfailing fruit of the practice of righteousness. In this favour of conscience is felt the favour of God. If the inner spirit is satisfied, all sufferings cease. Without the practice

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of righteousness, the inner spirit is never satisfied. The mind may find enjoyment in the pleasures of the world, but if the conscience is diseased, then even the height of worldly bliss becomes valueless. Therefore, by the practice of righteousness, ye shall preserve a clear conscience, and ye shall abandon all things whereby the satisfaction of the spirit may be marred.

11. Ye shall seek the practice of righteousness to the utmost of your power. If, after the exercise of all your power, ye fail to attain the end, yet ye shall acquire merit thereby. God does not reckon what portion of His infinite work is performed by individuals. Let every one use the powers given him, without reservation ; this is God's ordinance.

12. Ye shall adjure sinful thoughts, sinful speech and sinful acts. Those who do not sin in thought, word, deed, or judgment —such saints truly practise austerity ; not those who mortify the flesh. Therefore, abstaining from sin, engage in good work. Persevering on the road of righteousness, ye shall earn your livelihood.

13. If, by perseverance on the road of righteousness, ye are completely cast down, even then ye shall not turn your thoughts to unrighteous means. Protect Dharma with your lives, and Dharma will protect you.

14. Not father or mother, nor wife or child, nor friend or relation remains as our stay in the next world. Righteousness alone remains. Alone a man is born, alone he dies, alone he enjoys the good fruits of his righteous acts, and alone he suffers the evil consequences of his bad deeds. Friends leaving on the earth his body like a stock or stone, turn away from him : but righteousness follows him whether he goeth. Therefore, ye shall, step by step, acquire righteousness, which shall be your stay.

Dharma is our friend in this world, and Dharma is the guide to the next.

“धर्मः सर्वेषां भूताना मम् ।”

“Dharma, is as honey unto all creatures.”

15. “न चर्वेन न प्रजाया न कर्मणा यामेनक्तिमावत्प्राप्नुः ।” “Not by wealth, nor by children, nor by works, but by renunciation alone, is immortality attained.” Renunciation is not the renunciation of the world by becoming an anchorite, dwelling in the wilderness ; but dwelling at home, and living in the world, all lusts of the heart should be cast out.

“यदा सर्वे प्रसुच्यन्ते कामा दैवत इदि विदा । यद्य मर्त्योऽमर्ती भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्वसे ।”

“When all lusts that dwell in the heart of man are cast out, then the mortal becomes immortal and even on earth attains God.”

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16. With all diligence shall ye cherish your wives and children and relations ; but, being yourselves free from desire, remain unattached to the fruit of your acts, and then ye shall be able to mount the steps of salvation. God's own love furnishes the most perfect example. See how mindful He is of the interests of the world. He never forgets to give food even to a single worm or insect. Even in the bowels of arid mountains, He supplies nourishment to living creatures. Yet He keeps nothing for Himself. He is always giving to all, and never receives. By the light of this example, ye, too, forgetting yourselves, shall be vowed to work for the good of the world. Being united to Him, ye shall perform the duties of life. That which ye shall know to be His command, ye must obey with your lives. That which ye shall know to be against His will, ye shall shun like poison. If thus, forgetful of self, ye perform His work, then be sure He will not forget you. All the wants that ye have, He will fulfil. Whatever He gives you, with gratitude receive it as plenty. In whatever condition He may place you, with that be contented. In seasons of prosperity, live in obedience to Him ; and, in seasons of adversity, take refuge in Him : and ye shall not be perplexed. At the time of action, act resting in Him ; at the time of rest, rest even in Him. This body will move about on earth, but your souls will be united with Him. Even in death there is no dissolution of this union.

17. Blessed is that soul which, self-subdued, freed from sin and impurity like the moon from the shadow of eclipse, and casting off the pride of flesh, can rest in the Supreme Soul. That soul is not cast down by disease ; is not frightened by death : it sees from here the abode of God ; to it the door of the infinitude of progress is opened, and before it millions on millions of heavens shine forth. On this side is the billowy world of change ; on the other side the Peaceful Abode of God : in the middle God Himself, like a bridge, preserves the position of both. Neither day nor night—nor death, disease, or sorrow—nor good or evil deed is able to cross this bridge. All kinds of sin fall back from there. Sin has no power in the Sinless Abode of Brahma. The liberated soul leaving behind him the sin and sorrow of this world, attains the Abode of Brahma, beyond this world. There the blind cease to be blind ; the sin-stricken become free from sin ; the sorrowing, free from sorrow. There even night becomes day ; for the Brahmaloka is for ever resplendent ; to that splendour there is no end.

18. Following the previous teachings of Brahma-dharma, I

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make you this offering of my last words. May ye realise it in your lives and attain to everlasting salvation—this is my prayer !

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

The extract is long enough in all conscience, but will, repay very careful perusal. We have another small extract to make below which should be read carefully by all those people who have the unity of the Indian people at heart. It is a small sermon, but very much apposite to our own times :—

"O Lord, my God, illumine this our benighted Motherland. Cast Thy look of grace on these Thy children, who are so weak and helpless. Who else but Thou canst help this down-trodden land, which is begirt by endless troubles and calamities, and from which lamentations rise up to heaven day and night. Do Thou save our country from the depth of degradation into which it hath sunk. Send righteousness unto it, O Lord, for in righteousness is our salvation. On every soul do Thou pour down l'hy waters of mercy, and reveal Thyself as our Father and our Mother, that we may worship Thee with our whole heart. Oh ! when will that day dawn upon this land, when all her sons will unite in indissoluble brotherhood, and worship Thee with one accord. Our little efforts can accomplish nothing , O Thou that crownest all work with success, grant us Thy grace."

Devendranath was deeply versed in Sanskrit literature and this evidently tinged his whole life and thought with a conservative spirit. Socially he was unprogressive, rejecting almost wholesale the programme and ideals of the advanced school which followed Keshavchandra's lead. His son says : "he was in favour of leaving such reforms as were really required to the influence of time and to the effect of the teachings of a pure religion." In the matter of a religious creed also, he drew his inspiration from the Hindu scriptures—the Upanishads principally. 'He was never known to quote the Bible,' says his son, 'nor do we find any allusion to Christ or his teachings in his sermons. For him the Indian scriptures sufficed. His religion was Indian in origin and expression, it was Indian in ideas and in spirit.....The Brahman of the Upanishads was the God of his worship.....The direct communion of the human soul with the Supreme Spirit was the most salient point of his teachings.' The blessed communion with the Infinite, whom he considered as 'bliss', suffused his whole life, hallowed his own existence, and illumined the entire environment and atmosphere of his living. As Principal Herambchandra Maitra says :—"The great lesson of the life of Devendranath Tagore, who, when the

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Somaj lost all vitality after its founder had passed away, breathed a new life into it, is the deep blessedness of communion with the Infinite. His voice would tremble with emotion as he uttered the words एसी वे चः—“God is sweetness indeed,” भूमेष्व सुखम्—“The Infinite only is bliss.” At dead of night he would pace up and down his chamber, repeating the words स पर्यन्त—“He has gone round (to the ends of the universe).” Rapt in communion, he would wander far away from human habitations into lonely woods while the darkness of night spread over the face of the earth, or would sit for hours beneath the open sky, insensible to the fierce rays of the tropical sun.”

We have now done with Devendranath Tagore. We shall now say a few words about the Somaj of which for the better part of a century he was so deeply respected a leader. Last month we had some bitter things to say about the Brahmo Somaj which appear to have caused pain in certain quarters. We regret our words conveyed the impression which was just our object to avoid. The Brahmo Somaj has unfortunately come to be sharply divided into an aristocratic and a democratic section—the aristocratic section again bulking largely before the public mind as the representative body of this advanced church. Of this class of men—who have joined the Brahmo Somaj more for social advantages than for spiritual culture—we are a good deal disappointed, and this is just the class of people we referred to in our condemnation in the last number. The ‘smart set’ or the “neo-Hindus” in the Brahmo Somaj, however, do not form either its majority or its representative section. The good men and true in the Brahmo Somaj are comparatively poorer and less well-known and less talked-of men—men who have not been to England and do not go about in Society and whom Society does not care for—but they are the salt of the Church ; and for piety, devotion and moral scruples they can bear most favourable comparison with any class of religious men in the world. In every society, it is the men of wealth and fashion that come forward before public notice and it is the misfortune of the Brahmo Somaj that it should occasionally come to be judged, not by its men of light and culture or of devotion and piety, but by the men who absorb public attention by a crowd of adventitious circumstances of life. We again repeat our regret for the sorry impression our words in the last number conveyed to a large number of our readers, and we have no reasons to feel small for again stating that it was *not* the sort of impression which we really intended to convey. We have no hesitation in observing that the less fussy and the less demons-

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trative section of the Brahmo Somaj furnish us with a host of examples of personal purity and devotion which men of every other community might emulate with profit and advantage. And to the upbuilding of this section, the character and example of Devendranath Tagore did not contribute a little. So long as the tenets of the Brahmo Somaj continue to satisfy the spiritual appetite of a growing and advanced community and so long as there be a large number of men in its bosom who resolve themselves to shape their life and conduct after Devendranath Tagore, the name and memory of this great Bengalee of the nineteenth century will never fade nor be forgotten.

II

HINDUISM

[*An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism* by Bepinchandra Pal.
S C Gupta, Calcutta.]

This book presumes to be a study in Comparative Religion and was written by Mr. Bepinchandra Pal during his confinement in prison in 1908. Mr. Pal has not succeeded in his attempt to explain Hinduism and has failed to tell us what Hinduism *is* or what it *is not*. He himself gropes in the dark and is unable to throw much light on his subject, though he tries his best to controvert a number of current European notions about Hinduism. Mr. Pal, however, makes a good deal of intelligent observations on the evolution of religion ; but unfortunately he uses such highly philosophical terms to explain ordinary common-place matters that the book can have no interest excepting to a particular school of thought. Mr. Pal has a pedantic style and makes a great show of learning ; sometimes he clothes his thought with technicalities which are beyond average human comprehension. We are told that religion, in its broadest and most universal sense, is "the attempt of man to adjust himself to his Not-Me." That may be metaphysics, but certainly it is not common-sense. Mr. Pal's Hinduism undergoes similar metaphysical transmutation, but a study of his pages leaves us none the wiser nor better. We fail to see the good of writing books which explain nothing and enlighten nobody. Nor are we prepared to acknowledge the claim of every man to dable in all manner of subjects. Why cannot Mr. Pal leave Hinduism alone ? It seems to us that with his pedantic notions on 'race consciousness' and 'thought-structure' and 'histrio-comparative methods,'

Mr. Pal is as much foreign to the genuis of Hindu thought and mythology as, we hope to be excused for mentioning the name, Max Müller.

III

[*Sristi-Rahasya or the Riddle of the Universe* by Mrs. Phulkumari Gupta. S. C. Gupta, Calcutta.]

Bengalee ladies have seldom broken into such fields as metaphysics and theology, but Mrs. Gupta has produced a really interesting work on the riddle of the Universe. Mrs. Gupta writes clearly and cogently and puts forward a clever interpretation of the cause and nature of the Universe. She also makes an attempt to reconcile the theories of modern science with the doctrines of Hindu philosophy and states that there is no conflict between them. She even tries in some cases to explain old philosophy with the aid of modern science. There is much in the book, however, which is confusing and unreasonable and in not a few cases the authoress only moves in a circle, but on the whole it can be recommended as a clever specimen of philosophic writing from the pen of an Eastern lady.

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

SECURITY OF PROPERTY UNDER INDIAN LAW

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice C. Sankaran Nair has contributed a very thoughtful and interesting article on the above subject in the pages of the *Sociological Review* for April.

Mr. Justice Nair begins with an attack upon the idea that western civilization affords security of property. He says : "I am not aware that the state in Western countries ever recognized or accepted an absolute obligation to secure every individual in the enjoyment of his property. In case of theft, for instance, the thief is convicted and the stolen property, if recovered, is restored to the owner. But more often than not the property cannot be recovered from the thief, even when he has been traced, and the only consolation left to the owner who has lost his property is that others are saved from the attentions of the thief for sometime to come."

The system in India, which is a sorry caricature of the western institution, without any check from democratic watchfulness, has been a total failure. But "has this been so in the past? Is it to be so in the future? Have the civilizations, which flourished for many a long day and decayed, no lessons to teach us? Has there ever been any civilized society in which there was absolute security to property, and if there has been, what was the machinery employed to enforce order and give security? Was it a host of officials as at present? If not, what were the conditions of society that rendered such security possible?"

Mr. Nair sets himself to answer these questions. He starts with the principle that the nature and strength of the police agency employed in any country is obviously a function, to use a mathematical term, of the character of that society. The agency for the suppression of crime has to be determined by the conditions of the society which produces it, and it may be that no agency, however perfect, can cope effectively with crime in the absence of certain moral and religious sanctions or certain economic conditions. Professor Westermarch, in his recently published work on "The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas," has tried to show from the instances of the Abipones and the aborigines of West Australia that there is no thieving habit among them owing to the existence of commercial ownership of property and the superstitious dread of the

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gods. No instance is given by him of a civilized community where the absence of crime may be traced to these two causes.

Mr. Nair then goes on to investigate the state and the method of suppression of crime in India.

The sources of our information are three-fold :—Greek literature, ancient Hindu literature, and the practice of the people as it has come down to our own day or to times comparatively recent. Amongst the Greek writers is Megasthenes, who is recognised as a writer of scrupulous veracity. According to him, theft amongst the Indians was of very rare occurrence, and they seldom went to law. Their houses and property were generally left unguarded. The country was then in a high state of civilization, maintaining an army of not less than 400,000 men. The Mahomedan traveller, Ibn Batuta of Tangier, says that thieves were unknown in the country of the Nairs, though it is permissible to doubt the reason given by him. A century later, another Mahomedan traveller says of the chief town of the same part of India : “ Such security and justice reign in that city that rich merchants bring to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one’s charge or placing it under a guard.”

We will now turn to Hindu sources of information. Both Manu and Yagnavalkya declare that the property stolen by thieves must be restored by the king to his subjects, of whatever caste they may be.

A few of Manu’s commentators simply repeat in their own words the old ordinance cited above, i. e., that the king must recover the stolen property and restore it to the owner. Others add that if he is unable to do so, *he must reimburse the owner out of his own treasury*. A well-known commentator or rather lawyer who has written a treatise based on Yagnavalkya, and whose authority is recognised in all parts of India except only in so far as it has been superseded by local authorities, distinctly declares that whether the king is able to trace the stolen property or not, he must reimburse the owner. This is his sacred duty, and if he fails in discharging it he will incur the sin, or take upon himself the sins, which attaches to the thief.

We have next to see how the parish carried out its duty. Each parish appointed its own watchmen and determined its own mode of remunerating them. Some land was generally set aside for the watchmen, on which the king levied no revenue. The watchmen obtained a share of the crops also at harvest time. It was their duty to know everything about the residence of the parish, to watch

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strangers and at the same time to render all assistance to them and to see that no theft took place. If any theft occurred in the parish, the watchers were to recover the property ; and if they were not able to do it or to trace the thief beyond the village limits, they were to pay the equivalent in value to the owner. The watchmen's offices were hereditary and as late as 1859, when in the Madras Presidency the old system was practically abolished, the English officials found that the watchmen protected the property of their parish. The Police Inspector-General, who then had to inquire into the soundness of the system, wrote : "the responsible establishment, if duly paid by the people, made good all losses incurred through their neglect." Even in these days, after 50 years of police administration, it is not uncommon to find villagers engaging their own watchmen on the old terms of paying fees in consideration of their making good all losses by theft.

To protect against thefts outside the villages, there were chieftains to whom the king had granted lands and also the revenue (or a proportion of it) which he was entitled to receive from the parish.

This was also in accordance with ancient law. According to old Hindu lawyers, "when the track of a thief passes out of a parish but cannot be definitely followed into another parish, the *Margapala* (road-keepers) and *Dikpala* (those guarding the entrances) should be made to pay the loss." Whether this is in addition to the joint obligation of the surrounding villages or applies only when the parish is not liable is not stated. The Poligar chieftains in the Madras Presidency who are not of Mahomedan creation and who trace their title back to the Hindu rulers are generally the descendants of those ancient chieftains. Many of them were in the old days known by an expressive term *Mankavalgars* or "superior watchmen." If any theft took place within their jurisdiction, they had to pay the owner the value of the stolen property. As in the case of village watchers, the British Government found this system also in full force. Not only were these Poligars and Zemindars in possession of their lands, but they were also in receipt of revenue from the villagers part of which was retained by them for their services, the rest being alone remitted to the king. When the revenue was collected by others, the *Mankavalgars* received fees from the villagers for the protection which they afforded. These men employed their own detective agency.

The noticeable characteristic in this system is the absolute security of property which it afforded. Whether this property was yielded up by the thief or not, the owner got his property back or

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its value. The agency consisted in a special class of detectives, trained from their childhood in the pursuit of thieves. With full knowledge of the scene of the offence, absolutely innocuous for mischief, as they were under the control of the parish, and deeply interested in the prevention and detection of crime, more so perhaps than the owner himself, these watchers were at once the police and the insurers of their society.

Accounts agree that as a result of this system crimes against property were rare within the limits of a parish. Outside its limits, the scheme did not work so satisfactorily in the days of which alone we have any authentic record. The Chief was a powerful man, not always amenable to the public opinion of the parish or the village community. Their only hold on him was the refusal to pay the king's revenue, of which he kept the whole or at any rate the lion's share.

This liability of the Sovereign is mentioned in *Gautama Dharma Sutra*, the oldest Sutra now extant, and dating prior to 600 B. C. I am not aware that this absolute security was recognised by any other system of jurisprudence.

This probably in some degree accounts for the attitude of our people towards the Police in India, and it may also furnish an answer to the complaints of officials against the people for their indifference and neglect to help them. Under the English administration, the conviction and punishment of the culprit is more important than the recovery of the stolen property for the benefit of the aggrieved owner. The conception of theft as a crime in English and Roman Law had its origin in the desire to prevent the indignant owner taking the law into his own hands. It was to keep the peace more than to restore property to the owner that the thief was convicted. The long ingrained habits of the Indians turn their views exactly in the opposite direction.

Mr. Justice Nair concludes his illuminating paper with the following words :—

" It may be said, no doubt, that it is not the duty of the State to recover a man's stolen property for him any more than to compensate him for loss by any wrong which is not a crime. Still less is it the duty of the State to compensate him when such property is not recovered. These are questions which I do not now propose to discuss, but it appears to me to be plain that no Government which does not undertake to compensate a man for loss sustained by theft is entitled to plume itself on giving security to property, except such indirect protection as may be involved in the

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administration of justice, maintenance of order, and keeping the peace of the country."

THE ARYA SAMAJ: ITS AIMS AND TEACHINGS

Lala Lajpat Rai has a paper in the *Contemporary Review* for April about the Arya Samaj, its aims, and teachings. Some European observers have remarked, and that appears to be the popular impression everywhere, that of all the reforming agencies at work in India at the present day, the most influential is the Arya Samaj. Sir Herbert Risley calls it a nationalist development of Hinduism, although some Arya Samajists claim for it the character of a universal church. Many Aryas object to be called Hindus, but that they are so is evident from the following :—

- (a) When joining the Arya Samaj no Hindu, who is not untouchable, is required to undergo any ceremonial form to atone ,
- (b) Most of the Arya Samajists interdine and intermarry with Hindus of their own class, but not with non-Hindus ; (c) For political purposes they are counted as Hindus ; and (d) The bulk of them still observe caste.

The Arya Samaj insists on a belief in one God. Its first principle declares that "God alone is the source of all knowledge and of everything else that can be known by the aid of knowledge." The second defines God as "all truth, all knowledge, all beatitude, incorporeal, almighty, just, merciful, unbegotten, infinite, unchangeable, without a beginning, incomparable, the support and Lord of all, all-pervading, omniscient, imperishable, immortal, exempt from fear, eternal, holy, and the cause of the universe," and says "He alone is to be worshipped," thus repudiating polytheism and idolatry. The only other fundamental doctrine relates to the supreme authority of the four Vedas. The minor doctrines are :—

- (a) A belief in the transmigration of souls and in the effects of Karma.
- (b) A rejection of belief in the efficacy of Shraddha.
- (c) A rejection of the popular idea of Tiraths.
- (d) A denial of the status of revelation to books other than the four Vedas.
- (e) Duality of the human soul and God.
- (f) God is to be worshipped in spirit, and not through images.
- (g) Denial of the incarnation of God.
- (h) That salvation is the state of emancipation from pain and

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from subjection to birth and death ; and of life, liberty and happiness in the communion with God.

The Arya Samaj allows no intermediacy between the human soul and the Supreme Being. Practice of virtue is the means of attaining salvation. Rituals are merely aids and means, but not very material.

The rituals enjoined are of two kind : Ordinary—*i.e.*, fixed ; and Extraordinary—*i.e.*, recommended for special occasions. The former are of two kinds, determined (*a*) by time, as daily, fortnightly, monthly, or yearly ; and (*b*) by the phases of life—*i.e.*, birth, marriage, etc. One feature common to all is Hom or Havan.

The others are :

(2) Brahma Yajna—a three-fold ritual, morning and evening—consisting of (*a*) *Upasana* or meditation, (*b*) *Shuti* or recital of the qualities of God, and (*c*) *Prathna*.

(3) Pitri Yajna—worship of ancestors or parents.

(4) Bhuta, or Bali Baishvadwa, Yajna—a symbolic enforcement of duty towards all that exists, animate and inanimate.

(5) Atithi Yajna—hospitality to the learned and pious.

Similar ritual is prescribed at the rise of the moon and on full-moon days, and at the beginning and end of every season. The other rituals are known as the *Sixteen Sanskaras*. Generally speaking every ritual follows the one laid down in the Dharma and Grihya Sutras.

The first three of the principles of the Arya Samaj have been stated above under " Religious Beliefs " ; the others set forth its social aims and teachings. The fourth enjoins every Arya to be ever ready to give up untruth and embrace truth ; and the fifth, that he should act in accordance with Dharma after a thorough investigation of right and wrong.

The sixth declares that " the primary object of the Arya Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, intellectual, moral and social condition of mankind " ; and upon this is based its claim to be a universal Church, not confining its work to any one land, nor necessarily to the teaching of doctrinal religion.

The seventh emphasises the importance of conduct towards other beings, being guided by love, righteousness, and justice.

The eighth declares that " it is our duty to destroy Avidya—Nescience—and promote Vidyā—*i.e.*, true knowledge, science, spiritual and physical."

The ninth principle embodies its social ideal—" that no person should be content with promoting his own good only ; but that, on the contrary, he should look for his good in the good of all."

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Individual liberty is provided for in the tenth principle : " All men should abide by the laws of society calculated to promote the well-being of all, but everyone is free in regard to the laws affecting his individual well-being."

The Arya Samaj enjoins universal and free education including feeding and care of children during the period of education without any distinction of sex. Religious instruction must form a part of general liberal education for all. Life is divided into four periods, the first or Brahmacharya extending up to the twenty-fifth year for males and sixteenth year for females.

The Arya Samaj offers to women the same civic status as to men. In theory the Arya Samaj does not require women to observe Purdah ; but the founder pronounced against mixed schools for boys and girls.

The Arya Samaj does not recognise caste by birth, but holds that it is determined by education, merit and occupation. It imposes no restrictions between caste and caste in the matter of inter-dining and other social intercourse, except marriage.

In practice, however, the Arya Samajists still observe caste restrictions in marriage, and, in the provinces other than the Punjab, even inter-caste dining is not as yet common.

The minimum age of marriage is twenty-five for boys and sixteen for girls, celibacy for a longer period being looked upon with approval.

Re-marriage is allowed of girls who have lost their husbands, before consummation of marriage ; Swami Dayanand allowed no re-marriage, either for males or females, after consummation. To persons having no issue from the first marriage and desiring off spring, he allows the form of marriage known to the ancient Hindu Shastras as *Niyoga*. In practice, however, all kinds of widow remARRIAGES have taken place in the bosom of the Arya Somaj and have been countenanced by almost all shades of opinion.

The members of the Somaj are divided into two classes :—
(a) general members called Aryas ; and (b) voting members called Arya Sabhasads, who pay 1 per cent. of their income to the general fund of the Samaj, and elect annually an executive committee for managing the affairs of the Samaj. In each Province there is a Pratinidhi Sabha, consisting of all the Samajes in the Province. The Arya Samaj contributes one tenth of the proceeds of their 1 per cent. tax to the provincial assemblies. Many members devote 10 per cent. of their incomes to the Samaj. There is another Society called the Puropharini Sabha, having

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the Chief of Idar as its President and the Raja of Sahpur as Secretary.

The principal work for which the Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayanand and for which it exists is the propagation of religious doctrines and the carrying of "the light of the Vedas into the dark corners of the world." Its social and educational and philanthropic work is secondary and as means to that end. Upon the latter, however, is founded its popularity. Its religious influence may be said to be confined to few, so far as regards the actual numbers of those who accept the faith ; but there are millions of Hindus who love and respect it for its educational and philanthropic activities. But even its religious influence is by no means confined to its members. Its appeal to the original authority of the Vedas and the ancient commentaries ; its doctrines based on the rational view of things ; its concession to each individual of freedom of thought and interpretation ; admission of full liberty of conscience and worship for each member,—all these have produced a revolution in the religious and moral life of the Hindus.

In towns and villages where there is an Arya Samaj, opposing organisations have been started under the name of Sanatan Sabha. To this must be added the organised opposition and vilification of the Muslims and Christians, for the Arya Samaj effectually checks conversion to Islam and Christianity from Hinduism.

Its propaganda work is done by paid and honorary missionaries and preachers, who go from place to place to preach the doctrines and to carry on discussions with the preachers of rival faiths and expounders of orthodox Hinduism. It trains its own preachers in seminaries established and maintained by it, into which Brahmans and non-Brahmans find admission.

The Arya Somaj maintains two big institutions—the D. A. V. College at Lahore founded in 1886, and the Gurukul Institution founded by the "Mahatmas' Party" at Kangri (Hardwar) only six years ago. The objects of "the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College" are to encourage and enforce the study of (a) Hindi literature ; (b) classical Sanskrit and the Vedas ; and (c) English literature and sciences, both theoretical and applied ; and, furthermore, "to provide means for giving technical education." It owns considerable property, and has endowments yielding an annual income (including tuition and admission fees, etc.) of over Rs. 60,000 (£ 4,000). The Principal is honorary, and has held the post with remarkable success since its foundation. On the staff are several of its own alumni, working in a missionary spirit on mere subsist-

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ence allowances. Directly or indirectly connected with the College are a number of secondary and primary schools maintained by the Samaj throughout the province, some of which receive the usual grants from the Education Department. In the United Provinces, also, the Samaj maintains several schools on the same lines as the Anglo-Vedic or Anglo-Sanskrit Schools of the Punjab, their principal Anglo-Vedic school being at Dehra Dun.

To promote female education the Arya Samaj maintains many girls' schools for primary education. But in this matter the Samaj has not yet achieved any conspicuous success.

Besides these the Arya Samaj maintains some special schools for educating the depressed classes.

But the most popular of all the activities of the Samaj is its philanthropic charity. These are briefly :—

(a) General Famine Relief.

(b) Permanent Orphan Relief for the housing, education and maintenance of orphans, and giving them a start in life.

(c) Medical Relief to sufferers from plague or other epidemic diseases.

(d) Relief on extraordinary occasions, such as earthquake, flood, famine, etc.

The annual revenues of the Arya Samaj movement in India may be estimated at the modest figure of Rs. 3,00,000 ($\text{£}20,000$), and the value of their assets and properties at Rs. 50,00,000 ($\text{£}333,333$).

THE CAUSE OF INDIAN DISCONTENT

The *Socialist Review* contains a well-written paper on the "Cause of Indian Discontent" from Mr. S. V. Doraismami. Our author traces the cause of the present discontent in this country from the series of government activities beginning with the bureaucratic measures of Lord Curzon down to the recently passed Press Act.

"The drama of feverish energy with Lord Curzon as protagonist had been played out for seven long and weary years. Bureaucratic activity and viceregal zeal misdirected had combined to rouse the slumbering Titan of discontent and despair of an aggrieved and helpless nation." Lord Curzon's educational reforms were resented by fair-minded critics and thoughtful people of calm and unbiased judgment like Sir Gurudas Bannerji and Mrs. Annie Besant. The "Partition of Bengal" was the climax. Almost every aspect of the

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Indian question today, somehow or other, centres in the Partition. It is impossible to have an adequate idea of the Partition and its sequel without a correct knowledge of the Curzonian epoch.

The sole aim of Lord Curzon was to develop to its utmost the doctrine that India is the best field for the growth and progress of Imperialism. The subject race should in nowise question the policy of the powers that be, but should silently assent to the doings of the executive without one word of murmur. His lordship laid down the mute acquiescence of the governed as the cardinal maxim of Oriental rule.

The end of the Curzonian *regime* brought things to a climax ; the Government and its forces were sharply arrayed against the people's wishes and rights. It was at this juncture that Pandora's box was opened and out came the Partition of Bengal.

Mr. Doraiswami points out that Partition was devised : "(1) to decrease the political influence of the Bengalis, in some respect the leading section of the people ; (2) to tear asunder their homogeneity, numerical and territorial ; (3) to give the Mohammedans in one province an artificially augmented majority and influence that would hold the progressive Hindus in check ; (4) to cripple the Calcutta Press ; (5) to strike a blow at the growing power of the educated and advanced, particularly the professional, classes ; (6) to increase the emolument and prestige of the bureaucracy ; (7) to lessen the strength of Calcutta, the centre of Indian political life ; (8) to fortify the backward and reactionary element and counteract the influence of the progressive section."

Lord Curzon's first proposal of separating a few districts from Bengal and then the altered scheme of August 1905 were followed in quick succession by the announcement in September of the accomplished fact. No opportunity was given to the public to discuss the final scheme. Over 500 meetings were held all over India protesting against the measure. The suddenness of the measure, the secrecy with which it was worked, and the manner in which it was hurried through, in open defiance of public opinion,—these, apart from its merits, were sufficient to rouse the tempest of indignation which spread from province to province.

That administrative considerations were not of first-rate importance in the determination of this question appears to be evident to the unbiased critic who peruses the following viceregal pronouncements : "It cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion, or what passes for it, should be manu-

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factured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre, and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed." "From every point of view it appears to us to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals, and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it too prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity."

Much hope was entertained by the Bengalee people for the modification of this measure when the Liberals came into power on the following January, but to their great disappointment they discovered that a Liberal Secretary of State, bred in the best school of advanced political thought, had no more courage to undo the mischief than his conservative predecessor in office had to prevent it.

The struggle in which India is now engaged is the struggle between the bureaucracy and the people for the attainment of greater powers in managing their own affairs. The Partition of Bengal raises the question : Is there to be no remedy for autocratic excesses of the Indian Government ? How long is this state of affairs to continue—the bureaucracy acting in the teeth of the opposition of the people ? India awaits the answer of British Democracy. The question is often asked : Why has Lord Morley taken this inexplicable course of condemning the Partition of Bengal and maintaining it in the same breath ?

Reform means the implacable opposition of vested interest and Lord Morley was in no mood for any radical change in the Indian constitution. This is the reason why the reforms of Lord Morley do not adequately deal with the situation, and the concessions granted are bristling with serious drawbacks, the new regulations being generally considered harsh and illiberal to a great extent.

Lord Morley certainly has asserted certain principles in a bold manner which few of his predecessors did ever venture to do. But this should be set off by the fact that India never exhibited such unmistakable signs of a national movement as she is now exhibiting. A new party has arisen—largely the creation of Lord Curzon's *regime* and the Partition—who have nearly lost faith in the courage and justice of British statesmen of the present day. The administration of Lord Morley, instead of removing the root causes from which this party gathered strength, set rigorous laws in motion, and passed coercive acts to gag the Press and to put an end to the liberty of public meeting. The policy has given a fresh

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impetus to the propagation of violent ideas in a way the authorities never foresaw.

A great opportunity still exists for the reparation of all the past wrongs of the Government. Force is no answer to argument or grievance, and coercion has failed in all quarters of the globe, including India. What will Lord Morley do before the occasion slips his grasp ? The Partition of Bengal remains a great blunder—no amount of sophistry can whitewash it nor reforms efface it. The boldest as well as the simplest and perhaps the only remedy is a reversal or modification of this measure. Where is the British statesman who will take courage by both hands in modifying it ?

REFORM OF THE INDIAN CALENDAR

Astronomical conferences were recently held at Kaladi, in the State of Travancore, for the purpose of unifying the Indian calendar, in view of its divergence from the nautical calendar. The Indian calendar has presided over the destinies of the children of India for more than 2,000 years, recording with jealous minuteness the hour and the day, nay the very minute and second of their births, marriages and deaths. Its veto was sufficient to arrest the mightiest conquerors proceeding to battle or to stay their hands in the hours of victory. The venerable men who now regulate Indian astronomical calculations are versed only in the traditions which enable them to keep up the ancient forms of the calendar. In the years that have rolled by, these traditions have very often deviated, whether on purpose or unawares, from the path originally supported by the siddhantis ; but of such durations, any more than of the original principles of the Indian calendar, its so-called custodians know very little at the present day. Another suspicion cast upon the Indian calendar by the conference makes it hard for the almanac makers to rehabilitate their position unless they can produce very good and very palpable evidence in their favour.

Dewan Bahadur L. D. K. Pillai, writing in the *Indian Review* for May, points out the conclusions of the Travancore conference and notes the most important causes of public dissatisfaction with the Indian calendar. They appear to be the following :—

- (1) The multiplicity of calendars and the too patent fact that among them there are palpable divergences.
- (2) Obvious discrepancies between the purely Indian almanacs and such European publications of undisputed accuracy as the

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Nautical Almanac. It is found that between the ordinary almanacs in use in India and the Nautical Almanac there is a divergence of an hour or so in the moment of occurrence of new and full-moons and a divergence of several hours in the ending moments of stages intermediate between two new moons.

(3) The difficulty and tediousness, amounting almost to unintelligibility, of the processes prescribed for the construction of an Indian Almanac.

The endless multiplications and divisions prescribed by traditional methods, the difficulty and inconvenience of having to spend an inordinate length of time for each calculation, and the uncertainty of the ordinary methods of approximation are great drawbacks of the Hindu method.

There is an essential difference between a calendar instituted for the ordinary purposes of social or religious life and a Nautical Almanac intended to assist the navigator in combating and overcoming the dangers and risks of a sea voyage. A civil calendar, like the Indian, should have the qualities of care of calculation and practical utility as distinguished from theoretical accuracy.

Most nations that we are acquainted with in history, including the nations of modern Europe, are satisfied with dividing the courses of the sun and the moon in integral days, excluding fractions of a day, and with subdividing the day from midnight or from noon to noon into equal divisions called hours, minutes, and seconds. The Indian Calendar, on the other hand, divides the courses of the sun and the moon into integral *spaces* or arcs of a circle and not into integral days. It takes account, for example, of the *moment* when the sun completes any thirty degrees of its course, of the *moment* when the moon gains 12 degrees or an integral number of 12 degrees over the sun in her orbit, and of the *moment* when the moon, irrespective of the sun, completes 13° 20' of her sidereal course or an integral number of such spaces. The first of these is called a solar *sankranti* or the commencement of a month; the second is called the ending moment of a lunar *tithi* and the third the ending moment of a lunar *nakshatra*.

Every year the Hindu almanac-maker has to compute 12 such moments for monthly *Sankrantis*, 360 moments for as many lunar *tithis* occurring in the course of a lunar year, and about the same number of lunar *nakshatras*.

Every Hindu house-holder possesses a copy of the calendar, and he consults it whenever any necessity arises, though he need not know all its details. In the calculation of *tithis*, and *nakshatras*,

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absolute accuracy is demanded, but such accuracy is not necessary for the house-holder in the performance of his religious duties.

Divergence between theoretical accuracy and practical convenience in almanacs is not peculiar to the Indian system. But such divergence is got over, as by the omission of leap years, under the combined Indian and Gregorian systems or as was done by the dropping of 11 days by an Act of Parliament in the year 1752.

The principle applied in such cases is that the mere existence of an error or divergence between theory and practice does not matter, so long as we know its magnitude and are in a position to correct it from time to time.

It is not improbable that the existence of some at least of the errors and divergences pointed out above in the Indian calendar were foreseen by the original authors of the various *siddhantas*, and they seem purposely to have inserted in their systems certain automatic corrections whereby the errors could never exceed a certain limit, or whereby, if they did exceed such a limit, they could be removed on the completion of a cycle of years. Practically, the error in the ending moment of what we may call intermediate *tithis*, that is, the *tithis* between one new moon and another new moon, is a *recurring* and not an *accumulating* error. It is caused by the phenomena known as *evection* and *annual equation* and its operation is confined to the quarters and the eighth parts of the lunar orbit.

There is one divergence of considerable importance between the European and the Indian calendar which perhaps deserves more than a passing remark. It is the divergence between what is called the *tropical* and the *sideral* longitude of the sun. As the sun measures his annual course round the earth (a practical divergence between theory and practice), his longitude or distance from the starting point of his journey increases. That point in the European Astronomy is the first point of *Aries*, that is the point where the path of the sun crosses the celestial equator. Properly speaking, when the sun has completed 360° of his course he ought to return to the point; but as a matter of fact, owing to the procession of equinoxes, the point itself meets him instead of his coming to meet it; and it has been calculated that the first point of *Aries* will travel along the whole course of the ecliptic in a series of 25,868 years. According to a different calculation (longitude of the sun measured from the first point of *Aries* as it stood in the year 3600 Kaliyuga or about 500 A.D.) the Hindu solar year commences later than the European mean solar year. In the

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year 3102 B.C., the Hindu solar year commenced at midnight between the 17th and the 18th February. In the current year 1910 A.D. it commenced on the 13th April, and it will go on advancing by a day or two every century until it has passed through every day of the European calendar and returns again after 30,000 years to the 17th February. The rule for calculating the tropical longitude is to add three degrees to the sidereal longitude of the sun for every 200 years, elapsed since 3600 Kaliyuga, or if the longitude is reckoned in days, to add one day for every 64 years elapsed since 3600 Kaliyuga.

The reason why such a divergence is tolerated is that the Hindu solar year is a *sidereal* (practically an *anomalistic*) year, and it coincides almost exactly with the period of revolution of the sun's mean anomaly or his *rate* of motion round the earth. By reckoning the solar year according to the sun's anomaly, we are enabled to obtain, without further calculation, certain very important elements in determining the two most usual data of the Indian Calendar, namely, the absolute *ending moment* of a *tithi* and the actual *moment of sunrise*.

Thus the results yielded by the Indian Calendar compare very favourably with the results of modern observations and research. As regards the discrepancy between the moment of new moon as deduced from the *Siddhantas* and as given in the Nautical Almanac, it is important to observe that the reason is not at all any inaccuracy in the Indian method, but a reason inherent in the nature of the lunar orbit. It has been ascertained by enquirers from the time of Laplace onwards that the moon actually moves faster in her orbit in the present day than she did two thousand years ago. The orbit of the Synodical month, laid down by modern astronomers, is 29.530887 days. According to Ptolemy the period was longer than this by half a second. It is probably the case that Ptolemy's period was correct in his day, and the present period is certainly correct in our day. From this difference there results inconvenience of calculation.

In no system of European Astronomy has there been a continuous application of the same synodical lunar period for 2,000 years; whereas in India we have had to apply such a constant for at least 1,500 years. The ancient Indian Astronomers seem to have purposely adopted a shorter synodical month than was correct in their day in order to provide against future divergencies, with the result that the synodical month according to the *Surya Siddhanta* (29.530537946 days) is shorter than the modern period, and con-

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sequently new moons according to the *Surya Siddhanta* occur a little *before* the time of their occurrence as predicted in the Nautical Almanac.

Dr. Grattan Guinness has found by actual calculation of new moons for a period of 3,500 years beginning from 1655 B. C. that a synodical month consisting of 29.5305916 days produces on the whole the least divergence between actual and calculated new moons at the present day, while it also gives with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes the moment of occurrence of ancient new moons. Now, the synodical month adopted by the Arya *Siddhanta*, which *Siddhanta* is or ought to be followed by the Almanac-makers all over India, is almost exactly the same as that of Dr. Grattan Guinness ; for, it is 29.5305925 days and it may therefore be inferred that new moons, deduced according to the Arya *Siddhanta*, must *caeteris paribus* agree very closely with the new moons predicted in the Nautical Almanac. We may remark in conclusion that the error due to lunar acceleration will as time advances become sensibly less even according to the *Surya Siddhanta*.

ARTICLES

PARTITION & FINANCE

Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson in introducing the Financial Statement for 1910-11 observed :

"I cannot expect a surplus without the help of additional taxation which it will be my unenviable duty to impose. For this state of affairs there are two plain and adequate reasons. In the first place, the reduction of our exports of opium to China will cause a serious fall in our opium Revenue. In the second place we are obliged to abandon to Eastern Bengal and Assam a much larger share of its Land Revenue than it has hitherto retained : for the present resources of the Local Government have proved quite insufficient for the needs of the new Province."

The necessity for additional taxation has arisen contrary to the expectations of Lord Curzon and has placed the Partition of Bengal in a new and prominent light before the people of India. What was hitherto a purely political measure has now grown into a complex financial problem. Mr. Gokhale admitted that it now affected politically as well as materially the whole of India. Mr. Fenton of the Punjab styled Eastern Bengal and Assam as the 'Benjamin of the Provinces' and likened it in a manner to the Podigal Son of the Bible. The last Budget has opened the eyes of many and has, perhaps, made them feel that the people of Bengal had not been far in the wrong in their apprehensions with regard to the measure.

It is not surprising that at this emergency the apologists of Partition should have come to the front. Sir Lancelot Hare demurred to the statement of the Finance Member and put the whole blame of new taxation on the anticipated loss in opium revenue. Mr. Lyon took a different line. He contended that the cost of Partition had been greatly exaggerated and the financial needs of the new Province had not in any way arisen out of it.

Opinions may differ as to the actual cost of Partition. But this much is beyond question that it has far exceeded the estimate of Lord Curzon and his Government. In place of his 8½ lakhs we have now 12 lakhs for the recurring expenses. The estimated 10 lakhs on capital outlay has now swelled to 56. Mr. Lyon is,

however, prepared to place this amount to the debit of Partition. But he has tried to minimise the incidence on Eastern Bengal and Assam and has fallen into a curious error in assigning 4 out of 12 lakhs to Bengal. The fact is that the addition of this recurring expenditure is solely due to the creation of the new Province. It is altogether a new charge on the head of general administration and does not include the cost of the district of Sambalpur, now transferred to Bengal.

It cannot be seriously argued that 12 lakhs on recurring and 56 lakhs on capital expenditure represent the total cost of Partition. The task is extremely difficult, nay impossible, for one not in the secrets of Government to discover the various heads of expenditure which have been affected by Partition. We can only indicate some of them. The expenditure on civil works in the new Province from 1905-06 to 1910-11 (Budget) amounts to 413 lakhs. This is a very large figure and it will not be easily believed that the whole of the amount, with the exception of 56 lakhs, is due to the normal development of the Province. The charges under the heads of annual exodus to the Hills—a practice which will be commenced as soon as the Dacca buildings are complete—of the growing needs of an expanded Council and the improvement of Chittagong Port are all accountable to Partition. It is also fair to presume that but for Partition the enormous increase on Police would hardly have been necessary. The disorder and unrest, which are alleged to justify this increase, owe their origin to Partition. There has been increase also on the heads of stationery and printing, of inspection of schools and colleges, and of sanitation in which also Partition plays an important part. All these items put together make a considerable sum which should, in all fairness, be added to the cost of Partition.

Mr. Lyon has referred to the impetus which Partition has given to education and other matters in Eastern Bengal. Of this it is, however, difficult to discover any proof. In education the policy of provincialising Boards' Inspectors and of bringing all private institutions under Government control is responsible for a large portion of expenditure. The increase in the number of Schools, Primary and Secondary, which has taken place since Partition, can only be regarded as normal. Nor do the benefits which the Mahomedans make so much of are clearly in evidence. The mere creation of a few *muktabas* and the substitution of Urdu for Bengalee as a vernacular will hardly satisfy any unbiased and cultured Mahomedan.

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The signs of development are not noticeable in any direction except under civil works. Yet the expenditure has gone up from 150 lakhs in 1905-06 to 300 lakhs in 1910-11. Not a very slight increase, although Mr. Lyon defends it by showing that there has been similar increase in other provinces. He has also shown the incidence of expenditure per head and per square mile in Eastern Bengal and Assam to be lower than in other Provinces. This is a very weak defence when we consider the real needs of the province. The educational and sanitary problems have to be taken up in a real spirit of reform. It is often forgotten that not a farthing is contributed by the new Province towards the maintenance of the High Court which costs Bengal nearly 14 lakhs a year. Add to it the five big schemes which Mr. Kershaw has chalked out in the last Budget of the new Province. There is also the increasing burden of other recurring charges owing to Partition. The cry goes out incessantly that the Eastern Bengal, more particularly Assam, Districts require development, for it was mainly in the interests of the latter that Partition was effected. The sub-division of the unwieldly districts of Mymensingh and Sylhet has to be carried out at no distant future. The provision for opening up roads and keeping them under repair has to be made on an extensive scale in the new Province. To crown all, the question of an Executive Council for Eastern Bengal and Assam cannot altogether be shelved. The promise of an equality of status will never be forgotten in spite of the attempt of the Master of Ellibank to explain it away.

All these requirements raise the question of finance, of ways and means. The Imperial Government has fixed the assignment to Eastern Bengal and Assam at 50 lakhs and has no desire to re-open the matter at any early date. It can no longer be counted upon also to cancel overdrafts as it has recently done to the extent of 36 lakhs. It may have consented to give to the new province further doles, but no Provincial Government should always rely upon them. It must depend on its own resources. The question is : will the new Province pay its own way? The question is replied by the local Government in the affirmative. It is pointed out that the province contributes a fair share to the Imperial Revenue and that what it receives in fixed assignment is not greater than what some of the other provinces get. The contribution of Eastern Bengal and Assam, to quote from the figures prepared by Mr. Sacchidananda Sinha, is 40·5 per cent. Compared with the 37 per cent. of Bengal, 39 per cent. of the Punjab, 44 per cent. of the United Provinces, 31·8 per cent. of Bombay, 45·5 of Madras

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and 30 per cent. of the Central Provinces it looks like a fair contribution. But what seems fair enough taken in the aggregate loses this character when calculation is made on the basis of each head of population and each square mile of area. The following table will show the comparative incidence :—

Provinces		Per head	Per Sq. mile
		Rs. As.	Rs.
Eastern Bengal and Assam	...	0 9	171
Bengal	...	0 8	224
Bombay	...	1 4	200
Madras	...	1 3	317
Punjab	...	0 10	140
United Provinces	...	0 13	373
Central Provinces	...	0 12	90
Burmah	...	2 3	132

This is a more equitable standard of comparison and Eastern Bengal and Assam does not stand the test well. Excepting Bengal, its incidence per head is lower than that of other provinces and its incidence per square mile is higher than that of the Punjab, the Central Provinces, and Burmah. The conclusion is irresistible that it can not appreciably increase its income by curtailing its contribution without being unfair to the other provinces.

The only means is to increase the total revenue of the Province. Mr. Lyon has shown the low incidence of expenditure in Eastern Bengal and Assam. The incidence of income is lower still as will appear from the following table :—

Province		Per head	Per Sq. mile
		Rs. As.	Rs.
Bengal	...	1 1	482
Eastern Bengal and Assam	...	0 13	275
Madras	...	1 8	395
Bombay	...	3 5	485
Punjab	...	1 9	333
United Provinces	...	1 5	596
Central Provinces	...	1 13	229
Burmah	...	5 0	267

The income of Eastern Bengal and Assam is the lowest on the basis of population and is only slightly higher than that of Burmah and the Central Provinces in point of area. It can not, by means of its present income, approach the incidence of expenditure in other provinces as sketched out by Mr. Lyon. Yet we have seen that the expenditure is bound to increase to a very considerable

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extent. If the expenditure increases beyond the income, it ceases to be a self-supporting province.

Let us examine the sources from which an expansion of revenues may be expected. Land is the main source of revenue in India. But owing to the Permanent Settlement no increase is expected in Eastern Bengal from this quarter. Both Sir Lancelot Hare and Mr. Lyon admit this difficulty. Sir Lancelot goes further and says that the Permanent Settlement not only hits the revenue but it hits harder in the matter of establishments. No doubt the greater part of Assam is under temporary Settlement, but the physical features and sanitary condition of the country stand in the way of its development. The land revenue of the two divisions in Assam with an area of 50,000 sq. miles is only 67 lakhs, while that of the Rajshahye division alone which is permanently settled and has an area of 18,000 sq. miles is also 67 lakhs. The contrast is striking and it becomes more so in the absence of any remote prospect of improvement.

The income from assessed taxes in the new Province is small. Revenue under stamps, excise and law alone makes a good figure. It is impossible to say from what other sources any appreciable increase is expected. Eastern Bengal is intersected by large rivers and the proportion of area under water is greater than in other provinces. The rivers change their courses very often and new *churs* are formed and re-formed. The growth in population takes place mostly on these *churs* but these people who lead almost a nomadic life can ill afford to contribute to the revenue of the country. The habitable portion in the Eastern Bengal districts is most densely crowded and does not admit of much increase of population. In Assam the outlook is worse from other causes. Leaving out the Punjab and the Central Provinces, Eastern Bengal and Assam stands out as the poorest of the eight major provinces of India and he will be a bold prophet who, bearing in mind the physical and other drawbacks of the province, can predict for it a brilliant financial future.

The Imperial Government has confessed its inability to undertake a further share of the recurring expenditure of the local governments. The settlement that has been arrived at in the last financial year is of a semi-permanent character. Sir Edward Baker has been complimented upon for the economy effected by him in Bengal. As a result of his economy the claims of education and sanitation have been thrown in the background. The situation is a great deal worse in East Bengal where five pice per head is spent on education as against seven pice per head in Bengal.

PARTITION & FINANCE

A period of financial stress has succeeded the years of surpluses. The era of surpluses is gone with little or no hope of return. Retrenchment is now the key-note of the financial policy of Government. The Supreme Government has to guard itself against bad monsoons and shrinkage of opium revenue. This is what Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson says :

" We are losing our opium revenue, and heavy demands for new expenditure on education, sanitation and so forth are being daily pressed upon us. In my judgment, therefore, we have reached a point at which we ought to stop and consider whether India can afford all that she has hitherto been aiming at."

The Government can not launch into further taxation. Lord Morley in speaking on the Partition of Bengal remarked : "If you want security and strength in India one of your ways of getting it is to lighten taxation, and I should look, therefore, in the direction of greater economy in order to lighten taxation." Judged by the light of the observations of Lord Morley and Sir Fleetwood Wilson, the question of Partition demands a revision. To rear up a province with little or no hope of its attaining financial equilibrium in these days of high pressure is unsound policy. Lord Morley pronounced Partition to be a settled fact, but the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, for some time the Premier of England, had held out hopes of reconsideration, if only new facts were forthcoming. The economic aspect as disclosed in the last Budget is a new fact. Another new fact is the continued opposition of the people to the measure. The third new fact is that the feeling against Partition is spreading in an aggravated form to other provinces and is being shared by all classes of people who look upon it as a financial burden.

Of all schemes of modification, if reversal of Partition is not *possible*, the most equitable is the readjustment of territories between Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the Central Provinces. The latter is the only major Province which is yet denied a Lieutenant-Governor and a Legislative Council. It is the poorest of the provinces and can ill afford to pay for this arrangement. But at the same time the boon can no longer be withheld from it while the other provinces are asking for Executive Councils. The only way to make the arrangement feasible is by joining Behar and Orissa to the Central Provinces and reuniting the two Bengals. It is always a risky experiment to partition a province where the land is under permanent settlement, for the principal source of income is sealed for ever. The addition

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of the Presidency, Burdwan, and Chota Nagpur divisions to Eastern Bengal and Assam will bring about an increase of 170 lakhs in land revenue alone. This will bring financial relief to the province while the addition of Behar and Orissa to the Central Provinces, will increase the revenue from land by 150 lakhs. The Province will thus be enabled to pay for a Lieutenant-Governor and Council. From other considerations, too, this sort of redistribution is to be highly recommended. It is one which can be said to proceed on the lines of least resistance. The proposed readjustment is free from many objections and is not likely to evoke any great opposition from the people.

Satyamanda Bose

ENGLAND'S WORK IN INDIA

II

We shall now attempt to point out the significance of the facts recorded in our 1st article in their relation to our life and character. In so doing, I propose to treat them separately under each of the principal heads in which our life is usually divided and will conclude with some general observations.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECT

We know that down to the end of the first quarter of the last century, religion amongst the masses of the Hindus consisted more in the strict adherence to the ceremonials prescribed by the Shastras than the contemplation of the nature of the deity or deities or of any attempt at conformity therewith. Prayer was a necessary part of this ceremonial, but it consisted of certain sounds without significance, words in a dead language which scarcely one man in a thousand understood. Every tree, river or stone had its god or demon, whom it was necessary to propitiate by bribes of animals or corn, and the whole atmosphere was surcharged with ghosts of both sexes and various denominations who took delight in torturing tender infants and delicate women. All nervous diseases were ascribed to possession by one of these evil spirits and the village *ofka* carried on a roaring trade. No crime, however deliberate or diabolical, but could be washed away by the vicarious services of a priest, backed by offerings which mainly went to enrich the latter. For a bribe that would not now induce any petty official to relax a rule of procedure, one could engage the services of the most puissant god or goddess in assisting him in the performance of the most heinous crime or the wholesale spoliation of the innocent and

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the weak. Men were dishonest and venal to a degree and the creatures of their imagination were conceived in no better spirit. The generality of Mahomedans, often helpless converts from Hinduism, were subject to the same superstition, only giving Arabic and Persian names to the ghosts and demons and having special incantations in the same languages to invoke or exorcise them. The absence of roads and the terrors of travel kept everyman at home ; the general ignorance and want of books made study of the manners and customs of neighbouring peoples an impossibility, and the widespread superstition made their minds fit to receive the wildest absurdities as undeniable facts.

Every inaccessible hill or jungle was inhabited by people who could make trees travel at rates that would put our express trains to shame, could transform men into tigers, and perform no end of miracles and wonders. Their goddesses played with their kings in times of peace, and marched at the head of their armies sword in hand dealing havoc to their enemies in times of war. Favorite lovers were kept about the house transformed into goats or rams and were sometime eaten up or destroyed by their jealous rivals assuming the shape of tigers or panthers. Witches infested every village and every epidemic of cholera or small-pox and every attack of infantile convulsion was put to the score of some old, infirm, eccentric, morose or ill-tempered woman in the neighbourhood, who sometimes paid dearly for her supposed sins. Gods and goddesses were subject to the same infirmities of passion and temper as their votaries, and the personification of the passions had special seasons for their worship. It would bear interesting study to compare the Egyptian, Greek, Israelite and Hindu mythology and to trace their effect on the habits and character of the respective peoples, but we must now proceed to trace the changes that our contact with the West has wrought upon us.

By a most commendable and politic resolution, the Hon'ble E. I. Company excluded at the outset the study of religion from the curriculum of their Schools and Colleges. In a country with such a diversity of religious beliefs, and such strict rules for the regulation of the details of every-day life, the introduction of the Bible, the Vedas, the Coran or the Grantha would each one of them have involved the exclusion from school of the children of all sects other than the one believing in the particular religion taught. The community being a mixed one, the idea of opening separate schools would have been found impossible in practice ; and even if practicable would have been found in many cases

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inconsistent with the secular instruction that was of necessity to form the principal part of the curriculum. The virtues of *Saligram*, the family god of every Hindu, would have received a rude shock in the laboratory where the professor of Chemistry would soon have demonstrated it to be so much calcium carbonate. As it was, students of all denominations profited by the study of History, Philosophy, Mathematics and the Experimental Sciences, and the spirit of enquiry that these new studies engendered was naturally brought first to bear on the hereditary beliefs and in as much as the ingredients of thought were pretty much the same the effect was also much alike. Given the same education and the same subjects to think upon, most men will come to about the same conclusion. The last fifty years of religious tolerance and secular education has done more to unsettle men's belief in the old religions than thousand years of Mahomedan rule with its image-breaking, mosque-rearing, and forced proselytising campaign ever did. There can be no permanent slavery of the mind. It is the mean and the self-seeking only that can be persuaded to change their religious principles by the hope of rewards and the fear of punishments; noble spirits on the other hand spurn all force except that of reason and are ever ready to hail new truths even at the risk of social condemnation. The new studies laid the axe at the root of the old superstitions. The oscillating folly of mankind will run as far to the other side as a violent swing of pendulum. Their fathers worshipped cows and looked upon wines and spirits as liquid conductors to hell. The new generation of students cultivated a taste for beef steaks and washed them down with brandy and whisky. Many an idol lost its prescriptive place in the family *mandir* and found itself in the gutters or was mercifully consigned to the nearest river to make its way to the sea in the best way it could. Minds religiously inclined took shelter in the newly raised Christian Churches where the preacher taught the equality of all mankind in the eyes of their Maker. The political situation of the country was also favorable to the spread of the new belief and many a neophyte met with a Deputy Magistracy as a first fruit of the salvation that was in store for them. But the majority found it difficult to accept a foreign set of miracles while rejecting the time-honoured ones of their own fathers. They agreed with the missionaries in exposing the impotence of the myriad gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, but carried the same unbelief in their treatment of the miracles of the Bible. They went back to the old books of their fathers written at a time when the Hindu mind

ENGLAND'S WORK IN INDIA

was yet in its pristine vigour and evolved monotheism out of them. At first, as was natural, they tried their utmost to make the new belief accord with caste, but it was soon found impossible to uphold it without the aid of revelation and the next generation boldly discarded both. A belief in an all-pervading, omniscient, merciful God, delighting in virtue and hating evil, a responsibility reaching beyond life and a hereafter where all is good and for all of us and of the details of which we do not and cannot know anything in the present state of our being, became the creed of the majority. Another class took Reason for their only guide and went as far as Science allowed them and stopped at the Unknown and the Unknowable. I do not believe that many atheists have grown up in India. By far the largest number are theists, some have gone to the full measure of their doctrine and have openly declared their cessation from Hinduism and have set up for a new sect ; others, and they are the majority, have kept their peace with the surrounding society by outward observance of its rules, waiting the arrival of the time when society will come to their own level and the open profession of their belief will entail no hardship on themselves or on their children. Nor is this time very distant. Every year a number of young men of the best and the most substantial families are proceeding to England to return home in a few years to assume prominent positions in society as Barristers, Civil Servants, Doctors, and Engineers. Their friends and relatives, themselves monotheists by conviction and Hindus by convention, are ever anxious to receive them back within the bosom of their society.

It was only very lately that some of the most influential men of the orthodox society in Calcutta were trying to collect a sufficient body of favorable opinion from the orthodox Pundits to the effect that crossing the *Kala Pani* and residence in foreign countries does not entail loss of caste. Already a man is allowed to set and drink anything in his own or in his neighbour's house so long as it is not done with unnecessary fuss. One of the leaders (now dead) of the rising party in Poona had nearly lost his position amongst his followers by advising some of the latter to undergo expiation for having been present at a tea party in the local Mission house. Compliance with Hindu tenets is neither expected nor accorded by them. We are often told that this godless education will end in our degeneration and in some final catastrophe like the French Revolution. For that we must wait and see.

THE MORAL ASPECT

Is it not a fact that the most grovelling superstition and

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brutality of manners have always been found to go hand in hand? Look wherever you like from the head hunting Dyak of Borneo to the modern brigand of Italy and you will find that it is so. The Thug propitiated his dreaded goddess by a midnight offering of animal blood before starting to shed that of his human brother. The Red Indian offered libations to the manes of his ancestors out of the skulls of foemen killed in battle. Readers of Stanley's *Darkest Africa* need not be told of the cruelty and superstition of the Hottentots and Bushmen. Amongst the cannibals of the Eastern Archipelego, victims were sacrificed before the gods prior to their being roasted and served to devout worshippers. The Aztecs of Mexico cut out the hearts of their Spaniard prisoners and placed them on the altars of their gods as the most acceptable offerings. All the world knows the story of Baal, the monster god of Egypt.

The Hindu patriarchs of the early part of the last century employed priests to offer sacrifices to the family gods to win their assistance in robbing infant children or helpless widows of all their assets and appointed professional forgers and perjured witnesses to fight as auxiliaries in their cause. They had reduced bribery into a system with professional agents for its distribution and realization. One of the commonest questions to ask to a first acquaintance was about the perquisites of his office. Landholders were in league with dacoits whose spoils they shared and whom they screened and protected from the clutches of the law. Public servants left handsome inheritances to their children after having lived in almost regal style during all their life. Now, their successors in these very offices do not have even enough to make two ends meet. Before 1830, Indians were appointed only as ministerial servants of the Company. Administrative necessity first forced Government to employ them in the lowest grades of judicial and executive offices with an amount of misgiving about the result. With the spread and progress of education, they have gradually won their way step by step till nearly the entire judicial administration has come to their hands; the highest authorities in this country and in England have expressed themselves in emphatic terms on the honesty and probity of the Indian officials. Thousands of ill-paid, imperfectly educated, and imperfectly supervised Indians hold independent charge of Post Offices and Savings Banks and distributes hundreds of thousands of rupees daily all over the country, and yet how rare are cases of defalcation amongst them. The criminal returns of the country, I venture to affirm, will hold comparison, taking into account the surroundings of the people, with those of any civilized country in the world. Remembering

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the amount of railway-borne traffic of the country which pass almost wholly through native subordinates taken almost indiscriminately from amongst the lower stratum of society, how few are the cases of misappropriation by them. The European mercantile houses, people of whose shrewd sense and business habits there cannot be any reasonable doubt, have declared in favour of native honesty and native steadiness by putting Indians in charge of every responsible office where steadiness and honesty are indispensable requisites to success. We seldom hear of a case of forgery in these days. Our Courts still furnish lamentable instances of subornation and perjury, but it is generally confined to the classes that have come into least touch with the new ideas.

"The educated native," said Sir Charles Aitchison, "is the most English of Englishmen." We are fast losing the impulsiveness of our oriental character and are becoming metamorphosed into dogged, calculating, energetic Westerners. It is not an unmixed good, but the balance is certainly in favor of the change. Some time ago it was the habit of a certain section of the press to upbraid the Indians with want of administrative ability and of manly courage. To students of history it is no new thing to find the character of a people being moulded by its Government and its surroundings. The law of demand and supply holds good in the moral world as much as it does in the economical, only it perhaps takes a slightly longer time to manifest itself. It is a natural instinct to avoid danger when we conveniently can. In the beginning of life, all children act up to this instinct with slight variations that are easily explainable by the laws of health and of heredity. As we grow up, the praise or blame of our neighbours begin to interfere with the working of this law and the example of our neighbours gives a further impetus to the change; what in the beginning required a strong exertion of volition becomes automatic in the end. Courage, like most other virtues, is the result of public opinion amongst civilized men. As we have seen above, we are every day acquiring by imitation the virtues and the vices of the dominant race. Now, in the character of the Anglo-Saxon if any trait stands more prominent than the rest it is his indomitable courage and excess of muscularity. Nothing wins his respect sooner than a display of manly courage which in his eyes cover a multitude of sins. Effeminacy and poltroonery on the other hand evoke his contempt and ridicule, and he is at no pains to conceal it. Under such circumstances it would be extraordinary if the educated classes whilst imitating them even in their faults should not imitate them

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here. To thoughtful readers of passing events the stories of personal collision between Europeans and Indians, in polo tournaments and cricket matches and footballs, clearly indicate that the manly portion of them has been roused by the teaching and the example of their conquerors. I once heard a young graduate express his regret that the law of duelling had been abolished, or they would soon silence the calumny that was often thrown at the teeth of an insulted nation. I could not join him in deplored the abolition of that remnant of mediaeval barbarity, but it struck me that it would be a wise measure to add a section to the Indian Penal Code to check national abuse. Hard works may not break bones, but they often create national bitterness which no sensible man of either race ought to encourage.

With respect to the charge of our want of administrative abilities, I ask if ever the Indians were given a fair trial and have they failed? The careers of Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Madhava Rao, and Sir Salar Jung ought to be remembered in this connection. A generation ago no Indian was even put in administrative charge of a district. When it was first resolved to do so a number of men called statutory civilians, who were nominated by Government on a principle of selection best known to themselves, who passed no tests and whom the country disowned, were put in charge of offices requiring administrative abilities. As was foreseen by every sensible man in the country, some of these failed and we were told that as a people we were unfitted for such trusts. The country never wanted this service of nepotism and jo-hukum-wallas. Lord Lytton's government sent it down people's throats against the combined weight of public opinion, and I hope I am not doing his lordship's memory any serious wrong in giving him credit for foreseeing the result at the time of inaugurating his scheme. Let the competitive men remain in possession of such charges for a number of years and then it will be time to say whether there is any foundation for the charge.

(To be continued.)

T. D. Bammerjee

THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF TANTIA TOPI

For the last few hours spent in Sepur before his execution, Tantia did not at all show any sign of trepidation or anxiety; he cheerfully performed to every detail all the religious observances of his creed; and though rather heavily wounded he himself prepared his own meals, performed his ablutions and attended

to other necessary duties. Though no Indian was allowed to see him, the English officers of the station eagerly sought interviews with this master tactician. For a short while he became the "hero of Sepur."^{*} On the 14th he was visited by an officer who asked him to prepare himself for the trial which would commence on the morrow. On this the fearless chieftain coolly replied that he wanted no trial, being well aware that nothing but his death would satisfy the vengeance of his captors. Then holding up his manacles with derision, he gravely remarked to the officer to make short shrift with him by according to him a soldier's death. When asked whether he wanted to see his dear ones in the last moment, the proud chief replied in the negative and the only favour he asked of the Government was to let his people alone because they had nothing whatever to do with his movements or transactions.[†]

On the morning of the 15th, a court martial was summoned in the Officers' Bungalow to try Tantia Topi. Undaunted and fearless, the extraordinary man stood before his Judges, and when the charge was laid against him "of having waged war against the British Government between June 1857 and December 1858, in certain specified instances" and this, according to Col. Malleson, was the only charge brought against him, he coolly replied—"I only obeyed, in all things that I did, my master's orders, i.e., the Nana's orders, up to the capture of Kalpi; and afterwards those of Rao Saheb. I have nothing to state except that I have had nothing to do with the murder of any European men, women or children; neither had I, at any time, given orders for any one to be hanged."

Though his defence was clear and reasonable, yet Tantia knew very well that except his life's blood no other punishment would be of any avail to appease the unquenchable wrath of his enemy. Undismayed and careless, he waited to hear the sentence which his Judges had already made up their mind to pass upon him. The terrible sentence of the Court Martial was none else than that the great Mahratta should perish on the scaffold. As an European historian says, when he received this horrible sentence, "his bearing was calm and fearless to the last."[‡]

After the sentence passed, Tantia was removed to the fort of Sepur in fetters. There for the few remaining mortal hours of his existence, the dominant courage of the Maharatta shone doubly resplendant. He prayed that his end might be hastened and that

* *The Friend of India.*

† Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II., p. 601, 602.

‡ Martin's *Indian Empire*, Vol. II., p. 601.

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his family might not suffer. "From the hour of his capture to that of his death he exhibited no symptom of either trepidation or despondency."^{*}

At 5 P.M. on the 20th, the great Mahratta was brought out of the fort, surrounded by a company of British soldiers. Every spot surrounding that place where the gibbet was erected was crowded with visitors. They gazed with no little wonder on the cool and calm demeanour of the great Mahratta chieftain, as he stood before them with an undaunted and a defiant look when the charge was read to him by Major Meade. As soon as the last word of that fearful sentence was pronounced, the fetters were taken off the legs of the captive who was then "prisoned and tried." Remarking that there was no necessity for their operations, "he mounted the ladder on to the platform with a firm step." He did not wait for the executioner to touch his person. Of his own accord he cheerfully put his head into the noose, and thus gave the signal. The fatal bolt was drawn and the life of the great Maharatta was launched into eternity after only a slight struggle. "When the suspended body became motionless, the troops were all marched off, and the body remained hanging for the remainder of the evening. After the troops left, a great scramble was made by the officers and others to get a lock of his hair, &c." This was the posthumous tribute paid to the departed great by the crowd of onlookers, among whom were found even a handful of English officers.[†]

Thus perished a great man in the gallows, expiating with his life the sins of the miscreants who figured so notoriously in the massacre of the innocents. We quite agree with the doubts expressed by Col Malleson regarding the justice of the sentence which brought to an end the mortal existence of a veteran whose hand had been clean of all dirty work. It seemed preposterous how the charge of waging war against the British sufficed for the passing of a capital sentence on a man who owed no allegiance whatever to the English Government. Tantia Topi was born and bred in the household of Baji Rao, who had been the Peshwa of the Marathas. From his earliest childhood he had been taught to regard the adopted son of Baji Rao, Nana Sahib, as his master, his liege lord, whose every order he was bound to obey. The illustrious writer then goes on to reflect on the justice of the sentence of death passed on Tantia, in the following cogent and straightforward manner,

* Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 602.

† Ball's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol. II, p. 602; Holme's *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 580. *The Times*, May 20th, 1859. *The Daily News*, May 20th, 1859.

which is so worthy of a true Englishman : ' Public opinion at the time ratified the justice of the sentence, but it may, I think, be doubted whether posterity will confirm that verdict. Tantia Topi was no born servant of the English rule. At the time of his birth—about the year 1812—his master was the independent ruler of a large portion of western India. He was under no obligation to serve faithfully and truly the race which had robbed his master. When that master, unbound equally by any tie to the English, saw the opportunity of recovering the territories of the Peshwa, Tantia Topi, who was his *mosahib*, his companion, obeyed his orders and followed his fortunes. He declared that he committed no murder. He was not charged with committing any. He, a retainer of the ex-Peshwa's family, was charged with fighting against the English. On that charge alone he was convicted and hanged. Surely, under the circumstances of the case, the punishment was greater than the offence. The clansman had obeyed his lord, and had fought with fair weapons.'*

Before concluding this chapter, justice requires that a few words should be said regarding the position of Tantia in the military history of India. And it is better that this should be given in the language of the very same historian whose opinion we have just quoted. Col Malleson says: " From nearly nine months, from his defeat at Jaora Alipur by Sir Robert Napier, to his capture by an officer serving under that general, Tantia had baffled all the efforts of the British. During that period he had more than once or twice made the tour of Rajputana and Malwa, two countries possessing jointly an area of 161,700 square miles, had crossed the Narbadda, and had threatened the more but valuable parts of western India. The qualities he had displayed would have been admirable, had he combined with them the capacity of the general and the daring of the aggressive soldier ; his marches were wonderful ; he had a good eye for selecting a position, and he had a marvellous faculty for localities. But when that has been said, everything has been said. Unable to detect the weak points of his adversaries, he never took advantage of their mistakes or their too great daring ; he never exposed himself in action, and he was the first to leave the field. On many occasions a judicious axe of his cavalry, always superior in numbers, would have so crippled the English that further pursuit by them would have been impossible. With a little more insight and a little more daring he could, whilst retreating before them, have harassed the flanks and the rear of his pursuers, have captured

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, Vol III., p. 379-12.

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their baggage, and cut up their camp followers. But he never attempted anything of the sort. Provided he could escape from one place to harass them in another, with the chance of striking at Indor, at Baroda, at Jodhpur, or at Jaipur, a blow similar to that which he had struck successfully at Gwalior, he was satisfied." The learned editor of the *Friend of India* of the time, after ably narrating in a succinct form the movements of Tantia, thus speaks of his wonderful career : "And then commenced that marvellous series of retreats which, continued for 10 months, seemed to mock at defeat, and made Tantia Topi's name more familiar to Europe than that of most of our Anglo-Indian generals. This reputation, though exaggerated by the fact that all other resistance had ceased, was by no means undeserved. The problem before him was not an easy one. He had to keep together an army of beaten Asiatics, bound by no tie to his person, and bound to each other only by one common hate and one common fear—hate of the British name and fear of the British gallows. He had to keep this ill-assorted army in constant motion, at a pace which should baffle not only the enemies who pursued him, but the enemies who streamed down at right angles to his line of march. He had, while thus urging his half-disciplined host to mad flight, to take some dozen cities, obtain fresh stores, collect nine cannons, and, above all, induce recruits to join voluntarily a service which promised only incessant flight at 60 miles a day. That he accomplished these ends with the means at his disposal indicates ability of no mean kind. Slightly as we may hold the mrauding leader, he was of the class to which Hyder Ali belonged ; and had he carried out the plan attributed to him and penetrated through Nagpore to Madras, he might have been as formidable as his portotype. As it was, the Nerbudda proved to him what the Channel was to Napoleon. He could accomplish anything except cross the stream. The original idea, if we may judge from his marches, was to collect a great army from the little states bordering on the Nerbudda valley, fly down towards Bombay at a pace which should baffle a pursuit, cross into the Deccan, and raise the true Maharatta provinces, and perhaps a large section of the Bombay army. He was disappointed by movements which form one of the most remarkable features of the struggle. With an enemy less persevering than the British, Tantia might have founded a great state, rebuilt the Maharatta power and reigned as Peshwa—an office not originally hereditary." "With a little more gallantry", writes another illustrious

* *History of the Indian Mutiny*, p. 381-2.

ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

Englishman, "with a few positive exploits added to his negative strategie feats, Tantia Topi would soon have become a Hindu Garibaldi. Indeed about the end of his capture he was becoming an object of interest in Europe and a five months more of his daring raid through Central India—even though amounting only to a successful evasion of our forces—would have raised that interest to a much higher pitch".*

G. L. D.

A GLIMPSE INTO ANIMAL LIFE AT ALIPORE

I

During the administration of Sir Richard Temple as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Zoological Garden at Alipore, covering an area of 33 acres of land, was founded by the late lamented Mr. L. Schwendler, whose memory is honoured with a monument erected in a prominent part of it. His late Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII was out sojourning in India in 1875 as the then Prince of Wales. His then Royal Highness opened the Gardens on the New Year's Day of the following year. Some months later, i. e. on the 1st of May, its doors were flung open to the public. It is idle to say that it has become now one of the principal places of public amusement in the city of Palaces. The fact remains that it is the repository for the cultivation of a very interesting branch of science. The facility it affords for the study of science has not, however, yet been taken full advantage of. The present paper is but the first instalment of a serial on the animals I have studied at leisure-hours in the Gardens at Alipore.

THE KIANG

Naturalists say that as there are still some wild cereals and fruits in the vegetable kingdom, so there are still wild animals in every part of the world. It is under the slow process of artificialisation brought about by improved methods of cultivation and of domestication made by man who has attained to a certain stage of civilization that we see them as they are. They say that the Kiang is a species of the wild horse and is a native of Thibet. That it is a native of the trans-Himalyan table-land leaves no manner of doubt in the minds of those who have given it an interesting and diligent study. But regarding the fact of its living wild in that region, I entertain grave doubt. On the contrary I take it to be cross-bred.

* Major Evans Bell's *Empire in India*, p. 368.

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If the word 'hybrid' has any meaning, it is applicable to the Kiang. It is a cross between the horse and the ass just as the mule is. I shall dwell here on the points of similarity and dissimilarity between it and the latter. I have failed as yet to hear it bray. I am thus not in a position to say anything definite about it. It has the tail of the horse like the mule. The colour of it no wise differs from that of the tail of the latter. The length of the ears of both are about the same. The hoofs are all the same. It has manes as well. The shape and size are equal. Only they differ in colour. The colour of the common domesticated ass is ash, while that of the wild ass (*Equus Onager* or *Ongar*) is a shade lighter. The domesticated ass is much smaller than its wild progenitor. But the colour of the Kiang is like that of a common hack. It is reddish brown, which gradually makes room for whitish brown in the lower region. A mule is vicious and bold ; but its Thibetan cousin is timid and shy. I reached my umbrella to it and it shied, while the wild asses, of which there are three in the Garden at Alipore, came nearer to me on my approach, in order to be patted and otherwise caressed. In its present state of confinement there is no chance of knowing how hardy and painstaking it is. But I think it is more active and hardy than either the mule or the dromedary. As it is a native of a country not rich in luxuriant vegetation, it can live on a spare feed. It has a wonderful adaptability from the bleak and barren land of the Lamas to the Gangetic plains of warm Bengal. The migration or rather the forced translation is not an easy thing. It is a crucial test to go through. Many an animal and many a plant have succumbed to the inclemency of a foreign climate. Only a certain class of animals are able to survive it. And the Kiang is one who has. By slow degrees it is getting quite acclimatized to the heat of the plains. Unfortunately it has no mate. If it had one, we would have no doubt seen the pair bringing forth offspring and rearing it in our midst just as the lion and the lioness have done in a state of captivity in the Burdwan House at Alipore.

Nakur Chandra Biswas

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

On May 7 passed away from this world the first Englishman who ever succeeded to the throne of the Great Mogul.

EDWARD VII Though the imperial splendour of Delhi and the **1st ENGLISH EMPEROR OF INDIA** Peacock Throne are now no more, Edward VII was perhaps the most powerful and influential Emperor India or the East ever had. The line of Babar ruled India on the spot and spent their revenue in building monuments of architecture and living a life of unparalleled magnificence ; under Victoria and Edward VII, though both absentee rulers, India has for the first time in her history been brought into line not with barbaric splendour but with the civilised countries of the world. Since the transfer of the Government of India from the Hon'ble E. I. Company to the Crown of England we have absolute security of life and property—a boon never enjoyed by any generation of Indians after Asoka's time. Both Victoria and Edward VII had, by Proclamation, enunciated principles of justice and good government to which the East has been a stranger for many a long century. It is unfortunate that neither the wishes of Victoria nor of Edward VII have been given effect to in full in the actual governance of this country, but for this their agents and representatives, who have in certain cases interpreted them in a pettifogging spirit, are mainly responsible. Victoria the Good had no actual experience of India, but her feminine heart sympathised fully and deeply with all Indian troubles, difficulties and aspirations. Edward VII had crossed the Suez Canal and had come into contact with India and her multitudinous population and was therefore in a position to follow Indian affairs with an abiding interest. As His Majesty the present Emperor of India has informed us, Emperor Edward VII "always remembered with affection his visit to India and its welfare was ever in his thoughts." Victoria's Proclamation removed a number of Indian disabilities : Edward VII's gave us promise of a constitutional Government. India shall keep the memory of Edward VII and his revered and royal mother green if, for nothing else, only for the basal charters of Indian liberty and civic freedom with which their names shall remain associated in the story of this country.

Edward VII's son, George, has ascended his father's throne as

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GEORGE V India's present Emperor and like his father has had actual experience of his vast Indian dominions and the people that inhabit this ancient land. On his return to England after the completion of his Indian tour in 1905, he eloquently pleaded for the infusion into the Government and Administration of India a *wider element of sympathy*. Since succeeding to the Imperial throne of India, His Majesty George V has issued a generous and sympathetic letter to the Princes and People of India. As this is a document of historic importance we reproduce it below in full :—

"The lamented and unlooked-for death of My dearly loved Father calls me to ascend the Throne that comes to me as the heir of a great and ancient line.

"As King and Emperor I greet the Princes, the Ruling Chiefs, and all the other dwellers in My Indian dominions. I offer you My heartfelt thanks for the touching and abundant manifestation that this event has called forth from all the diverse races, classes, and faiths in India, of loyalty to the Sovereign Crown, and personal attachment to its wearers.

"Queen Victoria of revered memory addressed her Indian subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858; and her august son, My Father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his Address to you fifty years later. These are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time to come I will faithfully abide.

"By the wish of His late Majesty, and following his own example, I visited India five years ago, accompanied by my Royal Consort. We became personally acquainted with great kingdoms known to history, with monuments of a civilisation older than our own, with ancient customs and ways of life, with native Rulers, with the peoples, the cities, towns, villages, throughout those vast territories.

"Never can either the vivid impressions or the affectionate associations of that wonderful journey vanish or grow dim.

"Firmly I confide in your dutiful and active co-operation in the high and arduous tasks that lie before me, and I count upon your ready response to the earnest sympathy with the well-being of India, that must ever be the inspiration of my rule."

If His Majesty will faithfully abide by the spirit of the Imperial Proclamations of his august father and of Victoria the Good and if the well-being of India must ever remain the inspiration of his rule, there can be no doubt that his reign will outshine even the dreams of an Asoka or an Akhbar.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Evidently we are living in critical times and almost all our institutions seem to be now in the melting-pot. Political ideas in India are rapidly shaping and reshaping themselves ; religious and social ideas are undergoing speedy and remarkable transmutations¹ ; educational ideas are yet struggling to be concretised and moral ideas appear to have just come out of the nebulous stage. Like our ideas, our institutions and organisations are also without any sure foundation and many of them are just now on their trial. The reforming works of the Arya Somaj and the Brahmo Somaj are now at a discount : social reform programme has been pushed aside into the backwaters of public life ; political organisations are coming into being and disappearing with the rapidity of lime-light pictures. There is not a phase of Indian life to-day about which any definite statements can be put forward with confidence, or any development of events which can be correctly read or interpreted without serious misgivings.

This is a serious situation in all conscience, but nobody seems to have inquired so far as to what this may be owing to. As the old seer of Chelsea put it, nations, like individuals, have their fits of simulation and it is one of these fits of simulation that the Indian Nation is just now passing through. We have all begun to take lessons in the dubious (they say, the oriental) art of simulation and we are readily lending ourselves to no end of make-believes, subterfuges and changes of front. If honest and straight dealings were ever the pride of the Indian people, they are no longer so. The Asiatic fetish of simplicity we have abandoned in favour of the European fetish of diplomacy, and almost every other man in our educated community today, no matter whether Hindu, Mahometan or Parsi, is a bit of a diplomat. It does no longer pay to wear one's conscience on his shirt-sleeves. We have as a people almost cast off old dresses and donned new ones, and, though in our new habits we may not all of us be turncoats, we certainly do not look what we really are.

We have at the present moment carried the art of simulation to perfection and we really do not know what all this is leading us to. The Indian Moslem is fighting his cause under false colours ; the Hindu is seeking under an extra dose of loyalty the salvation of his race; the Arya Somaj is confining its attention to purely philanthropic and educational work , and political agitation is tabooed everywhere and by all. People with any stakes in the country are coming forward to dissociate themselves from all sorts of public activities which are

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not either started or supported by Government officials. Members of Councils find plain speaking a dangerous game and, under pretext of expediency or political wisdom, feel no hesitation in supporting the most reactionary and repressive measures of the Government. The Press does not venture to say what it feels, and even the oracle of Bagbazar is finding satisfaction in writing ponderous leaders on subjects which interest and concern nobody. Platform eloquence has been struck dumb and public meetings have become almost impossible to convene even in important towns and cities. In a provincial subscription list got up to raise a memorial for our last King-Emperor, we meet with the sad spectacle of assistants in offices coming forward with a contribution of as much as Rs. 250 to the Fund. In fact, every one seems to be in fear of his life and is anxious to save his skin. Thanks to the deportations and the suppression of Samities and Societies and the ceaseless activity of the Criminal Investigation Department to which no reputation is safe, and particularly to its incessant attention upon educated Hindus, we have found it convenient to go back upon the principles of a life-time and the convictions of a whole generation.

Whether all this is very good for a foreign Government, we do not know. But that it is most injurious to the development of a spirit of nationality and of loyal and devoted co-operation in healthy public activities goes without saying. We shall take some concrete cases to illustrate our point. It is a matter of common knowledge that when the Indian Mussulmans decided to give the movement known as the Indian National Congress a wide berth, they did so not so much to spite the Hindus or run down the idea of a common nationality as so much to go after the loaves and fishes of office and to curry favour with the Government established by law in this country with some ulterior motives. The recent concessions to Mahometan demands have somehow justified the attitude of aloofness maintained by Indian Mussulmans since the days of Sir Syed Ahmed, but every patriotic Indian disciple of the prophet of Arabia must have realised the enormous price paid for to gain these communal advantages. Patriotism has been sacrificed to party interests and the idea of nationality abandoned in favour of principles of dubious wisdom.

Then we have the case of Behar. Only a couple of years ago, Young Behar anxiously pleaded for separation from Bengal as the best solution of the Partition muddle. But since the Councils Regulations converted Behar into the predominant factor in the Bengal Administration, Young Behar has turned absolutely apathetic

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to the solution of the Partition problem and feels no compunction in leaving Bengal to be stewed in her own juice. The Behar party has abandoned its high falutin boast of imperial patriotism and now pins its faith to no higher creed than Behar for the Beharies and its expansion and development at the expense of Bengal.

The Press Act and the debate on the last Financial Statement showed very distinctly how Bengal stood alone in its political ideas and how in the matter of the Partition her interests were abandoned by many a stalwart custodian of imperial interests.

We have one more instance to cite—the new-born enthusiasm of the Hindu people to follow in the wake of the Moslem League. The cloud was no bigger than a man's head when, under the auspices of the Punjab Hindu Sabha, an all-India Hindu Conference met at Lahore last year ; but today the pick of the Hindu community—some of them leaders of the national movement—have come forward to organise associations specially to promote Hindu, as opposed to general or national, interests. Really one cannot sufficiently condemn these narrow, sectarian and party organisations which create bitterness and opposition where they are not and effectively crush the national ideal which has taken so many years of patient and ceaseless toil to build up.

With the Indian people sharply divided among themselves, with party organisations supplanting national movements, with the standard of Indian Nationalism lying low in the mire, with no one community willing to co-operate in a common cause with another, and with the dread of police espionage and interference dominating the entire situation—what hope can there be of the national movement gaining back its old vigour and strength ? With such a prospect before us and with leaders of public opinion hopelessly differing from one another in most of the vital issues of national life and a spirit of inter-provincial and inter-party jealousy running high everywhere, and with every educated man anxious to put himself right with the Police and the C. I. D, no matter how, one almost shudders to think of the future of the Indian National Congress.

THE PRESS ACT The operation of the Press Act has entered into a new phase with the notice of forfeiture, issued in three important provinces of India, of Mr. Frederic Mackarness' compilation on the "Methods of the Indian Police in the 20th Century" which we noticed in the last number of the

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Indian World. It is the merest compilation,—Mr. Mackarness' brochure decidedly is—of opinions expressed by some of the highest officers of the State on the vagaries of our Police. Are we to understand by this forfeiture that the particular documents out of which Mr. Mackarness made up his pamphlet are equally offensive matter and are liable to be forfeited under the blessed Press Act passed with Mr. Gokhale's sanction and support? If that be the right interpretation of the Act, all public libraries, including Government archives, would have either to be shut up or burnt down. If a return were available of all the newspapers, books and pamphlets which have been proscribed by all the Governments, imperial and provincial, from the second week of February to the last week of May, the nature and number of the list would no doubt appal Mr. Gokhale and set him furiously to think. However that be, an attempt ought to be made to test the legality of the forfeiture of Mr. Mackarness' book and at the same time some enterprising firm of publishers ought to reprint it, without Mr. Mackarness' introduction, just to see how the Government would deal with the unedited opinions of some of its most trusted servants.



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THE INDIAN WORLD

Vol. XI]

JUNE—1910

[No. 63

DIARY FOR MAY, 1910

Date

1 A numerously attended representative Conference of the Rajbanshi or Kshatriya community of Eastern Bengal and Assam is held at Rangpur in Ebassam, to consider the social, educational and economic progress of the community. A Standing Committee is formed.

2 The Maharajah of Patiala proscribes by a notification in his State 43 newspapers, including the *A B Patrika*, the *Karmayogin*, the *Bishumati*, the *Mussalman*, the *Maharatta*, the *Kisari*, the *Punjabee*, the *Swadeshi Mitram* and *India* (of Pondicherry).

3 The Secretary of State for India's sanction for the formation of an Executive Council for Bengal is formally announced.

The Viceroy gives a farewell dinner in honour of Sir Harvey Adamson who lays down his office as Home Member to take up the Lieutenant-Governorship of Burma.

An Association called the "Lower Burma Planters' Association" is established at Meigui in Burma to undertake rubber cultivation near the said important rubber centre.

Sir Louis Dane opens the Surdar Dyal Sing College at Lahore. The Secretary announces free education up to the Upper Primary Standard.

5 Three Bengalee books entitled *Asha Kuhakini*, *Sipahi Juddh*, *Itihas* and *Sophia Begum* are declared as forfeited to His Majesty by the Ebassan Government.

A public meeting of the Hindu and Mahomedan citizens of Madras is held to protest against the deportation of 60 Transvaal Indians to India. An appeal for funds brought nearly Rs 2,000.

6 The Government of Madras sanctions the resolution passed by the Senate, in consequence of the very small per centage of candidates who were successful at the last matriculation examination, that those unsuccessful students who had obtained a certain percentage of marks in specialized subjects should be declared to have passed the examination.

His Majesty Emperor Edward VII dies at Buckingham Palace (London) at the age of 60.

Sixty British Indians, deported from the Transvaal, arrived at Bombay.

7 The Burmah Government order the forfeiture of a number of publications including the speeches of Mr Tilak, as they consider them to be seditious.

9 A *Gazette Extraordinary* announces that His most Gracious Majesty King George V has been proclaimed Emperor of India.

It is announced that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the new Financial Settlement for Ebassam with a fixed assignment of 52½ lakhs of rupees. The Secretary of State has, in this connection, drawn attention to the growth of expenditure from provincial revenues generally.

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The Temple of Mahadeo in the Poona City, nearly 125 years old, collapses in part resulting in the death of one and injuries to several others

10 Telegrams conveying heart-felt sorrow on the sudden demise of the late King Emperor reach the Viceroy from various parts of India

In the application made by the Crown to prosecute for perjury Mr. Tripura Sankar Sarkar, who was at first an approver but turned hostile to the Prosecution in the Haludbari Dacoity Case, the Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court, presided over by the Chief Justice, decline to give the sanction sought and dismiss the application.

11 A disastrous fire breaks out at Rangoon in which 130 wooden buildings are destroyed and 300 Burmans and others are made homeless. The gold figures for the India Office published today at Simla show a closing balance last month of just over six millions sterling

12 The Proclamation of the accession to the Throne of His Majesty King George V, and the Declaration made by His Majesty subsequent to the Proclamation, is read by the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department at the Town Hall, Simla, before Lord Minto and by the Sheriff of Calcutta on the steps of the Calcutta Town Hall at 5 P.M. today before the Chief Justice and some minor officers of the State.

A Press Communiqué issued today announces the Secretary of State's sanction of a special pension of £180 (in addition to the pension of £300 to which she is entitled under the Civil Service Family Pensions Regulations) to Mr Jackson's wife and a pension of £220 a year to Mr Jackson's mother.

A *Gazette Extraordinary* announces the profound appreciation by His Majesty King George V of sympathy and loyalty conveyed by the princes and peoples of all races and creeds in the Indian Empire on the occasion of the death of the late Emperor

The Maharaja of Patiala announces a subscription of Rs 20,000 for a memorial of the late King Edward VII in his State

13 The Report on the financial position of the Calcutta Port Trust showing remarkably rapid development of the Port of Calcutta estimates its income during 1910-11 at Rs 1,30,81 000 as compared with 66½ lakhs, 89½ lakhs, 100 lakhs, 109½ lakhs, and 120 lakhs in 1899-1910, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09, respectively

Mahsud raiders renew their attack upon the British territory near Zarmelan in Gumul, a sharp fight ensues, the Mahsuds having one man killed and several wounded

Returns published today describe the Indian Railway earnings to be phenomenally large, those for the last month being 48 lakhs of rupees better than those in the corresponding period last year, and 60 lakhs better than in April 1908

An avalanche fell upon the village of Bibusai in the Chilas district burying twenty six people and a number of cattle and goats

14 The Opium Revenue returns published today for the month of April last show that the receipts are now no less than 113 lakhs ahead of the estimates

The Government of India announce their decision that quinine and other alkaloids of Cinchona, when imported unmixed with other drugs in the form of coated tablets, tablets, pills, or capsules, shall in future be admitted free of customs duty

The Government of Bombay suspend the Ahmedabad Municipality for a year on the ground of incompetence, constant default in management of public affairs, and gross abuse of its power in making public appointments and orders that the municipal Government of the City shall for the period in question be entrusted to a picked body of gentlemen who will execute the duties entrusted to them under the guidance of the Collector

Lala Ladha Ram, the fourth editor of the Allahabad *Swaraya*, is placed today before a Parsi Sessions Judge on a charge of Sedition and

refuses to be tried by an Indian as he claims to be a foreigner (American) and not a British subject.

17. Khanderao Dwarkajee Patel is placed before the Chief Magistrate of Bombay for trial under Section 124A. in connection with printing some verses in Marathi entitled *Ganapati*.

18. Returns published today show a total of 9 lakhs of rupees coined in the Calcutta Mint and 10 lakhs in the Bombay Mint. The gold figures for the India Office for the 1st of the current month show total balances of just under 6 millions sterling.

19. Figures today published in connection with the Post Office Savings Bank in India for the last year show revised total net deposits of 68 lakhs against 70 lakhs in the Budget. The gross revised deposits last year were 7 crores, against 5½ crores in the previous 12 months.

On an application made by the Police demanding security from Mr. Panch Cowri Bannerjee for removal of a Printing Press belonging to him from its former address, Mr. Swinhoe, Magistrate of Calcutta, directs that in case of removal of presses already declared under the Old Act no security would be required in future.

Sir Heberit White makes over the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma to Sir Harvey Adamson at forenoon today.

20. Today being the funeral day of the late Edward VII it is observed as a day of mourning throughout India. India is represented in the ceremony by the Maharajas Holkar and Bharatpur and the Aga Khan, Lord Morley and the Members of the India Council, including Mr. Gupta and 20 officers representing the Forces of India.

A monstrous demonstration of Hindu loyalty takes place today at the Calcutta "Maidan" in commemoration of the Funeral Ceremony of the late Emperor in connection with which thousands of the poor are fed and prayers offered for the departed soul.

23. The "Wesaka" festival in celebration of the "Lord Buddha" anniversary takes place today at the "Buddha Dharmankur Vihara" in Calcutta.

His Majesty the Emperor George V issues a Message to "The Princes and People of India" affirming the principles of government enunciated in the Proclamations of Queen Victoria and Edward VII.

25. The British Frontier Mission under Mr. Donald meets the Afghan Commission today near Kalachi at the head of the Karrum Valley, and outstanding credit and debit accounts in connection with the local raiding are being discussed. *

The Punjab Chief Court has rejected the appeal preferred by the Editor of the *Bedari* who was sentenced to 3 years on a charge of sedition.

26. The Government of India announces, in pursuance to His Majesty's Commands, the remission of sentences of several prisoners, the remission varying from 7 days to 5 five months in the case of men with five years and over still to serve.

Lala Ladha Ram, Editor of Allahabad *Swaraya*, is sentenced to 10 years transportation on a charge of sedition.

The Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal for 1909-10 published today show an increase of 7 p.c in imports and of 5 p.c in exports.

In the Rangpur *Vartabahu* case, the District Magistrate sentence Mr. Joychandra Sarkar, the proprietor and publisher, to one year's rigorous imprisonment under Secs. 124A and 153A I.P.C.

28. The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma issues rules by which juvenile offenders will no longer be required to live the life of an ordinary criminal but will be given educational, literary and industrial training.

At a meeting of the Calcutta Senate the time prescribed for the study of the B.L. Course is extended from 2 to 3 years.

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30. The Judicial Commissioner on appeal preferred by the Khoja community of Karachi enhances the fine of Rs. 400 imposed by the lower court upon the proprietors of *Phoenix* and *Praja Mitra* to Rs. 1000.

In reply to a memorial of the Burma Chamber of Commerce praying for a Chartered High Court for Burma, Lord Morley States that it would not further the interests of the province.

The Madras Muslim League protests against the deportation of 60 Indians from the Transvaal.

The Central National Mahomedan Association addresses a letter to the Chief Secretary of Bengal praying for Mahomedan representation in the Executive Council to be shortly formed in Bengal.

Her Majesty Queen Alexandra wires to H. E. Lady Minto thanking the ladies of Bengal for their message of sympathy in her present bereavement.

Dattatry Balvant Marotsi is sentenced to 7 years' simple imprisonment for sending a threatening letter to Mr. Bonus, the Collector of Satara.

31. Mr. Hari Raghunath Bhagvat, late editor of the *Vande Mataram*, a vernacular newspaper, is sentenced to 15 months' rigorous imprisonment by the District Magistrate of Poona under Secs. 124A and 152A.

The milk vendors of Simla refuse to supply milk in consequence of the imposition of a license fee upon them by the Municipality.

The Punjab Chief Court rejects the appeal of Mr. Munshi Ram, editor of the *Sahayak* newspaper, against the order of the lower court sentencing him to 7 years' transportation for sedition.

NOTES & NEWS

GENERAL

Emigration to Natal

The number of emigrants leaving South Africa for Natal last year was 2526 compared with 1190 in the previous year.

Is it a Monkey-Squirrel Plague?

The *Pioneer* has the following. A high rate of mortality, as sudden as it was strange, is reported among the monkey population of Meerut and Bulandshahr. During the heat wave in the early part of June last no less than 230 monkeys were found dead in the vicinity of the Monkey Tank at Meerut within the space of three or four days. Who buried them or who were the mourners is not related, but as several squirrels also died as suddenly in the same vicinity, the authorities suspected foul play on the part of the mango-fruit proprietors of the neighbourhood. But *post mortem* examinations in the cases of a few specimens of the deceased simians revealed no traces of any deleterious matter. About the same time reports were received of heavy mortality among the monkeys at Bulandshahr.

The Decay of Oriental Scholarship

A perusal of the Punjab Civil List brings into prominence the fact that the days have gone when European officers, civilian or otherwise, had leisure or inclination to study in a scholarly manner the principal languages of the country and to make themselves familiar with the great classical languages which provide the medium of science, art and religion, and are the parents of the varying dialects and tongues. Some causes are in operation to prevent the officers, whether military men or civilians, from studying the higher Oriental learning while working in civil posts. Prominent among these is undoubtedly the fact that the rewards, which were fixed in the days of Sir W. Hunter, if not in those of Sir William Jones, are quite inadequate to act as an incentive, now that the value of the reward has depreciated with the rupee.

The Bhatus and Haburahs

The difficult task of civilising the Bhatus and Haburahs, two well-known aboriginal tribes of the United Provinces, is being attempted, with the assistance of the Government, by the Salvation Army. A settlement is being made for them in the neighbourhood of Moradabad and it is being tried to lead them to more desirable ways of living than dacoity and plunder, which they appear naturally to follow when left to themselves. Already some progress has been made by the Salvation Army in this work. Weaving, carpentry, sericulture, and poultry-farming are amongst the industries which it is being endeavoured to teach to these people and they have shown some improvement. The Haburahs, who have usually shunned work most vigorously, have been persuaded to undertake

THE INDIAN WORLD

the labours of coolies and are spoken of as good workmen, whilst the Bhatus are taking to agriculture. The land and some of the expenses of the settlement have already been supplied by the Government.

The India Society

The executive committee of the India Society, a recently established institution of London, sets forth the following aims and plans in a circular : The society desires to promote the study and appreciation of Indian culture in its æsthetic aspects, believing that in Indian sculpture, architecture, and painting as well as in Indian literature and music, there is a vast unexplored field, the investigation of which will bring about a better understanding of Indian ideals and aspiration, both in this country and in England. Everything will be done to promote the acquisition by the authorities of our national and provincial museums of works representing the best Indian art. The Society proposes to publish works showing the best examples of Indian architecture, sculpture, and painting, and hopes to co-operate with all those who have it as their aim to keep alive the traditional arts and handicrafts still existing in India, and to assist in the development of Indian art education on native and traditional lines, and not in imitation of European ideals.

A Strange Belief

Mr. Surendranath Ganguly, of Messrs S. Friends & Co., of Harrison Road, Calcutta, narrates to us the following curious story :—In the district of Maldah there is an obscure village called Ujjipur, near the Rohanpur Station on the Katihar Godagari Railway line. In this village there is a Mahomedan darga which is inhabited by a Moslem Fakir. Close to this is an old dighi or tank in which there are three crocodiles of unequal dimensions. These crocodiles are looked upon by the people of the locality as of divine origin. Large number of people of both sexes pay visits to this darga and offer sacrifices to the crocodiles which consist of cocks and goats. Hens or she-goats are never accepted by the crocodile trinity. Sacrificial animal is slaughtered in a right Moslem fashion. It is then thrown into the tank. If the crocodiles are favourably disposed they instantly rise on the surface of the water and at once swallow the sacrifice. But if, on the contrary, they are hostile, the sacrifice floats on the water and the crocodiles never rise. So long as the sacrifice is not taken the believer remains standing with folded hands. If his offer remains untouched then he is led to think that his stars are no more in the ascendent.

The Viceroy-Elect

The King, on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, has been pleased to approve the nomination of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Hardinge, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., C.B., I.S.O., to be Viceroy and Governor-General of India, in succession to the Earl of Minto, who retires from his office in November next. Sir Charles Hardinge is the second son of the second Viscount Hardinge and brother of the present peer. His grandfather, the famous commander in the Peninsular War, became Governor General of India in 1844, and his term of office was made memorable by the campaign of the Sutlej. He also held Ministerial office, including that of Secretary for War.

and Chief Secretary for Ireland, and was created a viscount in 1846. Sir Charles Hardinge was born on June 20, 1858, and was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1880. In the same year he entered the Diplomatic Service. He was stationed successively at Constantinople, Berlin, Washington, Sofia, Bukarest, Paris, Teheran and St. Petersburg. In 1903 he became Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and as Minister Plenipotentiary accompanied the late King on his visits to Lisbon, Rome, and Paris. In the following year he was appointed Ambassador at St. Petersburg. In 1906 he returned to London to take up the duties of Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. As Minister in Attendance he accompanied King Edward on his visit to Athens, and Friedrichshof (1906), to Cartagena and Gaeta, Wilhelmshohe and Ischl (1907), to Copenhagen, Stockholm, Christiania, Reval, Friedrichshof, and Ischl (1908), and to Berlin (1909). Sir Charles Hardinge married in 1890 the Hon. Winifred Stuart, daughter of the first Lord Alington and Woman of the Bedchamber to Queen Alexandra. He has two sons and one daughter.

Indian Municipality Suspended

The Government of Bombay on May 16 issued an elaborate statement that it declared the Ahmedabad Municipality to be incompetent and in default, and that it was "pleased to supersede it with effect from the date of this order for one year." A long list was given of gross mismanagement and of a procedure that had opened the door to corruption. Ahmedabad, after Bombay, is the chief city of the Western Presidency, being the headquarters of the Northern Division and a military station. The area within the city walls is about two square miles, and at the last census the population numbered 185,889 people. It contains 33 cotton mills and three other factories. In other words, as regards numbers, the town ranks between, Cardiff and Bolton.

The following are a few of the charges :—

The Municipality is quite incapable of conducting its proceedings in general meetings efficiently or with dignity.

Through its inability to agree upon an unobjectionable improvement scheme, it has allowed to lapse a grant of half a lakh of rupees which the Government allotted to it for sanitary improvements aiming at the prevention of plague.

There is reason to believe that through business incompetence it is regularly losing a considerable amount of octroi and other revenue.

It has, either through ignorance or recklessness, risked the safety of its water-supply.

It continues to neglect to provide properly for the sanitary needs of the town. It has no markets except a vegetable market, and it has no public slaughter-houses.

It frequently sacrifices public for private interests in proposing the disposal of land.

It has grossly abused its power in making appointments, and

(a) Complete loss of papers containing resolutions passed by the committee.

(b) Resolutions passed but not recorded.

(c) Recording of resolutions long after they had been taken.

COMMERCIAL & INDUSTRIAL

India's Imports of Sugars

In the official year ending March 31st last, the imports of sugar into India exceeded all previous returns, the total received being 556,840 tons, an increase on the previous year of 23,676 tons, or 4·4 per cent. The imports in the past five years compare as follows :—

	Beet. Tons.	Cane. Tons.	Total. Tons.	Percentage of Cane to Beet.
1905-06	... 171,664	213,146	384,810	55·4
1906-07	... 190,192	296,342	486,534	60·9
1907-08	... 39,703	462,542	502,245	92·1
1908-09	... 97,201	435,963	533,164	81·8
1909-10	... 42,990	583,880	556,840	92·3

Cane is rapidly displacing beet in the Indian markets, and Java last year secured seven-tenths of the entire trade :—

	1908-9. Tons.	1909-10 Tons.	1908-9. %	1909-10 %
Java ...	308,602	390,787	57·8	70·2
Mauritius ...	125,722	121,778	23·5	21·8
Austria-Hungary ...	95,908	39,139	17·9	7·0
Elsewhere ...	2,932	5,136	0·8	1·0
Total ...	533,164	556,840	100·0	100·0

The receipts from Java increased by 82,185 tons, or 26·6 per cent., while those from Mauritius fell 3,944 tons, or 3·1 per cent., and from Austria-Hungary by 56,769 tons, or 59·2 per cent. On the other hand, other countries—Germany (2,577 tons), Russia and China (each 1,105 tons)—sent rather more, but their aggregate only amounted to 1 per cent. of the imports. Of the importing provinces, Bengal, through Calcutta, still leads the way, its share last year being 42·8 per cent., Bombay followed with 28·9, and Sind (Karachi) with 21·3 per cent. Madras received but 2·2, and Burma (Rangoon) 4·5 per cent.

Manganese

The Indian manganese industry, in which a good deal of capital is invested, more particularly perhaps in Southern India, is doing fairly well just now, and may do a great deal better a little later on, as the iron and steel trades, in which manganese is largely used, expands still further, as it promises to do at an early date. During the past month India shipped 1,184,045 cwts. of manganese valued at Rs. 8,49,85,—not at all a bad month's turn-over, all things considered. At present we have only five customers for the produce of our manganese mines, and to these we sent the following quantities during May : United Kingdom, 433,022 cwts.; United States, 397,600 ; France, 93,425 and Holland 24,000 cwts. Bombay still holds the lead in this trade and last month shipped 722,620 cwts, against 323,000 cwts. from Madras and 138,425 cwts. from Bengal. These figures show that Madras has greatly improved her position, which means of course that her manganese mines have been coming in for a fresh spell of activity.

SELECTIONS

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM

THE NEED OF A SYSTEM OF INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

The publication in 1884 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Education drew the attention of administrators in India to the fact that no adequate provision had been made by the Indian Educational Departments of systematic instruction in the scientific principles underlying industrial processes. The interest of the educated public was languidly excited and vague notions became current that the acknowledged decay of Indian manufactures could be arrested if arrangements were made to remedy the defects in the existing educational machinery. Accordingly, in the course of the next few years, each Province took action in this direction and sanction was accorded to such measures as the local governments considered to be immediately necessary. One result of the application of European ideas on the subject of technical education was the establishment of the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, where the cotton-spinning industry was already firmly established ; as another result the engineering School at Seebpore, near Calcutta, was reorganised and expanded to provide for the needs of Bengal, where the manufacture of jute, coal-mining and mechanical engineering were local industries of considerable and growing importance. Both these institutions are now valuable centres of recruitment for the organised industries of their respective Presidencies ; that they have not reached the standard of excellence we are accustomed to expect in similar institutions in Europe and America is due to the fact that Indians do not regard an industrial career with any favour ; they only take to it when they are convinced that they have no prospect of success in more congenial occupations.

In other parts of India it was obvious that modern industrial enterprise was too feebly developed to support either specialised technical schools like that devoted to the cotton industry in Bombay or a general engineering school like that at Seebpore. In Madras, however, an original attempt was made to create a demand for technical education by providing facilities for the examination of students in a great variety of technical and industrial subjects. The scheme was modelled on the lines of the examinations of the Science and Art Departments and of the City and Guilds of London ; it has proved of little value, though it has supplied convenient tests of the training given to pupils in trade and elementary engineering schools.

The only practical outcome of these early attempts was to strengthen the staff and improve the equipment of the existing engineering colleges at Roorkee, Poona and Madras, where Indians are trained for the various branches of service in the Public Works Department. Unlike Seebpore, where most of the students find

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employment in the industrial undertakings of Bengal, these institutions are intended to supply the very considerable demands of the provincial Governments, native states and district boards for men to carry on the current engineering work of the country in connection with railways, roads and bridges, irrigation, buildings and general municipal work. Mechanical engineering is not entirely neglected but it is regarded as subordinate to civil engineering, hence probably the limited degree of success hitherto attained by Indian engineers in the practice of a profession which calls for an intimate acquaintance with the materials and methods employed in construction. For a long time these colleges were not very popular, notwithstanding the fact that a number of well-paid government appointments were guaranteed to the students who completed full courses of instruction ; of late years there has been a great change, the competition at the entrance examinations being now very keen. Apart from the too early specialisation in favour of civil engineering, the work done in these colleges suffers from the defective previous training of the students ; but little improvement can be expected so long as the general education of the country is dominated by the Universities. The reforms which have been introduced, since the report of the Universities Commission, have done something to raise the general tone of Indian education but they have done little or nothing to render it of a practical character. It seems almost certain that another educational system is required that will provide for the industrial needs of the country, entirely independent of the control of the Universities.

For the indigenous industries of the country, which are entirely in the hands of illiterate artisans, it was not deemed possible to make any provision. The first attempts to deal with industrial education were made by missionaries, who started schools for the instruction of orphan boys in their charge in such trades as carpentry, weaving, and blacksmiths' work. Subsequently the idea was developed, chiefly by local bodies and encouraged by government grants in-aid. At first the main object of these schools was to break down the exclusiveness of the caste system : later, to improve the hereditary methods of the artisans ; the admittedly small measure of success they have achieved is roughly proportionate to the extent to which they have influenced the conservative mind of the Indian hand worker. As schools for the industrial training of boys, they have not so far justified their existence ; but in some instances as demonstration-workshops they have had a beneficial influence on the industrial centres in which they are situated.

At first the cry for technical education in India was but a feeble echo of that raised in England and awakened no response from the educated classes. There was a demand for the services of university graduates and they could readily obtain employment ; the rest of the country did not count. All the technically trained men required for government and for the industrial concerns working on modern lines were obtained from Europe ; India was satisfied to see its sons finding congenial careers in the administrative services of the country, in the learned professions and in the educational institutions, which were rapidly expanding. From the early nineties onwards, the supply of university graduates began to exceed the demand and year by year the competition has been

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steadily increasing, with the inevitable result that attention has been turned to other spheres of activity. When it was found that a university training and a university degree were no passports to an industrial career, a genuine demand began to assert itself for technical education and it was soon found that no provision had been made in the country to meet it. A few enterprising youths sought in Europe what they could not obtain at home, to meet only with bitter disappointment on their return. Their education in India was found to be an unsatisfactory preparation for foreign technical schools ; they benefited little by their studies and returned to India completely lacking that practical knowledge and experience which are absolutely essential to success in an industrial career. Gradually it has become evident both to the Government and to the educated classes in India that industries must precede technical instruction and that any future industrial development must follow on the lines which have been so successfully pursued in the case of the cotton industry in Western India, the jute and mining industries in Bengal, the leather and cotton trades of Cawnpore and the many miscellaneous industrial undertakings which have been successfully established in every province of India.

THE LACK OF NATIVE INDUSTRIAL LEADERS

It is now fairly generally accepted that technical colleges in India can only do useful work when they train students for whose services there is a demand in existing industries and that the pioneer work of starting new industries must be undertaken by men who have acquired their skill and experience in other land where those industries are carried on under favourable conditions. The establishment of technical schools, like the Victoria Technical Institute in Bombay, in other parts of India is now recognised as useless, unless there is a corresponding industrial development to be catered for. Only in Bengal can it be said that this state of things exists the Seebpore College already makes fairly adequate provision for the needs of that part of India.

The increasing pressure of the educated classes in the more favoured fields of employment can only be relieved by providing new openings for them in other directions, and of these by far the most important will be found in the organisation of the immense resources of India for industrial undertakings of many kinds. A great deal has already been done in this direction by European initiative ; the reason why the actual benefit to India has not been greater is the fact that Indians have, as a rule, stood aloof. The original impulse, capital and directive energy, came from abroad, India having only furnished the raw material and the labour. The profits have been taken out of the country year by year but of greater moment is the fact that there has been no gradual growth of industrial experience, so that to-day, except perhaps in the cotton trade, India lacks native industrial leaders. The men with capital, business acumen, technical knowledge and administrative capacity, who form the backbone of industrial life in Europe and America, are lacking and no preparation has been made to create them. Development in the immediate future, as in the past, must mainly depend on men not born and bred in the country and who will only remain in it for a

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time, taking with them, when they leave, the experience they have gathered. A change is possible—it may be even said to be inevitable—but it can only be brought about slowly. Indians have begun to appreciate the importance of industrial activity ; they have started the Swadeshi movement to encourage it and by degrees they are learning the nature of the problem they have to face. A detailed history of the modern development of the cotton industry in Western India would furnish much useful information to those who are seeking for guidance as to the methods to be pursued to raise India in the scale of nations, to utilise her resources, and to provide her people with something more than the bare necessities of life. There can only be a vigorous and healthy industrial life when it is carried on by the people themselves—that is, they must supply the capital, take the risks, enjoy the profits, bear the losses and, above all, undertake the management and control of the many branches into which it is sub-divided.

THE EXTENT OF NATIVE RESOURCES

The labour problems in India are not serious ; there is plenty of labour, although the standard of efficiency is very low and there is a sad lack of energy and staying power, partly attributable to climatic causes and partly to the low standard of living. The small wages paid for such labour compensates for its disadvantages in a commercial sense, and it is certain that as progress is made there will be a corresponding improvement in the condition of the working classes—their output will increase and their wages rise ; if education be spread among them, their wants will become more numerous and gradually they will emerge from the thrall of conservatism and prejudice which dominates them and strangles all aspirations for any higher state of existence than that which they now enjoy.

Of capital there is plenty in the country and year by year it is accumulating ; but the people do not know how to use their wealth and it is uselessly hoarded in the form of gold, silver, and jewellery. There is a general impression that in India too large a proportion of the population is dependent upon agriculture and that the establishment of new forms of industrial enterprise on modern lines has not compensated for the decay or extinction of indigenous industries. It is suggested that there has been a one-sided development of the natural resources of the country and that in consequence the people are unduly exposed to the perils of famine and scarcity. During the last half-century the indigenous industries have been subjected to ruinous competition with imports from abroad, as a result of which the condition of the artisans has steadily deteriorated. Probably, however, their numbers are actually larger and the amount of their output greater than at any previous time. It is the margin of profit which has almost vanished, with the natural consequence that widespread poverty and destitution have taken the place of a state of comparative affluence. Caste restrictions, combined with ignorance and intense dislike to change of any kind, have kept the artisans to their hereditary methods and in the absence of any external assistance they have only been able to face their difficulties by selling their labour at lower and lower rates, till all they can now obtain is scarcely sufficient to provide for a bare subsistence. On

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the other hand, during the last seventy years, agriculture has greatly expanded and by the extension of irrigation it has to a large extent become independent of the vicissitudes of the seasons over very considerable areas. The soil of India is rich and, when supplied with sufficient moisture and manure, yields an abundant harvest. In good years it supports the vast population with ease and yields for export agricultural produce to the value of more than one hundred millions sterling. Some of this is in a manufactured state, but the bulk goes out as raw material which offers a field of development to those who are interested in the creation of an industrial India.

The charge is often made that British rule in India has brought about an impoverishment of the people and that they are worse off now than they were under the Moguls and their own princes. The charge is easily made and difficult to disprove, as but little is known of the condition of the people before the rise of British power. The standard of living is very low among the great bulk of the population ; it is hardly possible that it could have been much lower but the numbers to-day are certainly double, possibly treble, what they were three centuries ago. Famine and plague still devastate the land but their terrors are much diminished and the ravages of war and intestine feuds have entirely ceased. Roads and railways have opened up the country, irrigation works have converted waste, desolate tracts into fertile fields, and the *pax Britannica* ensures to every man the enjoyment of his possessions ; but the people themselves have not changed—their ruling passion is still to hoard their wealth in a portable form and they still live much as their forefathers did. The main result of British rule has been a startling increase in numbers rather than a marked rise in the standard of living.

A striking commentary on this unproved charge against British administration is that in the five years ending with April 1908, the net imports of bullion into India amounted to £92,287,000, nearly the whole of which has gone to increase native hoards of precious metal, that still represent to the people the most desirable form in which to accumulate wealth. This, it must be remembered, is in addition to the gold raised in India itself, which amounted during the same period to more than ten millions sterling. For all practical purposes these hoards are useless, save as an indication that the material development of India under foreign stimulus is really at a faster rate than that at which the people are deriving benefit from it.

What a capital expenditure of twenty millions a year would effect in India may be inferred from the fact that in a single year it would furnish sufficient capital to establish the whole of the cotton mills of Bombay and of the jute mills of Bengal. In a year and a half it would provide the forty-four crores of rupees which the Irrigation Commission reported could be judiciously expended by Government in bringing a further six and a half million acres under irrigation. It is five times the whole amount annually spent on education—on the education of an empire containing three hundred million people—and it is approximately equal to the land revenue of the whole country and to the total annual expenditure in the Military Department. Surely, then, it cannot be contended that when so large an amount is put on one side every year and merely

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hoarded, that the people are becoming poorer. Is it not rather fair to assume that they are accumulating wealth faster than they know how to use it?

Various estimates of the hoarded wealth of India have been made but they are all mere guesses and it would perhaps be unwise to give further currency to them; it suffices for our purpose to assume that the sum-total is very large and that it is enormously greater than any possible demand that can be made for generations to come for capital for the development of the country. From an international point of view this hoarding of gold in India is of great importance in preventing an inconvenient depreciation of the monetary standards of the world; in time to come, when the folly of the practice has been recognised, the dispersal of these hoards may be equally serviceable; in maintaining equilibrium, if the productiveness of the mines should fall short of the demands of an ever-increasing traffic and commerce. This service India renders to the world at large, and its people pay the cost not grudgingly but with a cheerful alacrity which is the outcome of extreme simplicity.

It must be remembered that this hoarded wealth is very generally diffused and that it can only be rendered useful by concentration in the hands of a comparatively small number of men who are competent to assume the responsibility of directing the enterprises which can be started by returning it into circulation. This implies the existence of an instinct for co-operative working that at present is but slightly developed; also a knowledge of and desire to participate in the amenities of life which our modern civilisation offers; finally, what is in no way less important than these, an intelligent comprehension of the elementary principles of credit and finance, without which it is impossible to create the feelings of security and confidence which form the basis of commerce and industrial enterprise.

NEED OF EDUCATION

It is only by educating the people that any progress can be made in this direction, and the efforts now being made to extend primary education may be viewed with intense satisfaction by all who are interested in the welfare of India; but much more might be done than has so far been attempted. In the year 1907-8 the total expenditure of British India on education was £4,018,764 or slightly over fourpence per head of the population. This is not extravagant, but in the native states it is even less; and if a rational system of education can be devised to meet the requirements of the people, it is certain that it would be wise policy to increase very largely the expenditure under this head, as such expenditure would greatly promote the moral welfare and material well-being of the people. The finances of India are in a flourishing state, the incidence of taxation is light and the natural growth of revenue is equal at any rate to the demands upon it. This is due to the excellence of the administration, which exercises a most careful scrutiny over the spending departments of Government, although it is possible that, in the laudable desire to prevent waste and to keep down taxation, economy has been effected at the expense of national well-being. Any material increase of the grants for education could only be secured by fresh taxation but the necessity for such is now so great that it may well be urged that delay is pre-

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judicial to the best interests of the country. Any form of direct taxation would be extremely unpopular but an increase of fifty per cent. in the very moderate import duties would probably be welcomed and would yield about two millions a year, which would be sufficient to provide for that re-organisation of the educational system which is so urgently needed to prepare the way for a general improvement in the condition of the vast population by teaching them how to make better use of their enormous capacity for labour and how to exploit the natural resources of the soil so that it may yield a return commensurate with its extent and richness.

The suggestion that the increased expenditure which it is advocated should be incurred to remedy the defects of the present educational system may be met by increasing the tariffs on imports naturally raises the question, Why not give India an avowed protection tariff and under the shelter of that tariff build up an industrial system adequate to the needs of the country? That it could be done in this way there is no doubt but the people of the country could not do it and it would have to be done with imported capital and imported brains. The urgency for industrial development in India is mainly due to the limited field that at present exists for the employment of the rapidly increasing educated classes. It is essential that suitable work should be found for them, and it is quite certain that if inducements were created to invest capital in India, the investing capitalists would send out their own men to look after and manage their interests. The people of India will be welcomed as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" but in no other capacity. Further, it must not be forgotten that the ultimate authority on the government of India is the British democracy, whose opinions on fiscal matters are very unstable. If the erection of a tariff wall were sanctioned by one Parliament, it is by no means unlikely that it would be pulled down or materially altered by some later Parliament. With a tariff wall there would always be some uncertainty as to the continuance of the protection which it would afford, and in proportion to the intensity of the feeling of uncertainty this would militate against its efficiency as a factor in creating industries in India. The conditions in India are such that State intervention is necessary to bring about the economic changes under discussion but it should be directed to assisting the growth of private enterprise in the country rather than to the maintenance of an artificial barrier to the free exchange of commodities with the rest of the world.

By far the most important matter for the State to deal with at the outset is the establishment of an educational system which, from the primary stages upwards, will be practical rather than literary. Every Indian boy grows up in a certain environment and the education given to him should have reference to that environment and should aim at making him master of it. Hand and eye training, the cultivation of the powers of observation, the co-ordination of the various faculties in the service of their possessor—these should be the objects of educational processes, not merely the development of the mental powers along comparatively narrow lines. The present system of education has failed lamentably to produce men of action, with balanced judgment and sound constructive faculties. The memory rather than the imagination controls thought and in the absence of experience responsibility is

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declined. It has turned out good if not great lawyers, excellent judges, a few engineers but no original investigators or deep thinkers.

THE LACK OF INDIVIDUALISM

It must, however, be admitted that it is not the education system alone that is at fault. In India the vitalising force of nationality is almost entirely absent and centuries of subjection to a foreign yoke or to the endurance of an almost continuous state of internal discord and anarchy have deprived the people of that individualism which finds its highest expression in collective effort. Social customs and caste restrictions militate against progress and the general prevalence of early marriages handicaps the race, not only by imposing the cares of domestic life upon students and even upon children who ought to be at school but also because such immature unions result in offspring deficient in physical vigour and lacking force of character. These are deeply rooted obstacles which cannot easily be removed. Emancipation from the tyranny of a grotesque and individual freedom of action will be accelerated by the increasing tendency of Indians to travel in other parts of the world. Climate again is a factor which must be taken into account—it induces indolence on the one hand and renders existence easy with but a moderate degree of exertion on the other. The position is one of extraordinary difficulty and complexity ; the future well-being of India demands, in fact, a careful consideration of the various elements before any policy is finally framed to guide the administrator through the years of rapid change which lie before us. Educated Indians want work—there is work for them to do but it is work they dislike and their education has not removed their prejudices or rendered the task any easier by training them for it.

THE REVIVAL OF NATIVE INDUSTRIES

The educational methods can be changed but it will take a generation to show any result ; in the meantime, the evils arising from the lack of suitable employment must be checked and a system of industrial development devised to deal with the existing state of things. Enterprise on a grand scale can be left to grow in the manner it has done during the last half-century and at present need not concern us. Our attention should be concentrated on the decaying indigenous industries : hand-weaving, working in metals, tanning and leather manufactures, on all the petty industries which supply the simple needs of the people. Labourer must be trained to work more efficiently—there must be less of brute force and more of skill, the primitive tools of the artisan must be superseded by better implements ; subdivision of labour must be introduced and from the crude simplicity of each family as a unit of productive effort strong combinations must be evolved either by co-operative working or by the concentration of manufacture in small factories. That this can be done there is not the least reason for doubt. Every well-directed effort that has been made on these lines has met with success and if so far the sum-total of the results is insignificant, compared with what has to be done, it is because the experimental stage has only just been passed through. Individuals scattered over India have attacked the problem according to their

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lights and, whilst many have failed, some have succeeded. A critical review of the circumstances of each case leads to the general conclusion that success has invariably been due to the application of scientific methods and practical experience ; that the failures might in most cases have been predicated from the outset, as essential elements to success were neglected and more zeal than discretion displayed in dealing with the difficulties that had to be overcome.

It would serve no useful purpose to cite instances of misdirected enterprise the failure of which has engendered in Indian minds a deep-seated distrust of the tools and appliances which in modern times have so enormously reduced the amount of human labour to be expended in converting raw materials into a form suited to the needs of man. The poverty of India measured by European standards is undeniable, but the requirements of the people are extraordinarily small and, except in times of famine, there is but little of the destitution and misery which are to be found in the great centres of civilisation. There are signs, however, that a struggle for existence is beginning to be felt, due to the increasing pressure of the population on the soil, to the expanding needs of the educated classes, and to the growing inequality in the distribution of wealth. Within the last few years there has been a marked rise in the price of food-grains, which presses severely on the land less labourers in the villages and upon the artisans and workers in the towns. The old order of things is changing, and India is being steadily drawn into the stream along which the nations of Europe and America are being hurried to a by no means clearly discerned destination.

There is in the country much unrest which is far from being of political origin. The problem for the statesmen who will have to control the administration of India is to provide outlets for this newly quickened energy and to direct it in such a manner as to satisfy the growing aspirations of the vast population. Hitherto, the intellectual classes of the country have held almost entirely aloof from the rest of the people, whom they have looked down upon and despised. They have left the working classes to face the growing difficulties of their position, careless of everything outside the range of their own immediate interests ; now that they are forced by internal competition to take a broader outlook, they find themselves incompetent to deal with the practical problems which await solution ; to bring about a healthier state of things, it is necessary that means should be devised whereby they may be associated with the artisans and workers of the country to their mutual advantage. The future progress of India largely depends on the proper appreciation of her greatest asset—abundant cheap labour—labour, at present, not without some measure of skill but almost entirely untrained and unorganised.

THE NEED OF STUDYING LOCAL CONDITIONS

Our work is to show the educated classes how they can find useful careers, honourable and remunerative employment, work that will benefit both themselves and the whole community in supplementing the deficiencies of the workers, in dispelling their ignorance, and softening their conservatism.

First, we must train them in our schools and colleges, then in our

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workshops and laboratories and finally we must start them in life, giving them practical work to do under competent supervision until they get accustomed to the new atmosphere and surroundings and are able to launch forth by themselves. But we ourselves have to discover how this may best be done ; we must call to our aid all the resources of science and obtain the services of experienced men to study the local conditions. It will be for them to train our students, make surveys of the existing industries, take stock of the natural advantages, search for hidden resources, and suggest new lines of work and innovations which may be introduced.

In regard to matters purely agricultural, this procedure has already been adopted by the Government of India and by all the Provincial Governments. At Pusa an Imperial College of Agriculture has been started, a staff of highly competent scientific and practical experts appointed, an experimental farm has been laid out and for some years now the many problems of Indian agriculture have been the subject of close study and unremitting investigation. Valuable results have already been obtained. Each Province has been provided with an Agricultural Department on similar lines, the officers of which deal with the special problems of the Province and by demonstration farms, by direct teaching and by personal intercourse with the people on the land make them acquainted with new discoveries, new crops, new implements and the advantages of adopting improved methods of cultivation. The great primary industry of India is well provided for, and in the years to come the country at large cannot but greatly benefit by the thorough and patient way in which the capabilities of the soil are being examined.

The lengthy discussions on the methods by which the industrial problems are to be solved have not yet crystallised into the form of a comprehensive declaration of policy on the part of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The various Provinces have examined the question, have submitted proposals and in some cases have tentatively embarked upon active measures ; but no clear line of action has been marked out as in the case of agriculture. In the education departments, the need of improved science-teaching has been admitted and, through the munificence of the late Mr. Tata and his sons, an Imperial Institute of Science has been established at Bangalore for post-graduate work and research, which should in time do a great deal to attract the highest intellect of the country to practical pursuits.

The subtle mind of the Hindu delights in philosophic speculations and in unravelling the intricacies of legal enactments ; it is impossible that the same qualities applied to scientific investigation would afford their possessors equal gratification in probing the hidden mysteries of natural phenomena. That the practical aspects of such inquiries would appeal to them is less certain but, whether or not, their work will be insensibly influenced by the growing need of the country for scientific help in solving the problems which the increased activity of the people will force upon public attention.

The important principle is gradually meeting with acceptance that scientific education must precede attempts at technical instruction and that the latter can only be usefully provided to meet the requirements of existing industries. So long as the great organised industries in the country are mainly controlled by Europeans, so long will the technical assistants be obtained from Europe, and Indians

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must go there for training and to acquire experience if they want to take a part in such work. This is tacitly admitted by the increasing numbers who year by year leave India to seek such instruction in countries more favourably situated for supplying it. The unfortunate feature in this movement is that the majority of the students who go abroad are inadequately prepared in the way of preliminary education to avail themselves of the facilities which they find placed at their disposal, and they are in almost every case quite unable to supplement the purely college courses of technology by practical experience in workshops and manufactories, without which their whole training is imperfect and useless. Not till Indian capital finances Indian industries will the people gradually be able to acquire that experience which it is necessary they should possess if they are ever to manage their own enterprises successfully. The fact that this has to a large extent been accomplished in the cotton trade in some degree accounts for the remarkable progress of that industry.

The cotton and jute industries and mining for coal in Bengal and gold in Mysore have developed because of certain natural facilities or because of the existence of easy markets in which the products were in demand, but the bulk of the industrial work of India is languishing in face of the competition with imports. The external trade of the country has grown at the expense of the internal, resulting in an unhealthy and one-sided development of the country's resources. Roads, railways, telegraphs, the construction of the Suez Canal, every improvement in the means of transport, both by sea and land, has contributed to the difficulties and, in many cases, to the ultimate discomfiture of the Indian artisan. The attention of Government has been almost entirely directed to the opening up of the land, to the provision of irrigation; assistance has in more than one case been given directly to the efforts of English manufacturers to exploit Indian markets, whilst the industrious artisan has been left severely alone to combat as best he can the growing difficulties of his position. That he has survived so long may be taken as evidence of the possession of certain elements of vitality and as affording justification for the hope that a permanent place may be found for him in the industrial future of India. What we have to do is to supply the artisan with all those factors that contribute so largely to industrial success in which he is so conspicuously deficient. He lacks capital and organisation, his tools and implements are primitive and imperfect, he has no commercial knowledge and in his dealings with the outside world he is almost always in the hands of money-lenders and petty traders, who make their profit out of his helplessness and strenuously resist any attempts to improve his position that would render him independent of their aid. He is industrious and would be intelligent, were it not that his faculties are undeveloped owing to the narrow field in which there is scope for exercising them. His technical knowledge is a negligible quantity and of improved trade processes and methods he has but a slight acquaintance.

It would however be far from the truth to say that he has remained entirely uninfluenced by the progress made during the last century. A few typical illustrations will serve to indicate one of the directions in which we must look for advance. (1) The ryot, who grows sugar-cane, has entirely discarded the old wooden

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mills in favour of those made of cast iron, with the result that the work is done with less labour and a higher percentage of juice is extracted. (2) In many parts of the south of India the weavers prepare their warps on rotary mills and in some places the advantage of subdivision of labour is so far recognised that the preparation of warps on these mills has become a distinct business. (3) The extraction of oil from seeds is largely done in screw presses worked by hand in place of the old-fashioned rotary wooden mill. (4) The fly-shuttle loom has been substituted for the native hand-loom among the weavers of certain districts of Bengal, with the result that their speed in weaving has been doubled. (5) Wood and metal workers almost invariably use some tools of European manufacture. (6) Singer's sewing machines are to be found in almost every tailor's shop in the country and, although these machines are somewhat delicate and complicated pieces of mechanism, the facilities for the repair or renewal of parts have been so widely diffused that the tailors find no difficulty in keeping them in working order.

It would be easy to multiply illustrations of this kind especially in regard to agriculture and its dependent trades and those industries which have been influenced by the workshops and factories to be found in the centres of modern industrial activity. We may rest assured that there will be no opposition to the introduction of improved tools or improved methods of working if it can be clearly shown that they are real improvements. The reputation that Indians are averse from all change and are obstinately wedded to the antiquated ways of their forefathers is not justly deserved. They are conservative but they know their own business fairly well and many of the so-called improvements which they have rejected were really unsuitable innovations.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

India offers a great problem to the civilised world. It has abundance of cheap labour which, if properly trained, would be skilled ; it needs to be shown how to apply this labour to the best advantage. The whole trend of modern progress has been to replace the man by the machine, to replace the individual by the factory, and the isolated factory by the organised trust. While labour is dear this system has developed most largely and human ingenuity is ever exercised in extending the scale of operations. We have introduced the system into India but it has not yet taken root. We may either regard it as inevitable that it should ultimately be established or we may adopt an alternative and apply the resources of science, engineering and commercial experience to a great attempt to raise the worker and pit his skill, ingenuity and adaptability against the monstrous growths produced by the abnormal development of the mechanical arts. The problem ever before the modern industrial world is to devise means of dispensing with labour, to cheapen production by making it more automatic. The success has been remarkable but it has been purchased somewhat expensively ; it is possible that we might now with advantage turn our attention to developing the function of the man rather than the power of the machine, to evolving a system the object of which should be to employ human labour to the greatest extent possible and in the way most advantageous to the individual man.

The conditions in India are suitable for such an experiment.

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It has not yet accepted the factory system nor will it do so willingly, the undivided family has to be reckoned with and the extreme sub-division of property renders productive effort on a large scale difficult. Comfort rather than luxury, a moderate rather than a vast fortune—these are the ideals of enlightened Indians. It would be foolish to imagine that as India now stands in relation to the British Empire and to the rest of the world it could disregard the external influences to which it must always be subjected but there is no reason why it should not strive to move forward to a goal more in harmony with its own traditions than is that presented by Western civilisation.

In England, America and Australia there is a widespread movement in favour of small holdings instead of large farms, and much evidence is now available to show that where the conditions are suitable this method of cultivation tends to the more general diffusion of prosperity and contentment. In India small holdings are universal. Industrial operations, except in so far as they have been changed by the advent of Europeans, have also been carried on by men of small means and they have survived to the present day mainly because of the inherent vitality of such a system. There is no necessity to abandon this way of working but we must improve it and bring the status of Indian artisans to the same level as in other countries which have in recent years made so much progress.

There are greater prospects of the small manufacturer being able to compete with the big than there were a few years ago, as recent progress in science and the mechanical arts has done much to raise the efficiency of working on a small scale. Not by any means in all directions but in some and those more particularly which are likely to flourish in India. The cost of power has been enormously reduced especially in the case of very small plants, so that the small user of power is in a much better position to compete with the large user than was possible only a few years ago. There is in consequence a perceptible reaction against production on a large scale and a tendency to make greater use of the elasticity which allows small works more readily to adapt themselves to changes and fluctuations in trade, cyclical or otherwise.

Again it is evident even in the most highly developed industrial countries that the human factor is becoming more important and in the distribution of profits between capital and labour the latter is demanding a larger share. It must not be imagined that the great primary industries are materially affected in this way; they are not and it might even be contended that the ever-increasing perfection of mechanical appliances is rendering the labour question one of constantly diminishing importance. With this phase of industrialism we are not at present concerned. It may be fully trusted to look after itself, but there is no likelihood that it will ever be greatly developed in India excepting the greater part of the country there are no special natural resources.

There is no doubt that the various castes and groups of artisans in India maintain themselves against the present competition of European industrialism and that, although they may have suffered severely, they have not succumbed equally; it is certain that much could be done to render their work more effective both by improving their methods and by supplying their trades with a commercial organisation that would bring their proceeds into the markets

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where the demand is greatest. Obviously Government is the only agency by which such a change can be brought about ; the greatest difficulties will probably arise from the opposition of the artisans themselves, who care little about education and are averse from abandoning the free and improvident life they have always led. In framing a policy the provision for a suitable education must come first. It must be of a simple character and have a direct bearing upon their future prospects. It must appeal to the people and attract them by its direct reference to their everyday life and above all, it must not be regarded as the first rung of a ladder which will elevate a few above their fellows ; its object should be to raise the mass from their lethargy and ignorance to a higher level, whence in due time a fresh start may be made. For the present, possibly for a long time to come, we must look to the educated classes, as we now understand that term, to furnish the men who will lead the industrial groups and lands which it should be a primary duty to organise. (Mr. Alfred Chatterton in *Science and Progress*.)

THE GREATNESS OF HINDUISM

This paper is written by one to whom religion is a legitimate and permanent element in human life, and that conviction lies behind all that it contains. Consequently, the considerations it advances are not likely to have their full weight except for those who share this belief.

I

Few people realise how great Hinduism is. The modern Hindu, conscious in some degree of the moral and spiritual powers of his faith, is constant in his praises, but seldom wise ; and the scholar, whether European or Indian, has usually too little interest in the practical aspects of religion to catch the true greatness of this most potent system. We hear to satiety, on the one hand, of the holiness of Hindu ascetics, the wonder of the *Gita*, the wisdom of Manu ; and, on the other, of the primitive charm of the *Rigveda*, the "consolation" of Hindu Pantheism and the rich teaching of the *bhakti* sects ; but these things do not take us to the heart of the matter. It is only when the whole history and development of the faith are envisaged that we begin to realise what a gigantic task Hinduism essayed and accomplished, and what an exalted place it holds among the religions of the world. The following points may help to suggest where its true greatness lies :—

A.—Its Theory of God and the World. This is so serious, bold, and far-reaching as to set the religion among the very greatest. The conception may, perhaps, be most easily grasped if we think of it as consisting of two premises and a conclusion. The first premise is this, that the world exists for one purpose, and one purpose only, viz. : that souls may find embodiment and may consume the fruits of the actions, good and bad, of their former embodied lives. The very varied fortunes of men are explicable, according to Hindu thought, only as reward or punishment meted out with unerring justice for good or evil actions done aforetime ; the joys and sorrows of human life are justifiable only on the basis of transmigration. This world-process, in which souls undergo

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repeated birth and death is eternal ; otherwise the beginning of the process would be inexplicable. There are many worlds ; and, like souls, the worlds die and are born again : and thus the unmeasured lapse of time eternal is broken up into ages called *Kalpas*. The boldness and dignity of this conception are most noteworthy : an ancient system that recognises to the full both the justice of the world and the fell sorrows that work such devastation in our human days places itself at once among the greatest things of the world. The second premise of Hinduism is that the Divine is alone real, and that the world, though eternal, retributive, and full of bitter pain, is *per se* all but a mirage. The universe, with all its men and gods and systems, is actual, yet fundamentally, hopelessly unreal. Behind and in all is the Divine, unseen, incomprehensible, unrelated, yet real, intelligent, separate from sorrow. In Hinduism the reality of the Divine has been the centre of all great thinking. Nowhere else has the consciousness of God been so inevitable, "a presence which is not to be put by." It is this oppressive sense of the incomprehensible Reality diffused in the blatant yet unreal world that has made pantheistic thought so natural to the Hindu mind and that, in turn, has justified the worship of innumerable divinities. Each god is a possible channel of communication with the Incommunicable, natural and right to the individual worshipper, his rush-light in the appalling darkness. Idols, while recognised as a pitifully wretched expedient, are condoned for similar practical reasons. But while the over-reaching pantheism has nourished the tropical growth of divinities, it has also been the source of all the philosophy of India, and has produced some of the most notable literature which the world contains. From these two premises, the retributive character of the world-process, and the lonely reality of God, comes the great Hindu conclusion,—the wise man abandons the mirage of the world, in order to escape from its sorrow to the peace of the Divine. Civilisation is but an attempt to make men comfortable in a life which they ought not to love. There is no significance in history, physiology, or politics ; these are only chance patterns made by the intertwined lives of suffering souls. The body is the temporary garment of the soul, and, sharing to the full the unreality and deceptiveness of all material things, is to be despised and hated. Religion is a sham, a mere selfish courting of apparitional gods, whose transmigrating souls may live as men at some other time. Morality is merely the necessary law of life in unreal conditions. Religion, morality, and every other aspect of ordinary life are thus hopelessly secular. Therefore, the rational conclusion is—Flee from the world, from time and matter, from man and civilisation, from morality and religion ; so that the soul, released from transmigration, may be united with Reality. The ascetic is the only saint.

The nobility and sombre grandeur of this master-conception are apparent. It is no easy, off-hand, superficial guess at the nature of things, but a deeply-considered and large-spaced system. The student needs no other proof of the strength and seriousness of the conception than the completeness with which Indian ascetics divested themselves of the world and the eagerness with which they subjected their bodies to nameless tortures.

B.—Its Organisation. A large part of the power of a religion is exerted through its rules and arrangements for the family, marriage,

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food, admission to worship, occupation, and such like ; and these create the special society of the religion. Even a cursory comparison of Hinduism, Christianity and Mahomedanism in this regard will show how deeply the character of each religion is impressed upon its own social organism.

If the Brahmins had had only their wonderful conception of the world, their sacrificial lore and the *Vedas*, they might have had a great following in many parts of the country, but they could never have conquered India. They drew men to them by their religious ideas, their priestly skill and their wide knowledge ; but they owed their permanent success to the genius with which they built up, on the basis of these great religious conceptions, a social fabric of such unparalleled strength that no forces, political, social, or what not, have as yet succeeded in overturning it.

Somewhere about 1000 B.C., or possibly some centuries earlier, we catch our first clear picture of the Aryan people in the Punjab vividly reflected for us in the Hymns of the *Rigveda*. In that picture we already see Brahman authority crystallising and becoming self-conscious. Gradually the people spread over North India. In some places the conquest was doubtless by force of arms, but usually the Brahman had quite sufficient force of his own to bring the tribes under his sway. Each group was brought under Brahman authority and received its niche in the stately social edifice. They usually brought their gods and a great many of their social customs with them. The priests were too imperial a race to be guilty of the folly of attempting to produce complete uniformity. They were satisfied if the authority of the Brahman, with his inspired *Veda*, was acknowledged as supreme, and if the tribe loyally accepted its place in caste. No parallel will be found in the religious history of any other land.

Nor is this the whole story. About 500 B.C., or possibly earlier, the conquest of Southern India was undertaken and carried out in the same thorough fashion. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin spiritual authority was in the hands of the Brahman priest. It was, however, many centuries before the caste system reached the rigidity which at present characterises it. For centuries inter-marriages were frequent, and the relative position of different castes in the social scale was matter of serious dispute. The organism grew, and it was long ere it reached its full stature.

If the expansion of Aryan society throughout India is a very marvellous thing, the vitality and long life of the social organism is, if possible, more wonderful. It stands to-day in the twentieth century very little changed. It is quite true that modern ideas have begun to undermine it, and there are signs that we shall soon see such changes as have never been seen before ; yet the fact remains that the organism which we can trace almost three thousand years ago is still living. Indeed, the Report of the Census informs us that the process of caste-formation is still going on among the humbler races on the outer skirts of the religion.

To the literary or philosophic observer the *Upanishads* and the systems of philosophy which sprang from them are the most noteworthy parts of Hinduism. Nor will the religious enquirer seek to deprecate these wonderful creations. Yet the history leaves us no alternative but to say that it was not the *Upanishads* and the philosophies that made Hinduism great, but two things above all

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others : first, the Hindu world-view, with its ample space for all the mythologies and all the idolatries under the unlimited dome of its pantheistic sky ; and second, Hindu organisation, consisting of the authority of the Brahmans and the Vedas and the order of caste. This is the religio-social scheme which conquered India ; and the conquest is one of the greatest things in history.

C.—Its Asceticism. Hinduism proves its greatness in this, that from the earliest times until to-day it has persuaded thousands of men, and women also, to such an utter abandonment of the world as has scarcely been seen elsewhere. Faith in the Hindu world-conception has been no dilettante toying with a pretty thought, but has worked itself out in heroic efforts to shake off the last fragment of the life of society and civilisation, and to crush out all the instincts that seek satisfaction therein. The ascetic ideal is that a man shall give up work, home, wife, society, civilisation, property, ordinary food and dress, ornaments, amusements, and the religion of home and the temple, shall live in the forest, dress in a skin, a coat of bark, or in rags, beg his food, and give his mind to thought on God alone. He must practise mental exercises so as to shut out, as far as possible, the outer world from his senses and thought. He must harm no living thing by speech or act. He ought, also, to subject himself to torture of some kind, so as to subjugate his body the more completely, and win release more speedily.

No one will ever be able to write a full history of Indian asceticism ; for thousands of nameless men have lived the life and formed their own practice in the silence of the woods ; yet we know sufficient. Much that is ignoble has mixed itself with the discipline in all ages ; *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and also the Buddhist and Jain books, are full of the wildest tales of miraculous powers acquired by ascetics and used by them frequently in hideously immoral ways ; and Hindus confess that the vast majority of the ascetics of to-day are far from being holy men. Yet, fullest acknowledgment being made of the gross hypocrisy, idleness, immorality, and uselessness of vast numbers of Yogis, we are still face to face with the grandeur of the ideal, the simple honesty of multitudes of good men, and the heroic achievements of leaders such as Gautama the Buddha and Mahavira the Jain. The inconceivable dullness and blank absurdity of Jain literature are relieved by one bright interval, the record of how Mahavira wandered amid the barbarous tribes of Bengal, naked, dirty, stinking, unkempt, bitten by wild dogs, eaten by vermin, wounded with clubs, driven away by jeering villagers, yet holding fast throughout the years his high ideal, seeking by endurance and victory over the world to become a *jina*, a conqueror.

D.—The Quest for a Spiritual Faith. The Hindu system which was carried from end to end of India by the Brahmans, and which finally laid hold of most of the races and languages of the peninsula, was a dogmatic system, drawing its strength largely from its own unchangeableness and the unquestioned authority of the priests who used it. It thus could not but fail to satisfy the growing mind of the gifted people from whose midst it had sprung. As their thought expanded they found it a narrow, unspiritual, materialistic system, and in varying measure they recoiled from it.

The first great revolt occurred before the conquest of South India. In the earliest Upanishads we see the strange spectacle of

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the loftiest spirits of India turning round and condemning *in toto* the four Vedas as they then existed, and the whole ceremonial and sacerdotal system. Seldom has a great nation indulged in such severe self-criticism. True, the Brahmans seeing the wonderful power of the new thought, captured it, introduced it as a new discipline into their schools, and thus were able to use it to strengthen the very system which it had attacked. In this way the finest product of the early mind of India was saved for Hinduism. Yet at its birth it was frankly revolutionary. Nowhere in literature does the human spirit make a purer or nobler endeavour to fight its way through a jungle of crude religious usages and untutored thought-forms to the living God. Here we meet the philosophy of the *Brahman*, the one universal reality, defined more nearly as the *Atman*, or Self of the universe, and the bold conclusion of Upanishad thought, that the human self and the universal Self are the same. From this limpid fountain flowed all the streams of Hindu philosophy. From this source all the later theologians and reformers of Hinduism have drawn.

Buddhism and Jainism in their original forms were protests of a similar nature ; only their leaders succeeded in forming new societies outside the Brahmanical fold. Both sought to set men free from the materialistic and traditional formalism of the time, protesting against animal sacrifice, the repetition of Vedic texts, the worship of transmigrating gods. Though atheistic, or at least agnostic, both sought pure truth and ideal conduct. Jainism, losing its waters in the barren sands of a witless asceticism, never produced much of a spiritual harvest ; but early Buddhism forms one of the most fascinating religious studies in all the world ; for, despite its neglect of God, it bloomed into a rich spirituality and a beautiful morality. The gradual degradation of these two lofty speculative schools to idolatrous polytheisms is one of the many momentous problems of the religious history of India.

But the most characteristic struggle of the Hindu spirit has been the attempt to reach a true monotheism. Reflection had taught all the higher spirits the unity of the world and of the divine nature ; and, after the development of the system of the Upanishads, religious experience showed that a philosophy, however lofty, which made prayer and worship meaningless, could never satisfy the ordinary man ; so that a monotheism had become a pressing practical necessity. Hence at an unknown date, two, three, or possibly more, centuries before the Christian era, there began a long succession of leaders, each of whom set forward a proposal meant to win the people to the worship of one God. Many different divinities have been suggested for the place of the Supreme, and the various schemes have differed endlessly from one another. Sometimes idolatry has been altogether condemned. Sometimes the faith was preached only to the three twice-born castes ; sometimes all classes were invited to believe ; sometimes caste was condemned altogether. Whatever the particular details may have been, each new sect sought to replace the traditional polytheism by a definite theism.

To this crusade, ever renewed throughout the centuries, we owe the highest religious life and much of the most precious literature of Hinduism. The succession of theistic saints include Manikka Vasagar, Ramanuja, Ramananda, Kabir, Nanak, Tulsi Das, and many more of the sweetest and healthiest spirits in Indian history.

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To this movement we owe the *Bhagavad Gita* and all the glories of vernacular literature, north, south, east and west. There can be no doubt that of all the religious books produced in India the *Gita* and Tulsi Das's *Ramayana* have been by far the most influential ; and there is a great deal besides in theistic literature that rises to the very highest level.

E.—The Great Compass and Variety of the Appeal of Hinduism to the Religious Nature. Of the many questions which may be asked with regard to a religion one of the most significant is this : How many interests has it got ? Are the channels of its appeal few or many ? This form of enquiry does not seek to estimate the value of the various elements of a religion ; it deals with the single question of the extent to which the religion responds to the various instincts. Is it so wide as to be nearly commensurate with human religious faculty, or has it only a few lines of approach to man's heart ? Is it a full-grown, well-proportioned tree with a thousand branches, or is it a poor stunted bush ? Or is it, perchance, a great sturdy trunk whose fruitful boughs have been lopped by rationalism until it is well-nigh barren ?

Tested in this way Hinduism stands very high. First of all, in the provision which it makes for worship it is rich beyond any faith that has ever existed. Its innumerable gods are of such infinitely varied character and attribute as to furnish a fit object of reverence to every human being. There is scarcely a mountain, river, or spring in India but stirs feelings of devotion in the Hindu heart. Multitudes of trees, stones, and animals are reverently worshipped. Indeed, the category of objects of adoration is inexhaustible. The use of images is altogether irrational to our modern thought, yet we should be untrue to science if we failed to acknowledge the fascination of their appeal to the religious consciousness. Hinduism has also known how to use the glorious temple, with its beautiful garments of sculpture and its frescoed interior, to teach its ancient mythology and to fill pilgrims with reverent awe. Sacrifice has played a very great part in the religion from the earliest time : and though the loftier Brahmanism has discouraged the slaughter of animals, yet the common heart of India has clung to the shedding of blood. Ideas of appeasement, atonement, the gift of life, and sacrificial communion mingle in the unformed thought of the masses. The sacramental meal is one of the earliest forms of worship in the religion, and persists in many places to this day—e.g., in the temples of Orissa. The earliest monument of the genius of this gifted people, the *Rigveda*, is a collection of sacred songs, composed for use partly as hymns of praise, partly as a liturgy to accompany the great sacrifices and ceremonies. The hymns of the Tamil saints are daily used in the temples of Siva in South India. Then, to the worship of the temple we must add the daily prayers, offerings and ceremonies in the home, the annual festivals celebrated in the house, and the occasional domestic ceremonies, which count for so much in our own times. Above all, the *sraaddha*, or feast for the dead, has throughout the centuries maintained its influence upon the piety of the people and the organisation of society. The provision for worship is thus lavish beyond description.

Nowhere in all the world has there been such a luxurious growth of religious mythology. The Vedas, the Epics, the Puranas, are fabulously rich in this regard. Every temple has its story. There is

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scarcely a place—north, south, east or west—that has not some sacred association. Every hill and stream, every great temple and little shrine, is to the Hindu touched with the light that never was on sea or land.

One of the most potent parts of Hinduism has unquestionably been the divine authority of the priest, his sole right to be the religious teacher of the people, to preside at the great sacrifices and to supervise all the ceremonies. The idea of the God-given religion and the community made holy by that priceless possession has also been active in every part of Hindu history. Here is the very citadel of caste. To break any of the least rules of Hindu society is to pollute the sacred people, to treat as profane the thrice-holy eternal religion. Hence the Vedic literature also in which this holy faith is expressed is holy, God-given, authoritative, inspired to the last letter.

To-day the Vedas are used by the priests almost exclusively as muttered charms or as a mechanical liturgy, which the people do not understand ; but in Vedic times the Veda was the Brahman's Bible. He not only recited its lines at the sacrifices or chanted its hymns in praise of the gods. He had to repeat portions of it daily in private and meditate on it, precisely as the Christian uses the Bible as an aid to devotion to-day. The Upanishads have been the stay of many spiritually-minded men for more than two millenniums. The two epics in the original and in vernacular adaptations are still used among the common people as the Homeric poems were used in ancient Greece, not only interesting the villager with their heroism and romance, but providing ideals of virtue which have cut deep into the character of India. Many other powerful forms of sacred literature must here be passed by in reverent silence.

Of all the later developments of the religion none is so significant as the emergence of the belief in incarnations. They are innumerable, and of all kinds, animal and human, noble and ignoble, virtuous and vicious ; but two stand out great and influential far beyond all others, Rama and Krishna. It is most startling to find that these extravagant myths have been accepted as historical truth by the millions of India, and that Rama and Krishna have had love and faith unbounded lavished on them by countless worshippers. It is from these incarnations above all that the rich harvest of *bhakti* has sprung, which has influenced so many forms of the faith.

Every element of life is sacred to the Hindu, and comes under Hindu law. Hence the regulated life of India and the distinctly-marked character of the people, formed by the steady pressure of the sacred law. Being legal, mechanical, traditional, Hindu ethics can never satisfy the living intellect and spirit. But this defect has been partially met by asceticism, which has given an outlet to the men of spiritual or ethical aspirations. The ascetic saint has also reacted to the ordinary life, not only providing an outlet for charitable feeling, but stirring strange spiritual thoughts in the most worldly and serving as a living ideal to the young.

Thus Hinduism, idolatrous, traditional, external, has had many auxiliaries, and has succeeded in a great task. There is scarcely an element of religion to be found in any faith that has not something corresponding to it in the religion of India. Its appeal is almost as wide as human nature.

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The five points which we have now briefly reviewed are quite sufficient to set Hinduism among the greatest religions of the world ; and they enable us to realise what a noble heritage the people of India have in all that has come down to them in their ancient faith. It is no wonder that the Hindu consciousness has a strain of lofty pride in it. To be the heir of such a history touches the human spirit very deeply.

II

Everyone recognises that within the last few years India has entered upon a new era. Every side of the life of the educated classes shows a new vitality and energy. The phrase in common use for the new spirit is the National Movement. Can we get at the heart of this phenomenon ?

The most prominent characteristic of the present upheaval is a passion for things Indian—the country, the people, the civilisation, the literature, the religion, the customs of India. Men are filled with a new pride, a fresh confidence in their country and its people, in the spirit that has formed the race, and in the great heritage which has come down from the past. There is unbounded eagerness to preserve the ancient heritage from wrong, to revive, to strengthen and to popularise all that is truly Indian. Hence the Swadeshi Movement, both in industry and art. Hence the present great and growing interest in Hindu thought and philosophy, and the revival of Hinduism, with all that flows from it. It is this quickening of national feeling which is drawing various groups of Indians together and enabling them to work in harmony much more than they have ever done before. Confidence in the people is the nerve of the work of the National Congress. It is the pith of its creed that Indians are increasingly able to govern India. From the same source comes the anti-European policy of the extremist party, and even the criminal lunacy of the anarchists. Yet there can be no doubt that the main impulse is noble and healthy.

But there is another characteristic not so much noted by the general public, yet quite as powerful in its action on men's minds at present,—an eager grasping after the things of the West, a settled determination to absorb certain elements of European culture. It is in education, politics, industry and commerce that this aspect of affairs is most pronounced, but it will be found to be active in every part of Indian life that is touched by the modern movement. In education the current is almost altogether towards the West. It is most interesting to realise that it is European education, the English language, and scientific, industrial, and technical training that the nationalist party are eager for. Even where a knowledge of Indian history, philosophy and religion is demanded in addition, the methods of study and teaching in view are purely Western. But there is a still more moving instance. The most prominent activity of the National Movement thus far has been the political ; so much so that many people have imagined political agitation to be the sole interest of the national leaders. Now the political ideal of the Congress is self-government of a European type. In fact, it is the British political ideal. In this matter there is not the slightest desire to revive Indian ideals and methods of Government. Asoka and Akbar are revered ; and in Bengal an attempt has been made to set Sivaji up as a sort of national hero ; but no one proposes to revive their methods of government. Even in industry, the chosen

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field of the Swadeshi Movement, the policy which is being pursued with the hope of making Indian industries great and successful is the introduction of European science, machinery and business methods.

These two characteristics seem at first sight to stand in absolute contradiction the one to the other. How can one reconcile the impulse to be loyal to everything Indian with the impulse to introduce Western education, government, industry and commerce ? How is the antinomy to be solved ?

The contradiction is only on the surface. This passionate love for India, this new loyalty to her welfare and ideals, are the direct outcome of the influence of the West on the Indian spirit. Indian patriotism has been lighted at the flame which burnt in the soul of Milton and of Burke. It is from the British Government, English education, Christianity, and the impact of Europe in general that the whole conception of nationality and the mounting desire to exalt India have come. We need not illustrate the point, for it cannot be called in question. And the explanation is not far to seek. In putting Western education in the place of the old Hindu training, Indian leaders are not untrue to India, nor are they merely aping an English fashion. The new method they have adopted is not English, nor even Western, but human. It is the latest development in education, the best that the human mind has yet attained to in the matter of training. The same is true of politics and business. In adopting modern methods Indians no more denationalise themselves than the European nations did when they adopted the so-called Arabic numerals, Algebra, and other products of the Indian genius. Every step forward taken by any human mind is a gain to the whole human family, and ought to be utilised by all nations, whoever the discoverer may be.

In religion both tendencies are very marked. To the casual observer at the present moment the desire to retain the whole of Hinduism seems to occupy the whole field. When English education first began to tell seriously on the Indian mind there were a few noble souls who passed into Christianity or Brahmanism, but men generally lost faith in Hinduism and drifted into scepticism and moral chaos. But by 1870 the tide had turned. Largely under the influence of the European scholars who were studying the sacred literature of the East, thoughtful Hindus began to realise the high value of Hindu philosophy and the greater books of the literature. Since then the steady rise of the National Movement has greatly strengthened popular admiration for Indian things. Consequently, during the last fifteen years, there has been a widespread Hindu revival amongst the educated classes ; and the tide is still flowing with great strength and rapidity. There have been many leaders in the movement, but Mrs. Besant has proved the most successful of all. Her oratory and her organising ability have enabled her to create a network of powerful societies all over the land, and to found at Benares a college and other educational institutions, which are meant to be copied elsewhere. The mounting spirit of confidence in Hindus has so laid hold of the mass of men that the tendency now is to defend not merely Hindu philosophy and the higher theistic theology, but polytheism, idolatry, caste, and all the rest. There is very little insight or reasoning in the movement. It rather amounts to this, that Hindus have got over their first fright

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at European thought ; have come to wish that they might advance beyond their old defence of the higher parts of their religion ; and that wish has proved father to the bold assertion that their ancient teachers were too wise to have taught anything wrong. The attempts at apologetic for polytheism, idolatry, sacrifice, the use of mantras, the distinctions of caste, etc., are too puerile to be noticed. But all this merely enables one to realise more fully how overpowering the current is which is sweeping these men onward to the defence of all the elements of the ancient faith. The evidence is to be found everywhere, and is of many types. Twenty years ago the average educated man, in North India at least, was ashamed of idolatry, and did his utmost to avoid it ; to-day you may see him, in any Calcutta tramway-car, making his obeisance to the idol as the car sweeps past the temple.* The literature of the revival is very varied and numerous. Translations and expositions of sacred texts, manuals of the philosophic systems helps to the study of the Vedanta, and such like, appear in a never ending stream. There are many magazines, both in English and the vernaculars, devoted wholly to the revival. Foreign Missions have even been founded by Hindus to win Europeans and Americans to the cause. Unless all signs are deceptive, the revival is destined to become still greater, both in strength and organisation than it is to-day.

But we must recognise in the religious sphere the working of the Western spirit as well as the desire to be loyal to India. It is manifest in the methods employed by the Hindu revival, the Arya Samaj, the Brahma Samaj, and in all the social reforms advocated by Hindus. But these are not the most noteworthy manifestations of its influence.

(a) The National Movement has so roused a large number of Indians that to-day they are working hard for the good of India. Some devote themselves to politics, some to education, some to sanitation, others to social reform. It is widely recognised that the patriot shows his love for India best by service, by fighting hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance, squalor, disunion. Nothing is thought more noble or more patriotic than disinterested toil of this type for India. In such toil character is won. To such effort young men are constantly urged by their most trusted leaders. The most noteworthy development in recent months is the appearance of societies in different parts of the country whose purpose it is to help the depressed classes, "the untouchables," as they are called in Hindu phraseology. All this activity is inspired by the hope of actually bettering the condition of the people of India, of making them more intelligent, more healthy, more happy, and so hastening the day when India shall be great and free.

What a contrast this is to the spiritual ideal of India's past ! Formerly the noblest Indian was the man who fled furthest from the world, had least to do with human conditions, was altogether beyond the entanglements of human society. To-day the true Indian is the man who lives among the people and for the people, whose whole energy is given to education, to politics, to *swadeshi* business, to bettering the condition of the poor, to uplifting the

* It ought to be noted that the influence of the Arya Samaj has greatly reduced idolatry in the Punjab.

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down-trodden. The ideal has been turned upside down. Then it was believed that each man's allotment of pleasure and pain was irrevocably fixed for him beforehand by his own *Karma*, and that no amount of philanthropic help could ever suffice to change his fate by one hair's breadth. The whole march of events in this phenomenal world was the necessary unchangeable result of foregoing *Karma*. The depressed classes in those days were embodied souls who in previous lives had been guilty of such evil action that they had been born in this depressed state, where they would inevitably pay the uttermost penalty of their wrong-doing. Nowadays the depressed classes are races who have been held down in the dirt for centuries, brother Indians who must be uplifted if India is to come to her own. No question is now raised about the possibility of raising them ; that has already been demonstrated by missionaries. So the implications of *Karma* get the go-by, and Hindus unite in the noble work of uplifting their down-trodden fellow-countrymen.

Clearly Western influence has come in here with great effect, and, in spite of the Hindu revival, is guiding the action of Hindus. The educated classes still piously retain transmigration and *Karma* in their religious creed, and they are honestly convinced that the theory supplies the best speculative solution of the sorrow and the inequalities of human experience ; but the portentous practical exigencies of the time have driven them to action which is altogether inconsistent with their creed. The seclusion of India is a thing of the past ; the nation is in the mid-stream of modern life, exposed not only to the full force of the influence of a British Government but to the competition of all the world. *The Hindu theory of the world* has broken down practically, simply does not work in the new circumstances ; and with the progress of things its unworkability will become increasingly apparent. It is no longer a living faith, controlling the actions of men.

(b) One of the finest features in the life of educated India to-day is the frank discussion of social and religious problems which goes on everywhere. Such questions as the following are constantly to the front in lectures, magazines, books and private conversation :—The worship of many gods ; the possibility of believing in one God and recognising many gods ; the value of idolatry and its tendency to degrade ; the admissibility of animal sacrifice ; the evil of temple prostitution in Southern India ; the origin of caste, its value and its dangers ; the treatment of outcasts ; the re-marriage of widows ; the wisdom or unwisdom of child-marriage. It is also most noteworthy that the books of Hinduism are now read and discussed by thinking men as they have never been before. All this is most healthy and most promising. The intellect of India is finding itself once more, and we may look forward to a rich harvest in the future. But there is one element in all this discussion and study which is seldom noticed. Some Hindus condemn all the practices we have mentioned above, while many defend all; but whether they condemn or defend, all take it for granted that each of these practices must come before the bar of reason and must approve itself as good for man, or else must go. Caste, it is argued, is a healthy form of social organisation ; idols are needed to help the ignorant to realise God ; the re-marriage of widows would sully the Hindu ideal of purity. But to argue in this way is to give up the Hindu standpoint

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entirely. Hindu teaching runs that in all these matters men must bow to the Vedas, the Brahmins, tradition and custom. The very act of trying to prove that caste is a good thing for the Hindu people is a piece of heresy. According to all Hindu authority, caste is a divine institution which is to be accepted, like the existence of God and the laws of morality. It is to be accepted and obeyed. To begin to defend it as a useful institution is to give up the key to the whole position. The fact is that modern Hindus no longer believe in the authority of the Brahmins and the authority of the Vedas. Who ever dreams to-day of calling a Pariah a sinner if he reads an Upanishad? Who ever would condemn a Sudra for delivering a lecture on the *Gita*? Yet, according to Hindu law, the Sudra (not to speak of the outcast) who listens to the Veda ought to have his ears filled with molten tin,* and religious teaching is the exclusive prerogative of the Brahman. Thus the old dogmas of *Vedic* and *Brahmanic authority* in religion have faded out of the minds of educated Indians.

(c) The National Movement has taught men how necessary it is that India should be united if India is to be strong and free. Consequently, appeals are made in every part of the country to all classes of people to join in the struggle for the good of India. A spirit of brotherhood has come in with the National Movement which oversteps the barriers of caste and holds out a hand of friendship to Christians, Parsis, Mohammedans, and others. The same tendency is working within the great castes. The Kshattriyas meet in conference and declare that reform and progress are necessary if they are not to be overwhelmed in modern life; the whole caste must be united and stand together; the old restrictions imposed by division into sub-castes must be got rid of; and inter-dining and intermarriage between these sub-castes are urgently recommended. Union is necessary for strength, it is argued, as well as progress. The same is true of all the other great castes. Within each, all barriers are being broken down and reforms are being introduced to secure progress and new strength. Only a few social reformers demand the abolition of caste altogether, but it requires no prophetic insight to see that the spirit and the need which already demand union within the castes will ere long demand the complete union of all Hindus. Already in the great cities inter-dining between the castes is common among educated men, and here and there Hindus are accustomed to dine even with Mohammedans and Christians. All the castes are moving in the direction of getting rid of the old rule which forbade Hindus to cross the ocean.

We are not arguing here that caste is likely to break up in the immediate future. Far from it. The system still possesses prodigious strength. Indeed, it is still growing among the lower strata of Indian society. There will be many changes and great turmoil before it passes out of the social organism. But what is clear is this, that the old religious sanction for caste has vanished. No educated Hindu to-day believes the Hindu doctrine that the four castes are eternal and divinely-appointed divisions among men. Even those who defend caste most vehemently do so on utilitarian grounds; and therefore their defence is as dangerous as an attack.

* Gautama, *Dhamasutra*, xii 4.

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If the ancient religious basis of caste is no longer credible, the institution is doomed ; and it may be affirmed with absolute certainty that that old article of faith has faded out of the mind of educated India.

(d) The drift of public opinion in India towards monotheism is visible everywhere. The wonderful influence exerted on religious opinion by the Brahma Samaj, and the really great success of the Arya Samaj as an organisation, are indications of the mind of India in this regard. One part of the reason for the great popularity of the *Gita* to-day is the fact that Krishna is construed as the Supreme Being and as personal. The average educated Indian to-day says, "God is our heavenly Father." Then, criticism of idolatry everywhere accompanies monotheistic teaching. Even those who uphold Sankara's Vedantism or follow Mrs. Besant in her defence of the whole Hindu system are careful to speak of idols as a concession to human weakness. Further, it may be said without the slightest fear of contradiction that all apologies for polytheism and idolatry—and we have had many during these last few years—are unreal to the last degree. It is easy to write plausible arguments in favour of the use of idols, but what modern, thinking man will dare to say that he sincerely believes in the existence of the Devas that he defends? The gods of Hinduism—Vishnu, Siva, Ganesa, Kali, Kartikeya, and all the rest,—have just as much reality as the ancient gods of Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. If Hathor, the cow-headed Egyptian goddess, has vanished, how will Ganesa, the elephant-headed god, remain? If Apis and his bull are gone, who can save Siva and his bull? If Olympian Zeus is gone, how shall Vishnu survive? Will the world give up belief in Pallas Athene to hold by Kali? If the great gods of Rome glided away into the darkness, when the light came, how can learned apologies retain the million godlings of the Hindu pantheon? India has grasped the concept of the one God who rules all, and the shadowy reasonings which satisfied the ancient centuries have lost their power to convince. *Polytheism and idolatry are vanishing simulacra* in the mind of educated India.

The system by means of which the Brahmins conquered India and under which the Hindus since then have lived, consists, as we have already seen, of three main elements : (1) the Hindu conception of the world, resting on transmigration and Karma, and justifying pantheism, polytheism and idolatry ; (2) the authority of the Vedas and the Brahmins ; (3) the divine institution, caste. Now the facts we have just adduced show that this whole complexity of ideas has gone to pieces in the minds of educated Hindus, shattered by the impact of modern thought and religion, and by the wide disturbances already produced in Indian society, industry and business by the pressure of world-competition. (Mr. J. N. Farquhar in the *Contemporary Review*).

LEADING THOUGHTS ON INDIAN QUESTIONS

INDIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, the distinguished authority on Mahometan history of India, discusses the above subject in a recent number of the *Westminster Review*. In this article Mr. Lane-Poole undertakes to review Mr. William Irvine's translation of *Storia do Mogor* or *Moghul India* by Niccolao Manucci.

Mr. Lane-Poole begins by lamenting that it was after Akbar was dead that Europeans began to pour into India and "it is an incalculable loss to history that no European was in a position to describe the character and conversation of this remarkable ruler," although "they found in his successor, unworthy though he was, a powerful sovereign, master of a vast and elaborately organised state, with an army of a quarter of a million, a revenue not far short of a hundred millions of our money, a capital more peopled than the Paris of that day, a court more sumptuous than any they had seen in Europe, and a civilization as polished, as artistic, as literary as any they had left behind."

The writer proceeds to point out the similarity of events in India and England in this period in the following telling words :—

'The period of real Mogul supremacy in India nearly corresponds to the duration of personal monarchy in England. Its greatest glory was at the time when Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts were on the throne. Its mortal sickness began when a Puritan in India outdid in bigotry the Puritan Protector of England; and it was already in presence of its destroyers when the Stuarts were driven from the throne. Such parallels may appear over-stretched, but they have their use in helping us to appreciate the mental attitude in which Englishmen approached the Court of the Great Mogul.'

Mr. Lane-Poole considers it "singularly fortunate that the period of greatest brilliance in the Indian Empire should occur just at the time when a new epoch was dawning in European relations with the East" which he describes in the following terms :—

"The Portuguese supremacy on the Indian seas which a century before had crushed the old Arab and Egyptian commerce, was

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itself annihilated when the Dutch and a few years later the English Company sent their ships to Surat. The establishment of the English factory there in the early years of the seventeenth century shifted the carrying trade to English vessels and forced upon the reluctant Moghul the visits of British envoys resolved to develop commercial relations and to open the way to travellers. Hawkins, Roe, della Valle, Mandelslo, were soon there, and put their more or less instructive impressions on record ; and they were followed before long by the scholarly and philosophic Bernier, whose 'Travels' formed our best authority on the state of India at the accession of Aurangzib until Mr. Irvine produced the masterly translation of Manucci's memoirs which is the subject of this article."

Of all these men the writer considers Manucci to be the most competent judge of Indian affairs about that time ; he gives the following reasons :—

"There were three series of events of supreme importance in the history of India during the second half of the seventeenth century. The first was the struggle for the throne between the sons of Shah Jahan in the time of their father's decrepitude—a struggle in which Aurangzib killed his brothers Dara and Murad Bakhsh and made Shah Jahan a prisoner till his death. The second was the thirty years' war which Aurangzib waged in the Deccan, first with the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and afterwards with the new power of the Marathas—a war which was as far from its end at the time of the old emperor's death in 1707 as it was when he first took the field. The third was the growth of new European influences by the establishment of the English and French agencies at Madras and Pondicherry and the simultaneous decay of Portuguese domination. Of all these three movements Manucci was a close spectator and often an active agent. In the first, as an artillery-man in the service of Dara, he witnessed the advance of Aurangzib upon Agra, knew all that was going on at Court, the intrigues and negotiations which centered round the captive but still resisting and tricky Mogul, and the skilful and perfidious diplomacy of Aurangzib. . . . In the second series of events, he was for some time an honoured and welcome physician in the household of Shah Alam, Aurangzib's eldest son and successor, who was in command of the campaign in the Deccan ; he was sent on missions to the Maratha leader ; was raised to the aristocratic rank of a Mansabdar, and afterwards resided at Madras, where his spies

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and his friends kept him well informed of the progress of the war, and where he was trusted by more than one English Governor to carry on negotiations with the Mogul forces. Living at Madras and visiting San Thome and Pondicherry, where he was on intimate terms of friendship with Francis Martin, the French Director-General (to gratify whom and M. Deslandes he 'consented' to write his memoirs), Manucci was naturally well acquainted with affairs in the English and French agencies, and his services were appreciated by both. . . . Thus he was trusted alike by Mohammedans, English, French, and Portuguese."

Mr. Lane-Poole makes the following excerpt from Manucci's "Travels" regarding the conduct and character of the Portuguese in India :—

'At the present day, from what I have seen and experienced, I find that, instead of faithful men, they are unbelievers and pretenders. The cause I know not—whether it be because they are a mixture of Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindus, either having an admixture of their blood, or having drunk it in with their nurse's milk—but in place of just, they have become unjust ; robbers and oppressors instead of disinterested men. They are avaricious, forgers, envious; from brave men they have turned into cowards, who by ambushes and treacheries slay simple folk. Instead of being men of their word, they are liars and deceivers ; in place of being modest, they are shameless, miserable wretches lived by the sale of poisons, raising false accusations against married women in the hope that the husbands might buy poison from him. It was noted that twenty-nine married women had died of poison sold by a Portuguese man to their husbands.'

The writer then discusses, at what he himself calls undue length, the professional career of Manucci as a physician which opened for him great opportunities to mix with all classes of people, high and low, and thus proves his account to be thoroughly authentic. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole then criticises Manucci's authenticity in the following manner :—

"Whatever the source of his varied and often exceedingly indiscreet information, we are disposed to believe that it is usually well-founded. Where his own vanity and boastfulness are not concerned or his special prejudices against the Portuguese, the Jesuits and, above all, Aurangzib himself—of whom he has never a good word to say, and with whom he consistently refused to take service—are not excited, we see no cause to doubt his veracity. He is transparently candid and does not pretend to have been an

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eye-witness when he was not. It is obviously impossible to check many of his revelations of court and especially of harem life ; but there is nothing improbable in what he records, and, considering his ample opportunities for getting inside information, and his habit of citing his informants now and then (such as Thomazia Martins, the princess Roshanara's servant, who, 'through the affection she had for me, . . . informed me of what passed inside the palace'), one may usually accept his statements. When these can be compared with the English official records—as has been most carefully done by the learned editor—the result is to confirm Manucci's veracity. His chronology, it is true, is not accurate, for there is an error of two years in the earlier part of his 'Storia,' and many of the other dates are wrong. Mr. Irvine has also been at the pains to compare Manucci's accounts with those of the native Persian chroniclers, and has shown not a few discrepancies ; but this does not prove the Venetian to be the one at fault. We do not see any reason *a priori* for attaching greater weight to a native historian than to a European, if both were contemporary witnesses to the events described. Manucci's honesty is at least as probable as that of the native panegyrists. Both, naturally, record many things at second or third hand ; and the European 'doctor's sources of information were evidently quite as numerous, varied, and authentic as those of the Indian chroniclers, for he drew on contemporary Portuguesc, French, and English sources, as well as upon the reports of natives, by whom he was well supplied with current news. He seems to write entirely from his own materials, and to have used no native works, except for the account of the earlier events of Mogul history, and this, whatever it is based on, is mere legend of no greater value than the folk-tales and other stories which he has also incorporated. He was acquainted with Bernier's book, which he several times contests, but from which he borrowed very little, if indeed he borrowed at all. Bernier and he were acquainted. Manucci speaks of the Frenchman as 'a great friend' ; and it is as likely that Bernier obtained information from talk with Manucci, as contrariwise. There is no evidence that he met Tavernier or had seen his 'Travels,' though he refers to him once or twice. In short, any doubts that formerly existed as to the authenticity and credibility of Manucci's book were due to his misrepresentation in the only form in which he has hitherto been known, Catrou's garbled and mangled paraphrase. Manucci's long residence in India and his unique experience of its most intimate life, enabled him to draw such a picture of his times as may

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be looked for in vain in any other writer. From a literary point of view, indeed, he is open to much criticism. Unlike Bernier, he was not a cultivated man and has no pretensions to style, nor does his language ever rise to eloquence. We must not expect from him balanced judgments based upon a wide acquaintance with history or European government, or upon a study of philosophic principles. His '*Storia*' is ill put together, although it begins well with a consecutive narrative of his own doings and current events down to the accession of Aurangzib. Indeed it maintains a fair measure of method down to the author's settlement at Madras in 1686. Then follows a rambling but valuable account of the Mogul government, court, army, local administration, taxes, manners and customs, concluding with this remarkable forecast :

' Having set forth all this grandeur and power of the Moguls, I will, with the reader's permission, assert, from what I have seen and tested, that to sweep it entirely away and occupy the whole empire nothing is required but a corps of thirty thousand trusty European soldiers, led by competent commanders, who would thereby easily acquire the glory of great conquerors.'

The writer then quotes some passages from Manucci's account of war to show how fond he was of "particularity of details." Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole then brings to a close this interesting paper with the following account of the original MSS. of Manucci's book :—

"The Ms. of the first three parts was brought over from India to Paris in 1701 by Manucci's friend, M. Boureau Deslandes, who lent it to Pere Francois Catrou, of the Society of Jesus—the very last body into whose hands the author would have wished it to pass. Catrou made it into a readable book ; he extracted and garbled, added from unnamed sources, and deprived it of all semblance of authority. . . . The singular fact is that the Ms. was never at any time out of the reach of the learned. Catrou himself, 'to satisfy the incredulous,' boldly offered to show it to any one who suspected him of tampering (as he undoubtedly did tamper) with Manucci's meaning. The document remained in the Jesuits' library at Paris till the sale which followed the expulsion of the order in 1763. It appeared in the sale catalogue, but nobody noticed it. It then remained hidden in the well-known library of the purchaser of many of the Jesuits' books, Baron Gerard Meerman, at the Hague, where even the learned Dutchmen ignored it ; and, as if it were not a sufficient triumph of secrecy to inter itself successfully for over a hundred years in two conspicuous and frequented libraries, this

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elusive Ms. once more evaded discovery for another half-century and more in that remarkably open hiding-place, Sir Thomas Phillipps' celebrated library at Middle Hill, whence it furtively betook itself to the Royal Library at Berlin, apparently secure against detection. In all the phases of its locomotion there was never the smallest difficulty in seeing the document. It was catalogued in all these libraries and entered in the catalogues of their sales. Yet nobody seemed to have noticed it, till Mr. Archibald Constable, the editor of Bernier's 'Travels,' thought of looking for it at Berlin, and of course immediately found it."

EVIDENCE OF WIDOW-MARRIAGE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi in the June number of the *Hindusthan Review* proves the existence of widow marriage in ancient India from Firdausi in the following manner :—

"According to Firdausi, there was a king in India, named Jamhour, whose territory extended from Cashmere in the West to China in the East. His capital was a place called Sandali. He had a very beautiful queen, who gave birth to a son, whom the king named Gav. King Jamhour died a short time after the birth of this child. So, during the infancy of the child, the State authorities appointed Mai, a brother of the deceased king as regent. This king lived at a place known as Dambar. He came to Sandali and ascended the throne of his brother. He then married the widowed queen of his deceased brother. From this marrige he had a son, named Talhand. It was the rivalry between these two step brothers (sons of the same mother by different fathers who were brothers), for the possession of the throne and the subsequent war that led to the discovery of the game of chess.

"We have a Pahlavi treatise known as the *Madigan-i-Chatrang*, *i. e.*, "An account of Chatrang (Shatranj), *i. e.*, chess." According to that treatise, the game of chess was sent to Noshirwan of Persia by an Indian king know as Devasaram, a name which can also be read in Pahlavi as Dabislim. The Indian messenger who carried the game to Persia is called therein Takhtaritus, a name which can be read in various other ways.

"Firdausi says that in return the great Noshirwan sent to the India raja, the game of Nard, a game similar to that of draughts or backgammon. According to the above-mentioned Pahlavi treatise, this game was known as *Vin i-Artashi*."

THE SUBMERGED HALF IN INDIA

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh discusses the degraded position of women in Indian Society in an article headed as above in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*. Mr. Sing begins by stating :

"The very institutions that, for fifty years or more, have been weakening the body politic of India, have all along found their most ardent and insistent champions amongst the Indian fair sex. In this manner the women of Hindostan have seriously retarded the progress of their people. Furthermore, their reactionary attitude has kept themselves victims of arrested growth. Just how the woman of India has proved instrumental in keeping her nation tied down to hindering superstitions can readily be understood by examining the feminine attitude toward early marriage and enforced widowhood—two of the most noxious institutions that afflict the Indian polity."

The writer then proceeds to deal with the numerous vices which have been eating into the very vitals of the Hindu Society and as the foremost of them he points to early marriage and enforced widowhood. Mr. N. Singh observes :

"Statistics show the number of female children married under four years of age to be more than 200,000, of those married between five and nine to be over 2,000,000, and those married under fourteen to be 8,000,000. . . . An appreciable percentage of these girls are condemned to become mothers when they ought to be playing with dolls. Their husbands, too, are mere boys, who should be romping around in gay unconcern. The half-formed children need schooling for years to come, but tyrant custom ordains otherwise. The result of such an insane institution can readily be imagined. Both the girl-wife and boy-husband must pay for this folly—in which they participate without understanding its perils—by forgoing many years of their life, and, in addition to that, by being weak and sickly so long as they live. The immature mother may pay the penalty of losing her life at child-birth, or, what is still worse, may become physically wrecked, more or less permanently. The demands of motherhood, if she survives the shock of early maternity, will go a long way to impoverish her constitution. The progeny also will suffer—will be healthy and strong only by a miracle. Indeed, in many cases defective and deformed children will result from such unions. . . Enforced widowhood is an open sore that, for many centuries, has been festering in the Hindu community, sadly vitiating and disabling it. To study the woe-

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begone condition of that hapless human, the Hindu widow, who, once widowed, must perforce for ever remain unmarried, is bound to convince any thinking person that a nation which thus inhumanly treats a part of its population cannot, in the very nature of things, be expected to prosper."

But erroneously enough, Mr. Singh attempts to fasten the responsibilities of all these vices upon the shoulders of the women themselves, little judging that these gross prejudices and superstitions are begotten of an utter lack of proper mental training for which it is the men and not so much the women that are primarily and culpably responsible. Observes Mr. Singh :

"The keystone that supports the arch of this baneful custom is the Indian woman. . . . Hindostan by now would have been appreciably freed from this dread institution but for the women of the land, who have persistently played at cross purposes with the enlightened men; for the male Hindu, under the impulse of his Occidental education, is coming to be heartily ashamed of this custom, and quotes verses and chapters from the *Vedas* to prove that it is against the spirit of his real religion. But, while the educated men are working to blot it out of existence, their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, even their widowed female relatives, are bitterly opposed to this radical reform, and their combined power perpetuates the practice."

Mr. Sing, however, rightly attributes the cause of this disparity to want of education by citing the figures of "literate" women in India as being 1 per cent as compared with 10 per cent of men.

Mr. Sing is also very sick of the "tragedy of the life of the husband of an illiterate wife" and in delineating his sad lot, we are afraid, Mr. Sing, just like a youngman long ceasing to be in touch with his own kith and kin, takes a little too anglicized view of things, sometimes descending, we are pained to remark, to ungenerous insinuations :

". . . the yoking together of an educated man and an uneducated woman, in the nature of things, cannot be conducive to the comfort of either party. . . . Comradeship is out of the question in such a case. In order to be at one with each other, one must become subservient. Usually the question is settled by the man putting aside, for the time being when he enters the precincts of his home, all thought of Occidental culture and Oriental evolution, and meeting his wife on the common ground of petty household interests, conversing with her about the deadly dull details of domestic drudgery or the little scandals of the joint family

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life. . . . In cases such as this, marriage implies little else than procreation (*sic.*) ; for a man and woman so unequally matched mentally can find little *camaraderie* in their union."

Mr. Nihal Singh, who has wedded an American lady, naturally resents the institution of the *purdah* and remarks that in ancient India the women were *not* "the drudges and toys of men that the average Indian woman today is and cites, as instances, the cases of Sita, who married at an adult age, actually selected her own husband and shared Rama's ideals ; of Dasaratha's queen who actually went to the battle-field with her royal husband. "One incontestable proof" of the existence of perfect freedom of women in ancient India, the writer thinks, is the fact "that today the Hindu alone in the world conceives of the God-head as being female as well as male, and addresses God both as "Mother" and "Father," millions of Hindus worshipping the female personifications of God, such as Kali and Durga.

The cause of the disappearance of this perfect liberty of women the writer traces to the advent of the Arabian hordes in Hindostan at the dawn of the middle ages which introduced into this country a reign of anarchy. Mr. Sing thus describes the fall of Indian women :—

"These turbulent decades proved instrumental in depriving the Hindu women of the perfect liberty they had erstwhile enjoyed. The men found it necessary to shut them inside their homes in order to protect their persons and honour, and ensure them as great a measure of safety as possible. Up to that time early marriage practically was unknown in the land ; but the exigencies of the times demanded that the girls should be married at an early age so that they should have husbands to protect them from being molested. Early marriage brought about ignorance, for little girls became brides and mothers before their education had fairly begun, and thus were unable to teach their children even the rudiments of knowledge. Man, playing the *role* of defender, began to be regarded as superior to the woman who needed protection. This gradually degenerated into female infanticide. By the time the Moslems gained the upper hand in India and life finally settled down to its normal state, in every sense of the word the Hindu woman had fallen from her one-time high pedestal. The customs that came into being born of stern necessity took such a firm hold upon Indian society that they could not be sloughed off. Indeed, the *purdah* system (seclusion of women) became quite fashionable, since the Mahomedan loyalty and courtiers observed it. As a

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result of these forces, it came to be eminently the proper thing for the Hindu as well as the Mahomedan women to remain at home, and never appear in public without heavily veiling themselves. The misguided priests now stepped in and carried this reaction still farther, manufacturing sacerdotal records in order to give the new customs the sanction of religion. Thus, in time, it came to be considered a religious duty for the girl to marry early, to remain a widow after her husband's death, and even to perform *suttee*—burn herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. The theory that it was ordained by God that woman should be the inferior of man came later, as a matter of course."

The writer then holds up the examples of women like the widow of Shanker Rao, the Rani of Jhansi, Lakshmi Bai and others, who figure prominently in latter-day Indian history, for their sisters of today to emulate and winds up this long article with the following words of hope and encouragement :

"There are indications, seemingly small and insignificant, yet fraught with deep meaning for Hindustan. Yesterday the waters of that vast ocean—Indian society—were placid and calm. Today here and there the surface is flecked with foam, showing that some force is at work beneath the billows, churning them into activity. That force is modern education. While as yet the number of educated women is pitifully small, still their influence is beginning to be felt. Occidental enlightenment is swaying the women, just as it does the men of India, to seek to do away with the senseless customs that have been crushing the life out of the land. Thus today the educated man who has been so fortunate as to marry a literate woman finds that his wife is a true comrade to him, eager to help him in furthering the welfare of the community, instead of hindering him by wiles and guiles when he seeks to effect a social reform."

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

The question of a common language for India, first discussed several years ago in the pages of the *Indian World*, is greatly agitating the public mind of India to-day and that is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times. Most of the well-known periodicals of India—*The Modern Review*, *The Indian Review*, *The Hindusthan Review*, *East and West* and *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*—contain articles on the subject. We propose to notice here the article

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on *The Possibilities of the Bengali Language* by "Bengalee" in the July number of the *Modern Review*.

"Bengali, in the opinion of Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray of the Cuttack College whom our writer takes to be an authority on the subject, in addition to possessing the power of thoroughly assimilating new words from Sanskrit—a power which is shared in a lesser degree by the other Sanskritic languages mentioned above—has certain other characteristics peculiar to itself which make it more fit than the other to become, in the long run, the universal language or *lingua franca* of India. Its grammar and syntax are easy and free from intricacies, it possesses a more classical vocabulary and a richer literature than any other indigenous language, it can boast of more *Tatsama* (words borrowed from Sanskrit unchanged) as opposed to *Tadbhava* (words having Sanskrit or the Primary Prakrit for their origin) than the other Prakritic languages, and in the course of the last fifty years and more, it has shown itself capable of remarkable development. Advocates of Hindi and Marathi will perhaps claim that they too possess these characteristics, but few will be prepared to deny that in these respects Bengali occupies a pre-eminent position among the India languages.

The defects of the Bengali language, in the opinion of the learned essayist, are that it is broken up into too many dialects (and this defect Hindi has in common with Bengali,) that there is a wide divergence between the spoken and the written tongue, and that it is not a phonetic language, the dissonance between spelling and pronunciation being much less sharply defined in some of the other Indian languages, notably Oriah and Telugu."

"Bengalee" criticises the Professor's views on the defects of the Bengalee language in the following manner :—

"As to the first of these drawbacks, it may be observed that facility of locomotion, the introduction of printing, the spread of education, and a common form of administration, are acting as powerful solvents of provincialism of every shape and form. The discord between the spoken and the written language is probably greater in Bengal than in Scotland, for instance. In Bengal, however, the standard conversational *patois* may be taken to be that of Santipur, but books are never written in that dialect. . . . Only a genius like that of Sir Walter Scott can endow the provincial dialects of East Bengal with even a temporary vitality, not merely as spoken, but also as written tongues. But in this very fact of their want of vitality as written languages and in their narrow spheres of influence lies the hope of their ultimate extinction and

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absorption in one common type. Coming to the third defect of the Bengali language, *vis.*, its non-phonetic character, we may be permitted to doubt whether this is really so serious an impediment as has been urged by some writers. English, and in a much greater degree French, are also non-phonetic tongues ; but this has not prevented the one from being the language of commerce, and the other that of diplomacy, all the world over. In the opinion of Professor Ray, the spelling and pronunciation of Bengali words might be brought into greater harmony and correspondence if the scientific pronunciation of Sanskrit words were more carefully attended to in our public Schools and Colleges where Sanskrit is studied. To these drawbacks enumerated by the learned professor, a fourth may be added—the Bengali script. The Bengali alphabet is just the same as Sanskrit. So, by simply adopting the Devnagri Script, we may do away with this difficulty. A little scrutiny of the part which a common script—the Roman—has played in Western Europe as a factor in unifying, and spreading one common type of civilisation among the various races which inhabit that portion of the globe, will show how beneficial to the evolution of a common nationality is the possession of a common script. At one stroke it removes a most formidable difficulty which meets us at the very outset in the path of acquiring a new language. And when the act does not involve more than a slight initial disadvantages due to unfamiliarity and requires no radical structural change of the alphabet, it seems highly desirable that this disadvantage should be cheerfully borne by the people of Bengal for the sake of the country at large."

What is to be the *linga franca* of India "Bengalee" asks and argues the claims of the Bengalee language in the following manner :—

"In the opinion of a large section of the people, that verdict is most likely to go in favour of Hindi. Apart from the fact already referred to that it is more or less intelligible to the speakers of all the other Sanskritic languages, it has the advantage of being one of the two principle elements by the admixture of which the composite Hindustani language was formed. To the advocates of Hindustani, therefore, Hindi will be the least objectionable of Indian vernaculars, if Hindustani has no chance of acceptance. But there are other considerations which tell in favour of Bengali. If we refuse to identify Western Hindi (spoken by nearly four crores of people) with Eastern Hindi (spoken by a little above two crores), the language which is found to have the largest numerical following in India is Bengali, spoken as it is by four and a half

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crores of people. The Bengali speaking people are admittedly the most intellectually endowed and politically advanced community in India. Their literature has developed more than any other Indian literature under British rule, and they possess organisations like the Bengal Academy of Literature with its various local branches which are doing useful work in furtherance of the cause of the Bengali language. It is flexible, assimilative, and as Professor Ray shows, free from grammatical intricacies. A cultured Mahratta lady of the learned Professor's acquaintance could learn Bengali much more easily than Hindi. We have seen that the Devnagri script can be easily adapted to the Bengali language, as only calligraphic and not alphabetical changes are required to bring about the transformation. Moreover—and this is a most important point to consider—as the two Bengals together contribute 41 per cent. of the entire Mahomedan population of India, and their mother-tongue, with insignificant exceptions at Dacca and Murshidabad, is Bengali, from this point of view also Bengali appears to be entitled to precedence over the other languages of India. As only less than two crores of people speak Marathi and less than one crore speak Gujarati, there does not seem to be any rational justification for indulging in the hope that Marathi and Gujarati, in spite of their numerous excellences, will ever acquire the predominance in India".

The writer further contends that next to their own languages—Tamil or Telugu, which have no chance of being raised to be the common language for India,—Madrasis will prefer Bengali to any other language, for, he observes :

" If there is any province besides their own which the Madrasis have always looked up to for light and guidance, it is Bengal. Vaishnavism had its origin in the Deccan and was carried forward by Chaitanya in Bengal. The great South Indian sage Sankaracharya is as much admired in Bengal as anywhere else in India. If we omit the littoral tract of Orissa, of which more presently, where Oriah is spoken by less than a crore of people, Bengal borders on the Madras Presidency. The East Coast Railway has drawn the tie closer between the two provinces. The literature of Bengal is more up to date, more in harmony with the advanced notions of the times, than Hindi literature. The genius of the Bengali language seems more adapted to the assimilation of foreign styles of expression. According to Prof. Ray, many educated Madrasis have not even heard the name of Hindi. An Indian of the South is therefore likely to prefer Bengali to Hindi".

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Oriah, Assamese and even Behari are regarded by the writer to be more close to Bengali than to any other language of India. An Oriah poetess, Madhavi Dasi, wrote books in Bengali and Mithila in Behar produced the earliest Bengali poet Vidyapati. "Bengali, Behari and oriah constitute, in fact," the writer observes, "The Magadhi branch of the ancient Prakrit, and their close philological alliance is well established. The writer further quotes Walter Hamilton who wrote in the *East Indian Gazetteer* (London, 2nd edition, 1828) "that since the middle of the 17th century the governing party [of Assam] have entirely adopted the language of Bengal which has become so prevalent that the original Assamese spoken so late as the reign of Aurangzebe, is almost become a dead language."

"Bengalee" concludes his paper with the following very wise counsel to the well-wishers of the Bengali language :—

"If it be looking too far ahead as yet to speculate on the chances of the adoption of a single language by all the two hundred and ninety millions of the inhabitants of India, it may still be safely prophesied that best preparation for that ultimate goal will lie (1) in the cultivation, by all the more important of the written languages, of a common script, (2) in the adoption, from Sanskrit and the classical languages of the west, of scientific and technical terms in large numbers, (3) in the enrichment of the vernacular literatures by the translation of the best books in foreign languages, living and dead, and also in the various Indian languages, ancient and modern and (4) in the publication of original and up-to-date works on scientific, literary and aesthetic subjects.

ARTICLES

ENGLAND'S WORK IN INDIA

(III)

THE SOCIAL AND DOMESTIC ASPECT

In no matter has our connection with England wrought a more drastic and healthy change than in the status of our women. Before the advent of the English, our women may have played a very important part in the economy of our social and domestic life, but intellectually they were nowhere. The entire womenkind of India had remained paralysed for untold generations until the British conquest of India emancipated their intellect. With the establishment of girls' schools in every part of the country came the newborn enthusiasm for educating our daughters, though for nearly quarter of a century the instruction imparted was merely nominal and did not extend beyond the proverbial three R's. With the process of time and the advancement of ideas, our universities have allowed our girls to compete for all their general and technical examinations. We count lady graduates by the dozen already. There is not a middle-class family in Bengal, and few in Bombay and Madras, in which girls are not given a certain amount of education. In Bengal omission in this respect lowers her chance of good connection by marriage, and I am almost certain that the same must be the case in the sister Presidencies. The example of the European residents in this country, foreign travel, the palpable advantage of female education, the memories of the pre-Mahomedan period, the removal of the causes which had first introduced the zenana system amongst us, the influences of the educated women themselves, together with the necessities of railway and steamer travelling, had their effect in relaxing the rules with regard to the confining of women within the narrow precincts of the zenana. As in the case of religion, so also in social reform, the majority have been forced by consideration of surrounding circumstances to accept the progressive ideas about female emancipation. Given the continuance of the present Government and the present system of education, it is only a question of time as to when the women of this country will enjoy the same measure of freedom as their sisters in the West. As it is, we have already legalized widow-

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marriages, raised the age of consent and of marriage amongst the dissenters and slackened the rigour of the law with regard to their deceased husbands' property. Even in the most orthodox families girls are no longer married in their infancy, and amongst educated classes the age of marriage has risen from 18 to 22 or 23 in the case of men and 12 to 15 or 16 amongst girls, whilst the seceders marry pretty much at the same age as they do in Europe.

The old system of looking on the family as the unit of society is nearly extinct. It would be interesting to trace the course of judicial legislation that has been made in this country to suit the changing requirements of society under the name of explaining the old Law. The requirements of a civilized government brought into existence a large number of public servants liable to transfer in various parts of the country at the will of the government. The new impetus given to trade by a settled government and the facility offered for locomotion by the introduction of railways, roads and canals, and, above all, the new spirit of independence that the new system of education evoked,—all contributed to demolish the old fabric which had lived its day and of which the further continuance would have been injurious to the community. At the present day we seldom see able bodied men and their families living on the earnings of their successful relatives. Let us hope that in this matter we will not overleap the natural limit and give the cold shoulder to such of our relatives also who may be unfortunate enough to come to grief in the struggle for existence.

Before the British conquest we were a purely agricultural community. True, we had our artisans and traders, and articles of our manufacture were in high request in foreign countries, but these classes formed an infinitesimal proportion of the total population. Now, all over the country we have a large population of lawyers, merchants, public servants, doctors, traders and school-masters. We have committed the mistake of imitating our conquerors in the matter of living up to the top of our means and sometimes beyond it. In the metropolitan towns and their neighbourhood, where the influence of the dominant race is about the strongest, one notices with a sort of cynical humour the palpable evidence of make-shifts in the shape of gilt and plated articles of domestic use, and desperate attempts at gentility in stinting the family of many items of comfort to keep up a carriage and pair. In this way the interests of children and the claims of friendship and of kin have begun to receive less consideration than before ; and charity and even gratitude are sometimes sacrificed to outward

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respectability. To this in a great measure is due the shamelessly exorbitant demands that are now made and asked for marriage dowries and the neglect of calls on the gratitude or for the interests of the nation. Whatsoever may have been the sins of our ancestors, vulgarity certainly was not one of them. The insurmountable barriers that separated the castes kept each man to his proper place, and aping the ways of people above one's own class never paid, individually or socially. You required the Governor's firman in old days to ride an elephant or build a brick house. These barriers have been knocked down and the pent-up desires of ages have driven men to go to an opposite extreme. As yet no great mischief has been done. Let us hope that before it is too late we will see the dangers of breaking from old moorings in favour of an anxiety to appear what we really are not. It is no crime to be poor. Plutocracy may rule society elsewhere ; it is nevertheless a curse of civilization, though based on an admirable principle of our nature, that we should strive to be equal to our neighbours. But let us stick to what we are. If I am really shorter than my neighbour it only increases my chance of a fall to increase the thickness of the sole of my boots. European society may have committed a mistake in this respect which it may not be possible for it now to mend. That should, however, serve us as a warning and not as an example. A vice is nevertheless a vice, no matter whether it is imported from England or any other country.

Then there is the new hankering for official titles and honours. Titles, if they be, as in their origin they were supposed to have been, the public recognition of a man's private virtues and abilities, certainly would be stimulants to further exertions in the same direction ; and no sensible man should have anything to say against them as such. But unfortunately the desire and fitness for such honors stand in all conquered countries more often than not in an inverse ratio. Arnold, the American General, was rewarded for an act that has covered him with eternal infamy, whilst George Washington, the founder of the United States, would have been hanged as a traitor if he could be seized. Inspite of the unprecedentedly liberal principles of the Government under which it is our privilege to live, it is a "necessary result of the condition of affairs that the governors and the governed should sometimes take different views of the same measure. It is only natural that governments and its officers should applaud and reward men who profess the same opinion with themselves, and, as the conferral of a title costs them nothing, they freely

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distribute them amongst people who are prepared to sacrifice national interests for personal aggrandisement. It is thus that of late years titles have come to be in such bad odour that respectable people often shudder at the idea of being decorated with them. Judas Iscariots are not the growth of any particular season or clime. It is, however, no new thing to see disappointed public men seek in titles and honors a compensation for the esteem of their fellow-countrymen which they have forfeited or have failed to secure.

There is another phase of improvement worth mentioning in this connection. Even the construction and the arrangements of our houses have changed considerably during the last fifty years. We no longer build huge piles of pigeon-holes in three blocks shutting out light and air. The ancestral tank sending out offensive odour and rendering the neighbourhood uninhabitable is now being generally replaced by a bit of tiny garden with exotic plants and flowers ; rooms are getting larger and arm-chairs and tables are fast replacing the old charpoy and the foot-stool. The prejudice against animal food is fast disappearing and to many drinking water is all the better for being filtered and diluted with wines and spirits. To an orthodox Hindu no clothing that has been stitched by a tailor is permitted. During the Mahometan period public servants and the better classes of the people (who gathered about the seats of imperial and local governments) got themselves dressed with the *anga* and the *pyjamah* at least on public occasions. At the present day even the most vehement advocate of national manners and ways often preaches his anathema against the outlandish innovations, while himself wearing an English coat without a collar and buttoned up to the neck. It is doubtful whether we are acting wisely in adopting the European dress. In Europe they dress for warmth, here we wear clothes for decency. It is certainly unreasonable that we should do penance in thick woollens with the thermometer at about 110F, because our European neighbours have set us the example. Our ladies have solved their dress question in a very sensible manner, and I hope something in the same line will be done for the men. The difficulty lies in no one venturing to take the initiative. Rational dress may be very comfortable to wear, but the notice and criticism that it would evoke would to most men outweigh the advantage derived. Originality in small matters is a dangerous game and goes by the name of eccentricity. It would be idle to speculate as to what our future dress and habits are likely to be. Let us hope it will be something which will suit our climate and habits of life.

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THE POLITICAL ASPECT

It is reassuring to find the solicitude with which all classes educate their children. People with means much smaller than those of a grocer or a tailor in Europe stint themselves to any extent to give their children a liberal education. We are often told that the cheap education imparted in our schools and colleges is fraught with danger both to government and society. We are told that these superfluous graduates disdain to work in the trades of their fathers and, not having their unreasonable expectations to be provided with situations by government fulfilled, swell the ranks of the discontented and the unemployed. Let us examine this proposition with care.

Who are the men that lead the national movements in India today? Are they the famishing graduates or the successful lawyers, merchants, doctors, and land-holders? The hungry man has no time to think of others; he is ever ready to sell his patrimony for a mess of porridge. Is he really disloyal and if so can his disloyalty have any thing to do with his want of employment under government? The intelligent middle classes are a creation of the present government; there was nothing corresponding to them a hundred years ago. They must be fools in addition to being knaves if they did not know that with the abolition of the present government their own occupation and importance would be gone. It is true that the free press of the country and the example of the English people have taught them to agitate in the manner of the English people for the removal of what they believe to be their grievances. They may be right or wrong in their ideas, but I have not the slightest doubt that their education makes them all the more loyal as it makes them see clearly what they are to expect by a change of government. We are loyal by *self-interest* if you will, but loyal we *are*. There may not be the same feeling of warm personal loyalty to the sovereign that is roused in an English breast at the sound of the national anthem; it may be more cold and calculating, but it stands on the safe and secure basis of national self-interest. We may not be pliable and cringing as of old; we may have learnt some of his grumbling from that notorious grumbler, John Bull; but if the time came for testing the loyalty of the *johukum* and the *apke-wast-e-wallahs* and that of the Congressmen, I have no doubt that the latter would show themselves worthier of the trust of the Government than those who have reduced loyalty into a *policy* and look upon personal aggrandisement as the sole object of existence. I pray all Englishmen to

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remember that when a man stands against any Government measure in this country he *cannot* have any personal motives to satisfy, that in so doing he hurts to a certain extent his personal chances of a successful career—that he can not help being sincere in what he says, as it is against his immediate personal interest to do so. Our interests and respective prejudices may make us appear on opposite sides in an argument, but my respect for British good sense and British regard for virtue is too great to allow me to believe that a true-hearted Briton ever thinks meanly of a man who does not wait to ask counsel of his interests while called upon to speak the truth that is within himself. Education, if it has any real use, must fit men to see what is of advantage to them under a given state of circumstances. The educated Indian can not help seeing that in the continuance of the present government lies his only hope for national regeneration. He certainly aspires to national existence and asks for things that he believes would help him towards its accomplishment. He believes that few Englishmen can know his own thoughts, feelings, wants and weaknesses as he does himself. He, therefore, claims to be represented in the Legislature. We are told that the educated Indian is not a representative man and the country does not want him to be there. This would be a good argument if he wanted to get in by the back door of nomination. But he asks for *election*, not nomination. If he be the outcaste that he is represented to be, the country will not elect him. Why don't you then give him the chance and fulfil his ambition ?

Another aspiration of the Indian mind is the establishment of a military college or colleges in this country, or at least the provision that Indians may not be excluded from the Army because they are *natives*. What would Englishmen think if the Germans offered to defend them against all enemies on condition of their not bearing arms themselves ? A great European war can at any moment force England to withdraw her armies from India as Rome was obliged to withdraw her legions from England on the appearance of the Northern Barbarians. We shall still have to be here. A great western power is already on our frontier which has enslaved a seventh of the whole human race and is still crying for more. We are told that she will *not* attack us. We know what that means. She will, of course, not do so till she can do it with a good chance of success. Russia can at any moment bring more than one million of soldiers in the field while the entire British army in India is less than 3,00,000 on paper. Russia can call to her aid the hordes of Tartary and Afghanistan by offering

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them the plunder of India as Tamerlane and Jenghis Khan had done centuries ago. England, on the other hand, will have to leave behind a good third of her fighting strength to garrison her fortifications in India. It is all very well to talk of one Englishman being equal to three Russians. But we know that with modern improvements the result of wars will depend very much on numbers and one to five may be bad odds to fight. The memory of the Sepoy War of 1857 unfortunately weigh heavy on the minds of Englishmen and stands in the way of our being entrusted with arms. Officers who fought and suffered in that war are still alive, many of them high in the service in this country and at home. It is only natural that the horrors of that inhuman war and its butcheries should still influence them in their opinions in the matter. It is forgotten that that war was a war of superstition and prejudice against reason and light. Not a single man belonging to the educated classes had anything to do with it. A large majority of them worked on the side of Government and all had their sympathies enlisted in favour of its triumph. An entire generation has passed and arisen since then with other ideas and aspirations. Every Indian of light and leading knows that, circumstanced as we are, divided into various nationalities, creeds and opinions, the withdrawal of the centripetal force that England is now wielding to solder us into a nationality will at once be followed by disruption which may end in violent collision of the elements themselves and eventually by conquest of the whole by some foreign power which may not be so liberal as England. In the present state of the country there is absolutely no danger in enlisting Indians as officers in the Indian army.* It will render them all the more loyal by removing the only badge of slavery that we wear. It will give us a large and cheap army officered by the natural leaders of the people who will fight not only as men who have inherited the high traditions of British soldiers, but as men should fight in the defence of their hearth and home. They will be here in any case even if the British portion of the army has to be withdrawn in the event of an emergency arising in Europe. As matters stand at present, it looks incongruous that a Goanense servant can carry arms wherever he chooses whilst his Indian em-

* This article was written long before unrest in India took an acute shape and before terrorism had appeared as a factor in Indian political agitation. Of course the crimes of the last few years have supplied the enemies of India with a good handle to resist the proposals made in this portion of the article, but, looking at the question without prejudice or bias, it appears to us that a partial satisfaction of the Indian aspiration for a military training within certain limitations will go more to put down discontent than in creating it. Ed., I. W.

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ployer must procure a license from a Magistrate before buying a kitchen-knife.

We need not enter at any length into the question of facilitating the entrance of Indians into the Civil Service of the country by holding simultaneous examinations in this country and in England. I for one have no quarrel with those who, admitting the principle that a man's colour and creed should be no bar to his entrance into the public services, insist upon an English education for the Civil Servants on the score of its being sounder and more liberal. I would sacrifice anything to have the best men for that service. If I have to buy an article, I would buy the best that my means would allow. At the present day, there can be no doubt that residence for a certain number of years at one of the home universities should be made a *sine qua non* preliminary to a man's admission into the service. The very sight of a free country carrying on its own affairs has a liberalising influence which an Indian of all men should never be without. It would do the country good if it were possible to make it compulsory on the European as well as Indian members of the service to go to England once every five years and to stop there for six months at least studying western institutions and principles of Government. There is always the risk of a man's imbibing despotic principles by a long residence in this country. To counteract this, the only antidote is a compulsory residence in an European country for a definite period at a definite interval.

CONCLUSION

One last word before I finish. Let all of us remember that in India we are passing through a unique revolution to which history furnishes no precedent and speculation itself fails to point a close parallel. In this dark night of uncertainty let none of us forsake for one moment that legacy of centuries,—the law of right and wrong. Let no man in the pride of his reason reject it for the siren promptings of blind expediency. "Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the law of justice is written on the tablets of eternity".

Let us pray to the God of the Christian and Heathen so to instruct the weak judgments of the rulers and the ruled alike that we may bring the government fraught with the weal and woe of hundreds of millions of human souls to such a stage of development that may be worthy of the traditions of England and the glory of India.

T. D. BANNERJEE

THE POOR IN INDIA

(I)

THE SOMARIS OF MADRAS

The *Englishman* observed rather piquantly the other day that every city and every age has its own peculiar types of rogues and vagabonds. But, true as its remarks are, the nature and phases of roguery and vagabondism of towns and cities, tinged, of course, with all the vices of modern civilization, increase with the advance of culture and refinement. The modern cities claim a greater variety of rogues and vagrants, and no wonder if we do not miss them in our Indian towns and suburbs. The commercial rogue, the religious rogue, the insurance agent, the company promoter, and, lastly, the indolent loafer who combines in himself the subtler qualities of living on other people's means are some of the products of the present-day civilisation. While the commercial rogue preys on a large section of harmless, fool-hardy, sadly-inexperienced and greedy folk whom our system of education with all its high ideals has not improved a bit, the lazy vagabond, plunged deep in the quagmire of wretchedness, himself a victim to temptations of modern civilization—drink and lewdness—fattens at the expense of the more credulous and religious section of the people which constitute so overwhelming a majority of the entire population of India.

Our Indian cities have been inflicted with more than their fair share of doubtful and fraudulent commercial ventures, and mischievous but yet sympathetic vagabondism, and while Calcutta takes the lead in affording a covert to the rogues of trade, Madras and other southern towns are, even to this day, considered to be the holy asylums and haunts for all sorts and conditions of vagabonds and vagrants and street Arabs. The Madras vagabonds are known as *Somaris*, a slang term, employed in colloquial Tamil, signifying a lazy man (from *somberi* idler). The readiest recruits for this vagrant class, Somari, come from the classes of innocent men who have deserted their wives and children, the so-called incorrigibles who have never been convicted of any serious offence in their lives, men who have been unfortunate in their battle with the world, and have consequently slipped out of work through inefficiency, and, "men who wander from place to place, having unfixed dwelling, or not abiding in it, and usually without the means of honest livelihood"; vagrants, tramps, or other worthless persons and loafers. The Somaris occupy a position similar to that allotted to the English and American vagabonds who, according to the terminology of law, are defined as those "who

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are without home, strolling, idle, useless men, such as wake on the night and sleep on the day, and haunt customable taverns and ale-houses, and routs about ; and no man wot from whence they came, nor whither they go." The phrase "rogues and vagabonds" is applied at the present day, says Mr. Sullivan of Boston, to a large class of wandering, disorderly or dissolute persons. The "rogues and vagabonds" of to-day are the same, everywhere and anywhere, as were their brethren of old, ancient, mediæval or pre-historic. An accursed being a vagabond is from the earliest records of history. In the Book of Genesis (W. 12) he is addressed as thus :—

' A fugitive and vagabond shalt thou be in the earth.'

The poets of the eighteenth century, Pope and Dryden, the well-known satirists, immortalize him in verses which describe him thus :—

" 'Tis no scandal grown,
For debt and rougery to quit the town."

(Dryden)

" The rogue and fool by bits is fair and wise."

(Pope)

The only difference between the English vagrants and the Madras Somaris is that, unlike the former, our Madras vagabonds are not burglars, thieves, pilferers or pick-pockets and we do not find them prowling about the public places, crowded thoroughfares, trams and railway stations, shops, markets, fairs, and bazaars. They enjoy greater freedom than their kinsmen of the West who, if they are caught loitering near any steam-boat landing or railroad depot, banking institution or brokers' office, place of public amusement or auction room, cab, or omnibus, or at any public gathering, are severely dealt with by "imprisonment in the house of correction for not less than four or more than twelve months." The streets, lanes, and alleys are the only *habitats* of these people, and like the hackneyed poets of the days of Dr. Johnson, the vagrants lounge and slumber on the floors of houses, cess-pool banks and gutter-heads. The stinking smell, the unhealthy atmosphere of the localities, the inclemency of weather, the heat of the day, the epidemics, all these do not affect them, and they seem to be a "happy-go-lucky lot who live for to-day, and with no thoughts for the morrow." The Madras Somaris are a set of lazy, drooping loafers, always loving to indulge in an over-dose of toxic opium and anxious to transport themselves to the realms of dreams, and reveries, "forgetting themselves, and by the world forgot."

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The name Somari does not signify any sect or tribe, but it is a generic term applied to all kinds of vagrants. It is more a name of the avocation they follow, and every one can seek admission unto the Somari fold and embrace its faith, the only passport of entry being a profound allegiance to a life of indolence and loyalty to the constitution of the vagabond league. Boys and girls, evidently orphans, unkempt decrepits, men of chequered lives, women of ill-repute, condemned souls, and children of doubtful parentage, everyone of them find the Somari order as the only haven where they are assured a safe refuge to redeem the purity of their souls. With no family ties, no pleasures of the parlour and hearth, no cares and anxieties to maintain wives and children, with no morality, religion or mission,—they lead on their worthless earthly existence, creating and procreating children like the lower organisms, and leaving the work of breeding and feeding to Dame Nature's nursery. In England it was the common practice "to whip the loafers and have the gristle of their ears bored with a red-hot iron." While the Vagrant Act of England authorizes every constable to get hold of every suspicious vagabonds in the act "of frequenting any river, a canal or navigable stream, dock or basin, or any quay, wharf, or warehouse, or any avenue leading thereto, or any street or highway or any place adjacent to a street or highway, with intent to commit a felony" (5 Geo. 4, C. 83, sec. 4), in India, the Somaris, call them by whatever name, the English vagrants' counterparts, are like wind which blows wherever it listeth, free to roam about at their will and molest and torment the charitably-disposed Hindus, and no body can interfere with impunity with the hard-earned liberties and rights which they seem to enjoy under the British Raj in India.

To know the life-history of these Somaris, from their first entry into the sacred order to their final departure from the world, after having had the satisfaction of being styled a *pucca* Somari, one must have the patience to stay at Madras, move with them, observe and study their modes of living, their views and aims of life, and their behaviour towards their compeers, and towards strangers who may venture to put their fingers into their pies. The Somaris are divided into two classes, the upper and the lower, and the former dominate over the latter and rule them with a rod of iron. To the non-observants, these things will not be apparent and while the former lead a cock-sure sort of life, putting on great airs, the latter must work and toil for the sustenance of their seniors. They do not earn by the sweat of their brow and toil all day long in the sun

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for a few copper coins, but it is in the grades of laziness that their work lies, the one less indolent than the other, a personification of laziness, sloth idealized and perfected. Though, apparently on terms of intimacy, the two classes always cherish inwardly a sort of dislike, hatred and malice towards each other, due to the fact that the Somaris of the upper class try to rule and lord it over those of the lower class. The Somaris form a sort of masonic fraternity and they have their own unwritten laws and codes by which they guide themselves ; and any violation of them is met with severe punishment. Unhappy is the man, who, true to his conscience and to the cause of justice and humanity, attempts to act the spy or informer on his associates. The wrath of his colleagues is ever on his head, and he falls a victim to endless brutality and cruel treatment. Any efforts towards reform is always met with failure, and even when they reform, and lead useful and better lives and endeavour to live down the past, they are proscribed, prosecuted and persecuted, and hunted down and hounded by their colleagues with almost Siberian atrocity. They are again dragged into the mysterious order and a new chapter is added on to their lives.

The members of the upper class of Somaris are all men of refinement and there are no outward signs to know this type of vagabond from the average hard-working, industrious citizen. They are the products of our indigenous village schools with only their faculties misdirected into unhealthy and abnormal grooves. In conversation with intelligent and well-educated persons, they are perfectly at home. "There is a character, an individuality, a family likeness common to the whole race of unfortunates ; but the furtive glance, the suspicious air, reticence, and the universal distrust of strangers" are signs to know them with. The Somaris of the lower orders are equally marked by their love towards their fellow-men, sympathy for all humanity, and an implicit response to the sacred calls of duty, in times of distress and difficulty. But poverty and pauperism, hunger and recklessness are greatly responsible for the several lapses and pitfalls which mar their character. I know several instances in which the Somaris have done yeoman service to the poor and the afflicted. It is really a surprise to pick up sweet roses in the otherwise thorny character of the unhappy vagabonds. I have often found a stream of creamy kindness running beneath their adamantine hearts, which softened and tempered the stormy lives of many a disappointed man, when properly solicited and courted. The Somari of the higher class calls himself *annatkai* (brother), a sobriquet which he richly deserves for

his sympathy towards his fellow-men. But unfortunately, he is a sad egoist and the idea of self asserts itself more often than not, and any insult or wrong, however slight, will not be brooked by the Somari. He will be waiting for the opportunity when he can wreak his vengeance.

The Somaris of the first order are all arch-idlers, men of strong constitution with nerve and grit to prompt them to any kind of work. The order of the Somari is governed by *Yajamans* or captains who are selected from the upper class. There are as many sections as there are territorial sub-divisions in Madras and each section is ruled over by a captain. The captain is usually a vagrant of the first water and he has a large number of followers under him. He is looked upon as a demi-god and he is said to enjoy the sole monopoly of the streets under his sway. No other captain can question his authority over his fold and any interference with the rules of decorum is sternly resented. The captain leads the life of a comfortable prince and feeds on the nicer dishes and delicacies which are picked up out of the remains of a rich man's supper. The poor Somaris of the lower orders, whose lot is to obey and starve, rest contented with the crumbs that are thrown to them. But the cup of woe of this class is filled to the brim, though here and there it is illuminated by a slight ray of sunshine. It reaches its climax when the miserable wretches, by some mischance, devour with ravenous greed the best portions of the dishes reserved for their more indolent captains, and thus incur the displeasure of their masters. The hue and cry raised when the remains of a feast are not thrown out in time, and the obstinacy with which they assert their rights and claims as Somaris are things of every-day occurrence in Madras.

In 1904, I went to Madras to celebrate my sister's marriage. On the fourth day, a procession had to be arranged, to go through the streets adjoining my quarters. Being unacquainted with the locality, I could not get the services of torch-bearers to lead the procession. While I was in a fix, luckily for me, the servant of the present city Civil-Judge of Madras, proffered assistance and promised to get me as many Somaris as I would like to have. I asked him, out of curiosity, how it was possible for him to bring those Somaris to me, men not amenable to reason or rhyme. A soft smile just made a play on his lips and he told me that he was once the proud Captain of the Washermanpet gang and having grown old, and feeling it a disgrace to be styled any longer a Somari, he accepted employment in the service of Mr. Sastri. Though

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retired, he said, he still had considerable influence over the Somaris, who, out of loyalty and reverence to their old master, held him in highest estimation. True to his word, the man returned with a big lot of them,—fifty strong, evil-looking, dirty Somaris,—and the procession was a splendid success.

Sir Oliver Lodge calls these vagabonds the patients of society's. In their present state they are useless. They require help, not material help alone, but intellectual and moral health chiefly. They must be shown how to live, how to work, and how to develop their faculties. They must be content to be treated in some respects as children for whom life had been too hard. In the words of the Principal of the Birmingham University, I ask my countrymen to wake up and try to seek to raise these Somaris, to put heart into them, to treat them kindly and as human beings. While we allow our charities,—for charities we have plenty of them in India,—to run into misguided channels, fattening and feeding lazy beggars of the country, why should our reformers allow these vagrants to be crushed in the quagmire of hopelessness and wretchedness? "If we could but feel re-assured," says Sir Oliver, "that our contributions went to making happier and healthier and more hopeful the poor folk, who, either by defective character or defective education, or rough street influences or deficient industry, had drifted into a condition of idleness as bad and useless as that of some specimens of our loafing gilded youth, then each of us would gladly subscribe towards the fund for the reclamation of these vagabonds," and it would be a profitable investment for society, to contribute towards the movement for establishing houses for these waifs where they will be cabined and confined till their final redemption.

While trying to draw the attention of the Local Governments to the importance of the problem of the vagrant in India, I would like to place before the readers of the *Indian World* an account of the methods adopted in foreign countries for the solution of this vital question. Our Government will do well in establishing labour colonies such as have been instituted in many European countries, and by private societies like the Salvation Army. The June number, 1905, of the *Fort Nightly Review*, gives an elaborate description of the institutions founded in foreign lands. In Germany there are colonies for the physically or mentally deficient, and for the unemployed besides experimental farms, styled *Hei mat kolonisten*, where unskilled labourers are taught agricultural work, fruit-farming, building and other useful occupations. They have not all of them proved unqualified successes, in the way of solving the knotty

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problem of housing the vagrants. In France, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, there seem to exist several institutions of a like nature. In Belgium, there is a colony for vagabonds, known as a Depot De Mendicite, in which approximately six thousand colonists are gathered under a system of classification, who are taught all kinds of trades, agriculture, gardening, manufactures, textile industries, mining, sciences. I can not but echo the sentiments of a Madras Daily which were expressed thus:—"Why do we, who pride ourselves upon our enlightenment and progress, leave these social experiments to our foreign friends, while our Government refrain from exhibiting the smallest interest in the admirable work in this direction undertaken by private Associations pioneered by philanthropic Missionaries, and do nothing whatever to assist or to encourage their efforts." As I am about to conclude, my attention is being drawn to a sub-leader in the *Madras Mail* (July 1, 1910) in which I find, to my regret, that the Madras Government vetoed a proposal to make free grants to backward classes with a stipulation prohibiting alienation for ten years after assignment. Why should this be so? Why should not our Government found a colony after the models of Germany and France, and rescue this vagabonds from a life of misery and sin and make them useful citizens? "By placing the vagrants on land, on unclaimed or unfertile land calling out labour, under skilled supervision, they might be made self-supporting before long; but even failing that, some of them could be rescued from the slough of despond into which they had fallen, and prevented from drifting into that most expensive of all classes—more expensive to maintain than even the landed gentry, and far less picturesque—the criminal class. I hope our Government will take the initiative in making an experiment, and until *it does*, our countrymen will not even *think* of the problem of the Somari. For, India knows more of dissensions and disunions, and co-operation is a thing undreamt of. Unless force is brought to bear on our charitably-disposed citizens, they will not open their purses. In India the Government is the only tie which binds the loose sands of Indian charity into one agglutinated mass, and without its help, such things, such possibilities, are impossible.

T. M. Sundaram Aiyar.

SPIRITUALISM AND REBIRTH

I am certainly too sensible a fellow to risk my reputation—whatever its worth—by denying in toto the *locus standi* of our spiritualist friends. They may be great men or small in their own way ; it is no business of mine to poke my nose into their affairs. I am the less inclined to do so as India is the favourite home of some of those ideas and theories which are commonly associated with spiritualism. There is, however, a point or two in connection with spiritualism which by their proximity to the range of philosophy require to be enquired into even by those who would like to stand outside the spiritualistic circle. The fact is that, with all the promise of future progress in things phenomenal, some sort of a finality has come to be attached to the researches in the field of the nonmenal ; and as Philosophy by virtue of attaining that finality legitimately claims a just authority over the sciences, new or old, I, as an humble student of Philosophy, feel confident enough to test the character of the world of spirit in general and that of Rebirth in particular as it is explained by our spiritualist friends. Here I intend just to take some broad aspects of the conceptions in question and examine their logical validity.

After long and frequent talks with my spiritualist friends I am inclined to believe that many of them are very reluctant to hold the idea of Rebirth. With the death of this physical body all trace of it is gone. What follows is a life of spirit uncontrolled and unchecked by any of the passions that this physical body is heir to. It is altogether a new life with unlimited happiness and absolute freedom. Naturally the connection between the life on earth and the life in spirit is nil and all that the physical body stands for completely ends with its death. As for the life of the spirits, they are not as far off from God as we are on account of our frail body, and when that state is reached we may fairly hope to have left all that life on this earth means far behind. Either we shan't have wants in that existence or shall have plenty of things to satisfy those wants with.

Surely a more ideal consummation of our ambitions could hardly be conceived, and if we look up the many and diversified religious creeds that have from time to time arisen among us, we may find here many of them very fully and clearly represented in their aims. But is all this talk about the world of spirits sensible ? Forthwith comes the reply : " These are facts and no mere vague imaginings ; and as such let not the sceptic lay the flattering unction to his soul that he can dispose of them

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merely by refusing to believe them? But do we go by bare "facts" in the gathering of our knowledge? Do not facts, on the contrary, submit to a sharp cross-examination at the bar of reason before they are accepted as valid? Is not there many a chance of their being illusory and mistaken? In fact, those who are thoughtful know that what is called the science of Logic would not have come into existence at all if facts by themselves and as such could have represented the truth, "the whole truth and nothing but the truth." It is only after a fact has been sanctioned by reason that it can go out as truth. The standard of truth is the mind's own and whatever wonders the objective world might put up before it, it is neither wholly new nor at all foreign to it. Even the very position that an event must be true because it is a fact is one of the sanctions of reason. So I may well proceed with my enquiry inspite of the oracular declaration :—"Here are only facts and no mere vague imaginings."

I shall not here question the validity of their opinions on grounds of fact. I shall just proceed to examine their Logic. Assuming for argument's sake that there is a world of spirits, what really is the connection between that world and this? That there is some connection, is amply borne out by the fact that it has already come within the purview of our knowledge. Knowledge is not possible where the relation between the subject and object is nil. But if there is any connection, what is its character? Can it be anything, but real and organic? The answer would certainly be in the negative ; for no connection that is real can be anything but organic, while no connection that is existent can be anything but real. We need not raise here the question of the meaning and significance of organic connection. We may fairly take for granted that the world of spirits would have as much to do with this world as any part or stage of the latter with any other stage or part of the same.

The connection between this world and the world of spirits being organic, can it be ever supposed that the latter has an existence all by itself? Does it not necessarily follow, on the contrary, that the world of spirits is what it is very much because of the world of experience that preceded it? It would be as impossible to build the world of spirits out of materials a'together foreign to this world, as to build castles in the air. Rather every element and factor in that world would be due to this world even as the Laws that would govern its constituents would be but a development of those that prevail here. Surely there can never arise an

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experience which will set at naught all the experience hitherto recorded in History ; nor can it be opposed to the fundamental laws and principles lying at the bottom of experience as a whole. But nobody need for a moment suppose that experience in the future must run in exactly the same line and form as it has up to the present moment. That would be confusing the secret of the growth of experience with the secret of its philosophical import. Even as it is, it would be a mistake not to see the line of demarcation that can be drawn between the different types of our experience in this very life. Reality is not certainly exhausted in the annals of History or in the pages of contemporary records. As there is almost an unlimited scope for the development of reality, so is there equally an unlimited scope for the development of knowledge. But no development can pass beyond the self-conscious whole, even as none can ever counteract the absolute principles whether of Logic, Ethics or Aesthetics. Naturally for one to hold that the experience so far gathered in the different spheres and aspects of life would come to a dead stop as soon as the change takes on the colour of the spirit world, is as absurd as it is unthinkable. The growth of humanity as hitherto manifested can never die, though there is much in it which will undergo a transformation or change. Are we not in this very life bringing about many of these healthy changes ? But with all these changes, inspite of all the reform and revolution in the world, there is a steady and continuous flow of humanity. So the spirit world or any world can never usher in an era when this continuous growth of humanity would cease and a dull and vapid consummation of bliss would be attained. The past would never die, and for the simple reason that if it did, the future would never come into being. Equally no distinct stage of the past would ever disappear, as in every stage or phase of it it would admit of infinite progress. Has the world of beasts vanished after the appearance of man on earth ? Has consciousness disappeared with the dawn of self-consciousness ? Similarly the world of spirits might be there with this world and many other worlds equally existing. What is more, all these worlds would ever remain interdependent, acting and reacting on one another, both consciously and unconsciously. Let no man, therefore, think his duties in this life to be in any way the less supreme, because there may be duties in another world. It would be a bad day for us all if the sanctity of each station in life came to be forgotten in the craze for a mistaken perfection.

What, then, is Rebirth after this ? Does a man after his death

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come back to live a life on earth again or pass at once into the world of spirits?

This is only the old question of the relation between the types repeated. For instance when it is asked—Does the merely biological phenomenon pass into the psychical as a matter of evolution, the same question is raised, though in a different plane of Reality. Death certainly is neither more nor less than a change and as such only a step in evolution. So a particular human being may well pass into a spiritual existence if it is possible that a mere biological phenomenon would be transformed into a psychical when it has come up to a certain stage of its growth. But as it is decidedly not true that while the biological is passing into the psychical, it is leaving all its biological aspect behind—we are not merely psychical but biological too—individual man can never so change as to lose all touch with the psychical and biological. Growth is not mechanical. It is organic. There was certainly an age when there was no mind or even life. The world had its geological age before the biological came into being, and one may feel sure that the latter did not come into being so long as the former had not reached a particular stage. Only, where there was formerly a geological phenomenon there came to be a biologico-geological, organically interconnected. It follows that the individual man can never by the law of evolution arrive at a stage when he is merely a spirit without any connection whatever with the biological, chemical and inorganic stages. That would have been possible only if the last stage of a development could annihilate all the preceding stages. But as it is absolutely necessary that the last stage would hold in it, in however transformed a form it might be, all the many previous stages it is as impossible to think of spirit in complete isolation from matter as it is absurd to think that by so passive and involuntary a phenomenon as death we should get rid of the obligations of eternity as well as all necessary connection with the different stages of Reality. The utmost that death can do is to bring the individual man into an arena of experiences which possibly didn't come his way before and naturally might make it possible for him to expedite his evolution by a surer method as a more energetic life. It is all moonshine to expect that progress would at once find its consummation or that its course would be absolutely different from what preceded it. The Laws of Nature do not run by freaks and however it might be true that they would act over and above the Human Will, there is neither an absolute disparity between their actions nor are they

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entities of different planes. Nobody, even as we stand, can prophesy as to how the future is going to change. It is far too premature of science to presume that it has sufficiently grasped the sense of the Law of averages in every possible sphere of Reality to foretell the future. Even the Laws themselves do not know how they are going to be transformed the very next moment. But all the same there might be a uniformity of action for a good long time just as there is a uniform play of the same laws of averages in the field of Economics and Politics. But is there any ground for holding that they would be uniform now and for ever? Yet, it is not a question like whether fire would burn for ever or not. Fire would always burn, and no Law that has once been based on the principle of causality would be falsified. But are the elements going to stand for ever exactly where they stand to-day?

If the future, however, is so very dark to us, we have at least the consolation that it can never be wholly unintelligible or inaccessible. Even supposing death would bring in a future unforeseen and beyond our present calculation, it cannot appear to us at all so long as we have not arrived at the stage where we can grasp its significance. It is the barest truth to say that a life in the world of spirits would admit of explanation traced from the very beginning of creation as much as any other stage of life preceding it. Whatever difference there might be between life on earth and life after death the two souls—if you please—must at some stage compare notes and find out their common genealogy and other marks of identity.

So Rebirth there must be according to the law of evolution. The individual man would never die and as such all the characteristics that go to form his essence in this life would fully reappear after death. In fact, the question seems to be a bit absurd; for there can be no such thing as death in the sense of annihilation. The whole process of reality is a process of continuity and death is as foreign to it as unreality to reality. There will be fuller and higher life, certainly, after death, and naturally greater and more serious responsibilities. Equally there are chances that we should develop more sensitive and more powerful organs and have a clearer insight into men and things. With the growth of problems, our powers too must grow and there might be many new worlds discovered even in the very air we breathe. But all this need not imply that the line of progress would not be continuous or that the point of salvation would be reached as soon as we have died. The world is an infinitely growing whole, and as such there can be no

TO SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA

rest so long as the spirit has not wholly transcended the limitation of time and space in the infinite stretch of both. Is not this the conception of continuous, ever-growing progress, *Ananta unnati* which our forefathers held ?

Basanta Kumar Mallik

TO SURENDRA NATH BANERJEA

When England's sun arose in the East,
And shed its lustre bright on this earth,
And tried in Ind to pierce the mist,
We slept dead-life e'en then by our hearth ;

Till one bright morn thy clear trumpet-voice,
Solemn, majestic, silvery, sweet,
Made the hills and vales and shores rejoice
And our sleeping ears did trembling greet.

We heard thee speak of great dreams you dreamt,
Heard with wonder thy message divine,
And rose from the shameful sleep we slept,
Responsive to mighty call of thine.

The maker of Bharat's future great,
Thy name will fill her hist'ry's page ;
With England's light guide her future fate,
And lead her to progress' highest stage.

How oft have you fought your country's fight,
How oft you saved her from rage and strife ;
A country loves thee with all her might,—
Only reward of thy selfless life.

O thou the trumpet-voiced Bharat-sage,
God save thy life and preserve thee long,
Thy country needs thee at present stage,
God make thee hale and hearty and strong.

Anadi Prasad Das

RECENT BOOKS ON INDIA

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The Progress of the Indian Empire

PROVINCE BY PROVINCE

UNITED BENGAL

I. EASTERN BENGAL AND ASSAM

We have seen it maintained, in the Council Chamber and elsewhere, that our province has been making giant strides in education—especially in female education. Once we accept the amount of expenditure as the sole standard of all progress and efficiency, then surely this contention becomes indisputable. We do not wish to enter here into the larger question of the general state of secondary and collegiate education, but propose to deal with a few facts bearing on female education in Ebassam.

It must be admitted that there has been an appreciable increase in the number of Primary Schools for our girls and of the scholars resorting thereto, and that there has been the inevitable reduplicating of the Inspecting machinery. But beyond this there has not been any striking improvement in this direction ; and secondary education of females seems least to have profited by the recruitment of highly paid lady-teachers from outside Bengal. We have nothing but admiration for the wholesale replacement of the male teaching staff by females. It would be sheer ingratitude in one if he did not see at least the valuable contribution, to the sense of the picturesque, made by some of these latter driving in sumptuous carriages through the humdrum streets of Dacca. But for this extenuating circumstance the expenditure entailed by this picturesque upper staff would be enough to set one furiously to think. Leaving aside the Inspecting staff, which is made up of a European Inspectress on Rs. 420 + 135 (allowance) per month, and two Assistants (one of whom is a Bengali lady) on nearly half the amount each, the teaching staff of the Eden School at Dacca has become an expensive luxury. Rs. 540 per month for a (Parsi) Lady Superintendent ; Rs. 250 for a Jewess Resident Superintendant and Second Mistress ; and Rs. 225 for a ("Domiciled") Mistress of "Method,"—these represent the monthly hire for the rich garniture which Female Education must put on at Dacca. Precious little is known about the educational attainments

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of these ladies, still less about their past occupations before their present greatness came to be thrust upon them. Perhaps one need not be over-inquisitive on these points. Some are born to enjoy fat emoluments (and some others to find them). As for the main work of teaching, why, are there not cheap lady graduates to be found in scores in Bengal who would gladly do the drudging for a poor pittance, while others more fortunate—in colour of the skin, or in connexions—would undertake to go bedecked like the butterfly and feed on honey-dew, and to instil matters of "method" into the minds of the taught. Here is division of labour indeed!

It is remarkable that none of the like Calcutta institutions—such as the Bethune Collegiate and the Brahmo Girls' Schools—can approach the Eden School at Dacca in the matter of expenditure. They can somehow bear comparison, in this point, only with the Alexandra School at Mymensingh, which also has been thoroughly overhauled with what advantage Mr. Blackwood—Magistrate, and President of the Board of Control—ought to be able to tell. While the Eden School has been absorbing an amount which is more than sufficient to keep up a well-equipped second-grade college, it is on the off-chance of ever being raised to that status. We have no quarrel with our new administration for being so free with its purse in the matter of female Education. But every man has the right to complain when better use could be made of the money which is certainly not in a plethoric plenty, at least in Ebassam.

The Bengali Assistant Inspectress, besides being a graduate of the Calcutta University, received special training in England and has got to do the major portion of the work. But while the Inspectress draws nearly Rs. 600 per month, this overworked lady has to be content with about a third of the amount. Further, while the senior-most graduate teacher at Dacca, the former lady Superintendent of the School, is paid Rs. 150, the present head of the Eden School, a Matriculate with some training in England, gets Rs. 540. Control has been vested in all cases in the hands of those quite alien to the modes of our domestic life and civilization. The students of the Eden School are almost all of them drawn from the middle-class families, and may have to unlearn some of the "Methods" taught at the school before being able to settle down to the quiet life of a good house-wife.

We heard a great Anglo-Indian Statesman, on a recent memorable occasion, complain that our feminine kind was fast drifting away from the ideals of Indian womanhood. It would indeed be

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interesting to know if that sponsor of the partition entrusted the new province with the task of producing his edition of 'Sakuntala.'

Sakuntala!—yes, yes, the name sounds familiar. Was she not among those who were tom-boying on the open green before the Commissioner's residence the other day?—skipping to the tune of the "action-songs," and marshalled by their "Mistresses of Method"?

Alas, for Sakuntala!—the soft, sylvan dream of the immortal bard,—the arcadian nymph tending the delicate creeper of her spiritual father's hermitage,—subduing the wild creation by her soft motherly qualities and shedding a silver drop or two from her tender eyes in their weal or woe, if need be.

Sakuntala Redivivus, they say!

Dacoities and after The Rajendrapur Train Dacoity case has made one addition to the swelling list of unsuccessful prosecutions. True, only one accused has, upto now, been tried and acquitted by the unanimous verdict of the jury; and others remain to be apprehended and tried. But several others have been let off owing to insufficiency of proof. And we fancy we find something of a hippocratic look in the whole case. The evidence produced against the acquitted young man did not convince the Judge and Jury of his guilt. Yet, what a solemn and pompous prosecution it was! The Deputy Legal Remembrancer and Director of Public Prosecutions, assisted by our redoubtable Public Prosecutor, conducted the case from its earliest stages, had it committed to the sessions by the investigating Magistrate, only to be knocked on the head there in the way it has been. The prosecution thinks itself to be always in the right and the acquitting court in the wrong. Hence, after their dear experience in the Burrah case they decided to send no more cases from this side of the country to the Special Tribunal. But what a mockery of fate!

We have a word of advice for Mr. Nalini Gupta, the happy Deputy Legal Remembrancer of our virgin province. He is no longer the *ticca* Government Counsel we knew him to be—the peripatetic prosecutor of 'political dacoits.' He should not direct the prosecution of any and every rotten case, but should be bold with his opinion as to the respective merits of each of them. This would not in any way affect his income now that it has been made fixed and permanent. Otherwise, we would not have thus ventured to make the suggestion.

The latest news of dacoity comes from Manikgunj. It is a harrowing tale of savage and murderous assault on a lady not far from

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the head-quarters of an important sub-division, and reflects little credit on the police authorities. We do not mean that the "secular Prince of Darkness," as the Pahrawalla has been pleasantly termed, should be ubiquitous, or should, Mercury-like, grow a pair of wings at the heel of their massive foot-gear. But what astonishes us is the perfect ease with which the crime was committed, in the vicinity of a sub-divisional head-quarters town. What could the helpless unarmed people do but submit patiently to the rough handling of the ruffians? However we are told that some high police officers have paid our young men the compliment by holding that they could not be associated with the cruel assault on a woman. So it is to be hoped that for once the obtrusive snout of the police will be turned away from the educated young men of our country. In course of a series of searches and enquires in this connexion, a number of hardened professional robbers, though not clearly connected with the present dacoity, are said to have been unearthed with trophies of their past escapades. This is an indirect good of the police searches no doubt. The spell of security which these criminals had been enjoying, while the police were busy in their wild-goose-chases after 'political dacoits,' has at last been broken. But it remains to be seen if the Police would follow up the scent and persist in bringing to book these and other inveterate culprits. It is very curious, if true, that ordinary English spelling-books and elementary primers of English translation have been found in the possession of these thieves and taken away by the investigating officers. Professional bandits with a genuine desire for education!—exactly the sort of people that would have gladdened the heart of Carlyle. But this sudden development of literary taste is a little perplexing to us. A friend suggests this might throw some light on the great partiality lately shown by our Bengal dacoits for talking English. Patent-leather shoes, gold-rimmed eye-glasses, and bandying snatches of English—have become the inevitable properties of a decent dacoit, and were perhaps the acme of the village burglar's ambition.

II. BENGAL

The Lull For sometime past Bengal has enjoyed a spell of lull. Excepting the demonstrations over the death and funeral of King Edward VII, which came in as a strange contrast to the period of unrest which preceeded it, there has

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been no campaign of any kind political in these provinces. Behind the loyal demonstrations over the late King's death there was no doubt a great touch of sincerity ; and fortunately the terrorist spirit appears to have been scotched, if not killed, for the nonce in Bengal. We appear to have entered into a new chapter of our public life,—but it is always a dangerous game to prophesy. Already the air is thick with rumours about some more political gang trials and arrests of some very respectable men are being talked about in their connection. We are quite sure Sir Edward Baker will stand no nonsense,—even though it may happen to come from the Criminal Intelligence Department. The statesman who, in the present situation, will be able to check the irresponsible and mischievous activity of the Police will not only succeed in restoring peace and quiet in these provinces but will prove a great friend of England also.

We understand Sir Lawrence Jenkins is feeling greatly embarrassed at the frequency of references of gang dacoities to the Special Tribunals of the High Court. Three Judges of the High Court have to leave their ordinary work and sit for months together in hearing cases, in some of which at least there are between one to two hundred witnesses. If things go on at this rate either of the following two things will have to be done : either the number of Judges in the Calcutta High Court will have to be increased by at least two more, or the procedure of referring every other gang case to the Special Tribunal of the High Court will have to be stopped. Of these two, the latter will no doubt commend itself to the public, both for the sake of law and of economy.

Speaking of the High Court we can not overlook the brisk canvassing that has been going on for sometime past with regard to the filling up of a couple of seats in its Benches which are likely to fall vacant in the course of the next few months by the retirement of a Vakeel Judge and the elevation of Mr. Justice Sharaffuddin to a seat in the Executive Council of Bengal. Though it is not so great an honour in these days to be made a judge of the Calcutta High Court as it was in the time of Rama Prosad Ray and Dwarkanath Mitter, an air of dignity and prestige undoubtedly hang about these offices even at the present day. And because they are so dignified and responsible offices we are anxious that they should be allowed to remain above the reach of canvassing. We must not be understood to say that only the less undemonstrative and pushful lawyers should be

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elevated to the Bench, but behind the theoretic knowledge of law there must be a substantial practice to constitute the principal qualification for a seat in the High Court Bench. All that we desire to say is that these qualifications should be combined in would-be aspirants to seats in the High Court Bench, and that they should be dispassionately looked into by the Chief Justice himself without the interference of any biased advisers.

Bengal is very lucky this year so far as the last birth-day Honours are concerned. Lord Curzon, during his Bengal Honours eventful viceroyalty, held the reins very tight in the matter of the distribution of Honours and in seven years' time he made fewer Rajas than an average vice-roy makes in a couple of years. Whether it is owing to a new Emperor succeeding to the Imperial throne or because it is the last year of Lord Minto's Vice-royalty, we have as many as half a dozen of persons proclaimed in the last Honours Gazette as Rajas and Ranis. We have no objection to the Government conferring upon its trusted and loyal subjects as many titles of personal and hereditary distinction as they may be pleased to do nor do we grudge the recipients of these honours the happiness and pleasure which are involved in these gifts of the State. Into the ethics of receiving and giving honours there is no good entering at the present moment. Nor do the discriminating public attach much weight or importance to these gifts. It is one thing to decorate men like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Dr. Rash Behary Ghose and quite another to confer honours on persons like Muzral Haque and Lal Mohan Guha. People look at the two ends of the pole and begin to lose faith in the philosophy of patronage.

Amongst the recipients of the new honours we have no hesitation in congratulating Rajah Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury and Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal Among the territorial magnates of these provinces Rajah Manmatha Nath holds no very mean position : he has some education and public spirit and, with sober and responsible advisers about him, may yet prove useful to society in his own way. He is now perhaps the only representative of the Bengal aristocracy who has the gift of the gab and has the power to address a public meeting *extempore*. Babu Radha Charan Pal has devoted the better part of his youth to the service of the Calcutta Corporation where he has fought many a hard battle on behalf of the rate-payers of the city of Calcutta. In the matter of the Nimtollah Fire enquiry he rendered invaluable service to the cause of justice by his untiring exertions

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and unflagging zeal. We confess, however, to a sense of disappointment on the mere Rai Bahadurship conferred upon so devoted a public worker as Babu Radha Charan, but now that he has been taken into the favours of the Government we have no doubt he will be shortly decorated with higher titles.

Sir Edward Baker has done a public service by directing the Water Scarcity attention of the Bengal District Boards to the question of water scarcity in their respective jurisdictions. The absence of good drinking water in a large number of Bengal villages for several months of theyear reflect discredit on all parties concerned—the Government, the District Boards, the landlords and the people. The Government has so far thought the matter beneath notice ; the District Boards have so far spent nearly all its resources in road-making and road-repairing ; the landlords have clean forgotten their duties by their tenants ; and the people have not cared to avail themselves of the lessons of combination and co-operation. Of all these parties, the District Boards and the landlords deserve *severe* public condemnation. The anxiety of the Bagbazar oracle to whitewash the culpable negligence of the Zemindars in this connection seem to us to be a sorry defence of a practically defenceless cause. But why should not the Government put pressure upon these people to do their duty by their own tenants is more than we know. Surely the Permanent Settlement was *not* made with the understanding that the Zemindars would have nothing to do to improve their lands or the condition of their people. Oh ! the blessings of an unearned increment !

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

The Modern Review

The third instalment of the article on *The Ancient Hindus and the Ancient Egyptians* has the place of honour in the June number of the *Modern Review*. In this article, Mr. Abinash Chandra Das traces the common origin of Hindus and Egyptians by pointing to (1) the similarity of the skulls of those two races of antiquity, as preserved in the tombs of the respective countries ; (2) the striking family likeness in the manners, social customs and institutions, and religious beliefs and observances of the Hindus and the Egyptians ; and to (3) the Sanskrit origin of the names of the land, the rivers, and the gods, and the traditions of the ancient Egyptians themselves that they had come from the land of Punt. In the first instalment of his article on *India—Through her Industries*, Mr. Manindra Bannerjee gives an entertaining and illustrated description of *The Nitre Industry in Tirkut* (Bengal), its factories, method of work as also the value of nitre as a manure, as a mordant in dyeing goods and in the preparation of gunpowder, *teshib* and a flux for glass works. It is also used to preserve food owing to its antiseptic value. In the second instalment of his article on *Social Service*, Rev. C. F. Andrews of Delhi suggests various means to ensure success in Temperance work in India. Mr. S. Kirschzam, by way of a description of *A Malabar Royal Marriage*, relates many curious customs in vogue in Malabar. "The right of descent is through the female line. Their family property is imitable so much so that there are in some families living under the same roof as many as 150 members." In his account of the *Ships and Boats in old Indian Arts*, Mr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee describes and reproduces some sculptures showing "in splendid relief ships in full sail and scenes re-calling some earlier events in connection with the Hindu colonization of Java by a band of Hindu sailors in the 75th year of the Christian era." "The Hindu Colonisation of Java," Mr. Mukherjee rightly regards, "is one of the most glorious of our national achievements and stands out as the central fact in the history of Indian maritime activity in the eastern waters. The story of this colonial activity and expansion of India is one of the most inspiring, but unhappily

most forgotten, chapters of Indian history." An Englishman follows Mr. Mukherjee with his impressions of *A Hindu Marriage Ceremony* and "sincerely" hopes that "as Indian industrial civilization develops she will not so far forget her ancient glory as to suffer a borrowed faith inferior to her own to be imposed upon her from without, but will seek to make known to an ignorant western world the supreme achievement of the ancient Aryan seers from whom we may learn much and the knowledge of whom would certainly do something to lessen the insane fratricidal strife common to every 'Christian' Nation, and to promote the great international brotherhood which will know neither country, race, or colour and for which the whole world,—sick, sore and bleeding—waits." Sister Nivedita claims originality of architectural design for *The Ancient Abbey of Ajanta* and demurs to the opinion that the Indians borrowed their arts from Greece. Besides these, there are a few other stories or articles of general interest. The last few pages of this number are, as usual, taken up with various notes and comments on topics of detached interest.

The Malabar Quarterly Review

This *Review* for the quarter ending in June opens with Mr. M. A. Williamson's description of the *Tajmahal and Secundra*. In the sixth instalment of his learned paper on *The Epics of India and Greece*, Mr. Thomas C. Rice discusses the dates of the *Ramayana* and the *Odyssey* and through a very close process of reasoning he fixes 536 B. C. for the *Odyssey* while he thinks that the "Ramayana may have assumed its present form between 150 B.C. and 200 A.D." Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillai discusses the *Morality of the Ramayana* and states : (1) That in espousing the cause of Sugriva, Ram did not espouse a right cause. Vali was a more virtuous person than his brother. (2) That both the reasons advanced by Rama for killing Vali from his place of concealment are untenable. (3) That Vibhishana was the greatest traitor to his country, besides being disloyal and unbrotherly. (4) That Ravana was the highest and the noblest specimen of humanity. (5) That the so-called abduction of Sita was only her capture as a prisoner of war and the act of Ravana is justified both by ancient and modern laws of warfare. Discussing the *Ideals of the East and the West*, Prof. V. G. Kale of Poona observes : "The mutual assimilation of what is best in the East and the West will lead to the good of mankind. The materialism of Europe needs some of Indian spiritualization while the spiritual and

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dreamy attitude of Indian minds wants to be corrected by materialistic influences of Western civilization. One is the complement of the other and the greatest good is to be obtained by the combination and assimilation of what is best in the two. Narrow isolation, proud exclusiveness and prestige of colour or creed must give way to liberal appreciation, discriminating adaptation and willing co-operation. This is a high ideal but one worthy of being placed before us for the benefit of the whole world. Nature is doing her work, let us help her operation." The editor, Mr. K. N. Sivaranjan, concludes with a well-reasoned article urging the necessity of *Organization* in our social and political activities.

The Muslim Review

This monthly organ of the Mahomedans of Allahabad, though started only six months ago, is justifying its existence by showing signs of vitality and vigilance. Progress on all lines,—social, political and religious—and not a fanatic desire to stick to the old moorings has been the watchword of the conductors of this *Review*. The June number opens with "Junius's" 6th instalment of *Thoughts on the Present Situation* in course of which the writer shows his righteous indignation at the evil of polygamy still swaying the Mahomedan world and forcibly urges the necessity of the raising of the status of womenkind. Syed A. K. Md. Kalim follows with an account of the life and character of Zebun-Nisa, the daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb and the part she played in the politics of that time. "S.A.Q." fervently appeals to the Mahomedans of India to make the proposed Mahomedan University an accomplished fact at an early date. Syed Abdullah-Al-Quaderi's academic discussion of *The Responsibilities of a Student* is followed by *A Note of Warning* in course of which "B. A. C." regrets that institutions founded for the Mahomedan education are not giving sufficient attention to the three injunctions laid for the Mussulmans by their Scriptures to fulfil in their daily life *vis.*, (a) duty to God, (b) duty to himself, and (c) duty to others. Mahamunad Ahmad finds fault with the method of teaching Arabic in India and suggests various schemes of his own to improve the same. In an article on *Thoughts on Theosophy* written in a spirit of catholicity rare among Mahomedans, "M. A. A." describes the cult of the Theosophists as follows: "To encourage the individual to continue in the religion of his birth, to conform his life to the fundamental articles of his creed, shunning superstition and scepticism as the

worst and natural enemies of every religion—that all the great religions of the world possess excellent doctrines and moral teachings, which are quite sufficient to make their adherents good, useful and law-abiding citizens—that every great religion can furnish ample material for reflection and divine contemplation." There are three other articles—two of personal interest and the other, a short review of L. D. Barnett's "Heart of India" series. Some useful comments and discussions and an informing Survey of the Muslim World and notes on recent episodes bring to a close this number with nearly 90 pages of reading matter.

The Hindusthan Review

The June number of *The Hindusthan Review* is led off by a posthumous article on *Hindusthani as a National Language of India* in which the late Dr. Nishikanta Chattopadhyā discusses the many potentialities of the Hindusthani language and urges its claim to be the national language of India. In view of *The Present Moral and Social Condition of the Indians* being anything but satisfactory, Mr. Kailash Chandra Kanjilal suggests the provision of a systematic moral training in the scheme of education in India. Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi's *Evidence of Widow Marriage in Ancient India* has been noticed at length elsewhere. In discussing *The Treatment of Juvenile Offenders in India*, Sirdar Madhav Rao V. Kibe Sahib condemns the system of putting young offenders in ordinary jails with hardened criminals and suggests (1) the multiplication of Reformatory Schools and location thereof in different centres of the country, (2) the provision by law that "no person below the age of 19 shall be sentenced to undergo imprisonment in a jail, and (3) the passing of an Act on the lines of the English Prevention of Crimes Act for young political criminals or suspects, the political crimes being defined by the legislature." In the third instalment of his article on *Indian Polytechnics*, Mr. H. Subba Rao deals with agriculture and gives some valuable suggestions for its improvement inviting the agriculturists' attention to (1) proper selection of land, (2) proper irrigation, (3) provision of suitable manures—chemical or artificial, and (4) improved implements. *Some Persian Proverbs and their English parallels*, *Cometic Mysteries*, *Hygiene vs. Medicine* are the other articles of general interest which have no special bearing on India. Some few more items of useful comments and discussions closes the current number of our contemporary.

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The Indian Review

The *Indian Review* for June opens with *A Chinese View of the Transvaal Trouble* which is a narration by Mr. Leung Quinn, one of the recent deportees from the Transvaal, of the grievances of the Asiatics in the Transvaal. In the course of this article he observes : "The Transvaal colonists have foolishly thrown down the gauntlet to the whole of Asia. Neither they nor other Europeans should be surprised if Asiatics, as a body, take it up." Our Madras contemporary has once again persuaded Mr. H. S. L. Polak to discuss *The South African Situation* through its hospitable pages. The Hon. Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar urges *The Elevation of the Depressed Classes* with the following appeal : "India requires every one of her sons to be equipped with knowledge and with ideas to raise her up among the nations of the world. Patriotism requires that there should be a feeling of unity and of brotherhood to accomplish the task. This feeling of oneness, of a common motherland is impossible, if the lower classes are steeped in ignorance and feel that they do not count and that they have no place in the social and political advancement of the country." Rev. D. J. Fleming makes some valuable *Suggestions on Social Study for Student Groups* in which he advises them to study the society in which they live specially under the following heads : (1) How society cares for its sanitation (2) Libraries and Reading rooms (3) Night Schools—the Redemption of Idle Hours (2) Modern conception of charity (3) Daily income of beggars (4) Temperance (5) India's Undeveloped Resources—A study of the Depressed classes (6) The forces of moral uplift (7) Death-rate and (8) cruelty to animals. Mr. J. Knowles, discussing the necessity for a *Uniform Script for India*, does not "conceive of a greater blessing coming to India than the optional adoption of some well devised code of roman letters for Indian languages" and entreats his Indian friends "to carefully consider the tremendous possibilities to commerce, to education, to national unity, to progress of every kind which would follow from the adoption of such simple letters as those of the romanic scheme." Mr. W. S. Hadaway's paper on *Teaching in Indian Art Schools* prepared for the Lahore Industrial Conference has been reproduced in this number. Then follows an article made up of extracts from memorials, speeches and newspapers in favour of the movement for incorporating moral training in the educational systems of all countries—in India, Europe and America. Mr. P. V. Sami Rau considers that "the outlook of *The Manganese Industry* is sure to be bright and will have far reaching consequences in India."

REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND THINGS BY THE EDITOR

We understand that the editorial reflections, on the future of the Indian National Congress, published in the last number of the *Indian World* have been interpreted in several quarters as a note of despair. A most estimable friend of ours has written us to say that it was written in a hopeless strain of pessimism. We confess that pessimism after all is not half so bad a thing as robust optimists make it out to be. Optimism is, no doubt, the essence of all public and political life and, without a sufficient fund of it, one soon finds every disinterested activity a great disappointment and a tiresome business. We are not, however, one of those who seem to think that unpleasant topics should never be brought before the public and discussed openly. We belong to the opposite school and cherish the conviction that unless the deep sores in an organism are laid bare there is absolutely no chance of their being radically healed. It is, therefore, a duty of every responsible publicist to bring forward from time to time for public discussion the ills and sores the national body-politic may be suffering from, so that, when prevention is impossible, the cure at least may be well-directed and carefully thought out.

Last month we dealt with only one phase of the present situation,—one side of our national life. Besides the art of simulation which we have learnt to perfection and which is making such a havoc with our national ideals and aspirations we have many other weaknesses and defects which it can do no good to any body to blink at or pass over. To some of these defects we shall draw the attention of our readers in the present article.

Our most inveterate and prominent defect is the habit of talk talk. When the Partition agitation commenced, hundreds of young men from different parts of the country rushed the platform and flooded the country with enthusiastic oratory on behalf of the boycott programme. At one time it quite grew into a fashion to make a bonfire of British cottons and throw away Liverpool salts and Austrian sugars. While during these five years we have been talking and demonstrating to our heart's content, Lancashire and Liverpool, Sheffield and Austria, have been stealing a march over us. At the end of these five years, we find that we have not only not

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succeeded in driving Manchester cottons and Austrians sugars out, but the official records go to show, on the contrary, that we have been importing them in ever-increasing and overwhelming quantities. That is the negative side of our boycott activity. On its positive side we regret we have equally disappointing results to show. During the last five years we have built up no new industry worth speaking, excepting very minor ones, and erected no Jute Mills, no Cotton Mills, no Paper Mills nor any mills in a big industrial scale. Instead of showing any activity in these lines we have, to our discredit, the practical collapse of the Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company of Tuticorin, of another steamship line at Chittagong, and the partial failure of the Banga Lakshmi Cotton Mills. Excepting the Tata Iron Works we can recall of no industrial enterprise which we can put to the credit of our energy or powers of organization.

We have another lamentable result of tall talk to mention in this place. Soon after Lower Bengal was sundered into two provinces, Indian politicians got themselves divided into two warring camps. The moderate politicians fixed colonial self-government as the goal of their political aspirations ; the extremist politicians would be happy with nothing short of autonomy or independence. We spent a good part of our energy and time during the last few years in discussing which of these two was the worthier ideal for us to pursue, and in discussing them we carried matters to such bitter extremity that the wrath of the Government was naturally invited to our perfervid utterances and indiscreet writings. And today—how do things stand today ? There is no bold enough soul in all India today who can even academically stand on behalf of autonomy and argue its advantages. One by one all its stalwart advocates and champions have either fled the country or are hiding their lights under trans-Himalyan peaks. Their followers today have either most of them washed their hands clean of politics of all sorts or have kept their ideals so hermetically sealed in their bosom that even Providence may try in vain to get at them. Nor are moderate politicians much better off. They have also been as thoroughly demoralised as either the extremists or the loyalists. True, many whilom extremists have crowded the ranks of the Criminal Intelligence Department and swelled the list of approvers in police prosecutions more readily than the followers of the Moderate School; but it is a question of degree only as to how far demoralisation has gone on in each camp. In the year of grace, 1910, we have in all India no more men than can be counted at one's fingers' ends who would dare rally round the standard either of colonial self-government or of absolute

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autonomy. What is more surprising than all is the fact that the ranks of all political parties have thinned away and there are very few men in all this wide land who would venture to show in these days any active interest in political issues. The entire atmosphere seems to be surcharged with demoralisation, and courage, candour and convictions have all been cast to the winds for the comfortable convenience of an easy and secure life.

For this demoralization we are paying more dearly than most of us seem to be aware of. The progress of our literature, of our arts and, to some extent, of our sciences have, in a great measure, been handicapped and arrested. Literary activity, original thinking and the cultivation of many of the fine arts and *belles lettres* are all at a standstill ; organization of public activities and even charities have well-nigh become impossible ; and the criticism of government measures is scarcely attempted and frequently avoided. Those very bold champions of the national cause who before 1908 used to orate most eloquently on the platforms of the Congress against repressive laws and reactionary measures of the Government now go to the same lobby with the Government officials to vote in support of similar measures. That is the position we have come to after several years of tall talk, claptrap oratory, and vehement and ceaseless denunciations.

The lack of courage which is so deplorable a feature of our political life has also allowed us to make very little progress with our social reform campaign. In this department, as in almost every other, there has been more cry and less wool. We have a very big programme of social reform,—including the high education and emancipation of woman, the elevation of the depressed classes, the obliteration of the caste system—but how many of us have the courage of our convictions or are willing to abide by the real tests of life ? We bend before the least difficulty and we furnish our countrymen with very poor examples of consistency. Sir Chandra Madhab Ghose, who happened to preside over the Indian National Social Conference held in Calcutta in 1906 and who sends all the girls of his house to an European School, gets them married early in their teens and made his grandson, who had been to England, to pass through a *praschitya* ceremony before he could be taken back into the bosom of his family. Sir Bhalchandra Krishna of Bombay—a still more stalwart advocate of the social reform scheme—has gone back upon the principles of his life-time by giving away one of his daughters in marriage at a very early age of life. A prominent publicman of Madras has recently treated his social convic

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tions in a similar way. It is no good multiplying cases of social back-sliding so far as the early marriage question is concerned. Regarding the more important items in the social reform programme, there seems to be a set-back all along the line. One hears less and less in these days of widow-remarriages, of inter-caste dining and of inter-provincial marriages. No large scheme for the elevation of the 'untouchable' classes has yet received any popular sanction. The *muraris* and *devadasis* continue to pollute the atmosphere of the religious temples in southern India. The system of *purdah* does not seem to have been very much relaxed in any portion of northern India. The traditions of caste, thanks to the reactionary propagandism of a Sister Nivedita or a Mrs. Besant, appear to have found a new lease of life and strange advocates and champions. All these distinctly go to show how the educated community in India today is deficient in character and back-bone.

Nor is there much room for optimism in the Indian educational outlook. There is *not* a single well-equipped and well-manned private school under Indian management in all this wide country. While respectable European schools for boys and girls can be counted by dozens from one end of this country to another, Indians themselves cannot boast of any single private school for either boys or girls in any province worth being labelled even as *decent*. Of course, we exclude from our view Aligarh and the Central Hindu College at Benares for obvious reasons. The Pacheayppa's College at Madras, the Sirdar Dayal Singh College and the D. A.-V. College at Lahore are good enough colleges as Indian institutions go, but they are nothing like European schools of the same standard. The Deccan Education Society has not made much headway since its start several years ago, nor has the National Council of Education of Bengal which was established with such fanfare and flourish of trumpets in 1906. The Bengal Technical Institute which was struggling to meet with a real need in Bengal has now, for want of public support, been amalgamated with the National College which is still being conducted on equivocal and undetermined 'national lines.' The Ripon College and the City College, very worthy public institutions in their way, are keenly feeling the absence of any endowments while the University Law College at Calcutta, because of its connection with the government, is getting more donations than its governors know what use to put them to. Among students and their guardians also, one notices with regret a remarkable lack of a patriotic spirit. While every educated Bengalee is crying on

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behalf of the Swadeshi cause, in 8 cases out of 10, he is admitting his son or ward *not* into any Indian College but into the Presidency or the Scottish Churches Colleges—*institutions under non-Indian management and control*. That shows not only how the wind blows but also the hollowness of our professions.

There is another very important side of the present situation worth looking into. While we all laud up to the skies a national standard and a national ideal we ourselves cut the ground upon which such an ideal could be raised. We have allowed the National Congress to be torn into pieces by dissensions, differences, and disunion and are now anxious to cover our ineptitude by spacious platitudes and occasionally by vigorous sectarian organizations. Unmistakably it goes to prove that we can not consistently work for a certain ideal for any length of time in face of difficulties, troubles and risks ; and that, after all, the sectarian spirit in us, though dormant, is far and away the most active influence that guides our life and moulds our character. This, without doubt, is a great national defect and unless and until we can live down this idea the national cause will continue to receive very lukewarm support from us.

Another prominent defect in our national character is our sensitiveness to criticism, due, of course, to a spirit of inordinate vanity. Public life is never for the thin-skinned and it is the pachydermatous only that can succeed in that line. Many of us seem to think that we are above criticism and that any one who ventures to criticise us must be looked down upon as an enemy. With such ideas it is impossible to work in public life. As an instance of how far this sensitiveness is carried amongst us we shall cite a most deplorable case. Mr. Saradacharan Mitter,—once a valiant champion of the *Swaraj* doctrine—has felt so far aggrieved with our criticism of his unfortunate speech at Goalundo and of his senseless campaign on behalf of the neo-Kshatriya cult that he has discontinued his subscription, or, as he may seem to think, his ‘patronage,’ to the *Indian World*. *The Indian World* has no reasons to be very uncomfortable or unhappy with one subscriber the less, but this petulance and this morbid sensitiveness clearly indicates one of the most pronounced plague-spots in our public life. What becomes of the sacredness and responsibility of public life if one is not allowed to discuss men and things according to the light that is in him and if sensitiveness to criticism and personal vanity is carried to this extent ?

Now we come to the last point which we intend to discuss in

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this article. Unhappily this also turns upon a very pronounced defect in our national character,—our inordinate love of money. It is not yet fifteen months that Mr. S. P. Sinha accepted the greatest and most responsible post ever thrown open by the British Crown to any Native of India ; we regret to find it now stated in several Anglo-Indian papers that he has made up his mind to throw it up before he has another forty-five months' work to put in. If indeed the rumour about Mr. Sinha's resignation be true, what really does it mean ? Only on two conditions can we conceive and justify Mr. Sinha throwing up the appointment for which Lord Morley created a precedent unparalleled in the annals of British rule in India. One of these causes can be failure of health and the other the impossibility of pulling on with the cabinet of the Viceroy. So far as we know, Mr. Sinha has been keeping excellent health at Simla and as for the suspicion of being in disagreement with his colleagues in the Imperial Council he himself removed that idea by his vigorous speech in defence of the Press Act at Calcutta in February last. If his resignation be owing to any subsequent difference between him and the other members of the Viceroy's Council, then he distinctly owes it to himself, to his fellow-countrymen in India, and, above all, to Lord Morley, to come forward with a clear statement of his position. If he is not prepared to come forward with such a statement—and no charge of any betrayal of State secrets can be laid at his door under the circumstance—and if it is found that his health has not been failing or suffering either, public judgment is bound to go against him by default. Already ungenerous critics have begun to whisper that the relinquishment of a most lucrative practice in the Bar has obsessed him since the acceptance of the office of Law Member on a poor salary of eighty thousand rupees a year. What a splendid opportunity this for the *Englishman* and the *Pioneer* to laugh in their sleeves. If, indeed, it will be said against Mr. Sinha that the responsibilities of his office have proved too much for him or that he is a wrong man in the right place or that the love of money has become dearer to him than the love of his country, we shall feel deeply mortified. When we remember what extensive practices in the Bar men like Messrs. Asquith, Haldane and Lloyd George have given up in order to serve their country, we really feel very small to think that one of our own countrymen is unable to put forth an example of similar devotion and sacrifice. When we remember again the tremendous responsibility Lord Morley took upon his head in admitting a native of India into the cabinet and the arcana of the Government of India, and the serious issues involved in the success or the failure of the experiment, we are inclined to think that Mr. Sinha's resignation would constitute the severest blow against Indian aspirations as well as against the introduction of democratic and liberal principles into the governance of this country.

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